

CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS OF BYZANTINE EGYPT

SECOND EDITION

BY

ROGER S. BAGNALL

AND

KLAAS A. WORP

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2004

Illustration on the cover: A receipt on papyrus for an inheritance of one gold solidus, dated to 381 or 382 by the consulate. From Theadelphia (Arsinoite nome). Columbia University Libraries, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, P.Col. VIII 237.

OF BYZANTINE EGYPT

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

SECOND EDITION

BY
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available on
<http://catalog.loc.gov>

ROGER S. BAGNALL

AND

KLAAS A. Worp



ISBN 90 04 13654 1

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Cover design: Thorsten's Celine Ostendorf

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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PREFACE

"It seems safe to assume that chronology will never again become fashionable."

— Anthony Grafton, *Daedalus* 132.2 (Spring 2003) 85.

This study grew out of our attempt to understand the chronological systems used in early Byzantine papyri: in the case of Bagnall, the Columbia papyri from fourth-century Karanis; in the case of Worp, papyri from Hermopolis in the Vienna collection. We came to the problems of the indiction cycle from somewhat different types of material, but we both came quickly to the conclusion that the accepted truths about indictions were inadequate. In the first edition of this book, completed in 1977 and published in 1978 as *Studia Amstelodamensia* 8, we investigated on the basis of the documents the manner in which the indiction system came to take form, its ways of operation, and its relationship to the fiscal system of Later Roman Egypt.

We noted then our awareness that more work remained to be done on this subject, but it must be confessed that we did not really know how much there was or how much it would occupy us for a number of years. We found it necessary to follow *CSBE* up very soon with a collection of regnal formulas (*RFBE*), a later set of addenda and corrigenda to *CSBE* and *RFBE*, and other pieces dealing not merely with chronological indications narrowly speaking but with the formal carapace of late antique documents followed.

If we now take the occasion of the silver anniversary of the first edition to replace it with a new and greatly enlarged one, it is not because the subject seems to us exhausted, still less because it has suddenly become fashionable. (The article of Anthony Grafton from which our epigraph comes does, however, make an eloquent plea for the importance of chronology as an historical discipline.) Although one of the conditions we looked forward to in 1978 has been fulfilled—the availability of digital versions of the texts of all of the documentary papyri—it remains the case even after much critical work by many hands that many of the relevant texts, especially those of the sixth to eighth century, need reexamination if not reedition. We expect from this continuing labor and from the ongoing editing of Byzantine papyri to see many more harvests of relevant material and, in all likelihood, some significant discoveries.

The work on the indictions, which was the starting point of this book, brought us already a quarter-century ago to the conclusion that for other means of dating the student of Byzantine papyri was also ill-served by existing works. For this reason we included brief studies of the various eras in use and of the scribal habits observable in connection with the use of post-consulates. A synoptic chronological chart (Appendix C) was provided in order to facilitate comparison of different chronological indices, and we appended a list of occurrences of consulates in Byzantine papyri (Appendix D) along with an index of consular names and epithets (Appendix E). In this new edition we have incorporated our subsequent work, revised and updated, in further chapters. The Era of Diocletian has been extended to include the Era of the Martyrs; regnal titulature has been added (Chapter 6 and Appendix F), along with oath formulas that are in many cases parallel (Appendix G). The invocations that from 591 on precede the chronological indications at the start of legal documents are described in Chapter 10 and

Appendix H. And a couple of calendrical curiosities occupy Appendixes I and J, a table of the "Saracene" years (the era of the Hijra) allowing the user to relate this era to the other major chronological systems in use in the first century of Arab rule in Egypt, and a table of datings by the moon in Greek texts from Nubia.

Finally, we have provided a brief appendix on weekdays in papyrological and epigraphical sources from Egypt and Nubia (Appendix K).

Especially Appendixes I and J show how far we have recklessly breached the limits of the first edition, in which we resolutely excluded non-Egyptian evidence and everything written in languages other than Greek and Latin. That does not mean that we have entirely abandoned our worries about our lack of adequate competence in Arabic and Old Nubian, not to speak of the limits of our Coptic; nor does it indicate any confidence that the systems of reckoning that survived the seventh century, the indiction and the Era of Diocletian/Martyrs, operated in exactly the same way after the Arab conquest as before. But it does point to a sense that it is important to collect the evidence to allow for the degree of continuity in practice to be assessed. We should note that we are indebted to many colleagues for help in this widening of the evidentiary basis of the book, most importantly to Leslie MacCoull's collaboration with Worp in the articles in which much of the additional material now given in Chapter 8 was first assembled. We are also very much aware of how much the new edition has benefited from tools that did not exist in 1977, most notably the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri and the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden, but also the electronic version of the *Bibliographie Papyrologique*.

We noted in the first edition that the preparation of this book involved a very large amount of critical work with editions of Byzantine texts, in the course of which we had frequent recourse to the assistance of colleagues in various parts of the world, who provided photographs, tracings, drawings, and their own readings on originals or photographs. Among these were R. A. Coles, Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, M. H. Eliassen, M. Fackelmann, I. F. Fikhman, H.-G. Gundel, A. E. Hanson, H. Harrauer, R. Jäger, H. Maehler, R. Pintaudi, G. Poethke, J. R. Rea, J. Schwartz and C. Wehrli. Their unselfish labors made it possible to remove many errors from printed editions and thus improve the quality of our results. We renew our expression of gratitude for their help. We are also grateful to Mervat Seif el-Din and Jean-Yves Empereur for making it possible for us to study an excellent photograph of *Lef.* 67 and to Todd Hickey for information about an unpublished fragment joining *P.Erl.* 87.

The manuscript of the first edition was read in penultimate form by Dieter Hagedorn and David Thomas, to its great benefit. That of the current edition has been read by Nikolaos Gonis, Dieter Hagedorn, Nico Kruit, Adam Łajtar, Bernhard Palme, and John Rea. Giovanni Ruffini removed many blemishes from the final proofs. All these have improved the book immeasurably and deserve the reader's gratitude as well as ours. The remaining faults, of course, are our own.

We also recorded in our preface to the first edition, and would here repeat, our debt to our late colleague P. J. Sijpesteijn, who not only discussed with us many problems treated in these pages but had to bear with the process of the writing of the book at a time when all of us had many other obligations. In dedicating the second edition to his memory we recall that extraordinary year of collaborative work that we spent in 1976-1977.

Columbia University

University of Amsterdam/University of Leiden

September, 2003

Roger S. Bagnall

Klaas A. Worp

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The systems by means of which societies in classical antiquity reckoned years were generally well-enough suited to the purpose of distinguishing the current year from last year or a few years ago.¹ The methods of designating years which we find in documents were matters of official proclamation and thus were adapted to the needs and nature of the state. The use of eponymous magistrates, the normal means of identifying years in Greek cities and at Rome, worked well in relatively small states where the dissemination of the name or names in question would be virtually instantaneous, but it had self-evident drawbacks in a large territorial state, where difficulties of communication were considerable and would amplify any political turmoil that might delay the announcement of names. It was natural enough, therefore, that in the Seleucid kingdom a fixed era (based on the satrapal and then regnal count of Seleucus I) was introduced,² and that the Ptolemies reckoned (like kings of Egypt before them) by regnal years.³ Everyone could keep track of such continuous counts with not too much difficulty, at least until the king changed. When Augustus acquired Egypt in 30 B.C., he retained the Ptolemaic system of regnal dating, and for over three centuries Roman emperors followed his example.⁴

For the historian, the effect of a system of reckoning used in the documents may be very different from the effect for a contemporary. The ancients found this already, for in the fifth century B.C. the Athenians found that it was necessary to reconstruct and to publish a systematic list of archons to avoid confusion; it is only for a few Greek cities that either the ancients or we have had any idea at all of the sequence of eponymous magistrates, and even the Athenian list has been a constant subject of scholarly controversy. Our confusion is not ours only, but in part that of our ancient predecessors.

It is scarcely surprising that modern scholars have found grave difficulties with the methods of dating documents used in the papyri from Byzantine Egypt.⁵ We find in these texts six distinct systems of referring to years, which we treat in the following chapters: regnal years, which change as emperors do (Chapter 6 and Appendix F); *epigraphai* and indictions, both in cycles of fixed length which thus cause the same year number to recur at set intervals (Chapters 1-5);

¹ Part of the material of this chapter appeared originally in Bagnall-Worp 1979a. On ancient chronology in general see the article "Zeitrechnung" in *Der Kleine Pauly* 5 (1979) 1474-1489.

² Cf. Samuel 1972: 245-246.

³ See Samuel 1962; Skeat 1954; Pestman 1967.

⁴ Bibliography on this subject may be found in Montevecchi 1988: 66-70 and Rupprecht 1994: 26-31.

⁵ We refer by this term to the period from 284-641, in normal papyrological parlance. Although the term is open to many criticisms and would not be as widely accepted today as at the time of our first edition, continuity in usage seems more useful here than the complexities that a more nuanced terminology would introduce.

consulates, announced annually (Chapter 9 and Appendix D); and the eras of Diocletian and of Oxyrhynchos, which owe their existence to regnal counts prolonged beyond the deaths of the emperors in question and which constitute permanent continuous counts (Chapters 7 and 8). The manner in which these systems are interrelated is set out in tabular form in Appendix C. After the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641, the conquerors introduced the Hijra era, commonly referred to in Greek and Coptic documents as the era of or according to the Saracenes; because of the coexistence of this era in Greek and Coptic documents with other systems that we discuss, we have added a table for convenient reference to Saracene years (Appendix I). In the next few pages we describe briefly the interrelationship of the systems, the problems involved in their concurrent use, and some aspects of regional variation in their employment. The details of the individual systems are not repeated here, and the reader is referred to the relevant chapters for these.

The Systems and their Interrelation

Although the chaotic conditions of the fifty years before Diocletian's accession in 284/5 must have made regnal dating rather confusing for scribes, Diocletian continued the traditional system, with his second regnal year beginning on Thoth 1 next after his accession (to be dated 20.xi.284, see Barnes 1982: 4 n. 4), and when Maximianus was associated with him during that year, a double numbering of 2-1 (285/6) was adopted, as of shortly before 31.iii.286 (*BGU* IV 1090.34, cf. *ZPE* 61 [1985] 99 n. 1). As we describe in Chapter 6, the only real precedent under the empire for such numbering was the peculiar use of dual numerals during the Palmyrene domination of Egypt. When the tetrarchy was established (1.iii.293), a numeral was added for the new Caesars, the year thus becoming in midyear 9-8-1 (= 292/3). From then on, the habit of giving numbers for each emperor (or multiple emperors with the same date of accession) became regular, leading to long strings.

Meanwhile, the government had introduced into Egypt in May/June 287 a new system of reckoning for fiscal purposes, the *epigraphé*, which was apparently the equivalent of the Latin *delegatio*.⁶ Properly speaking, the *epigraphai* referred only to the tax assessments, the first being in 287, the second in 288, and so forth. We find in the documents clear evidence of three five-year cycles of *epigraphai* up to 302, after which the term passes completely out of use in the papyri. The *epigraphai* bore on the crop just harvested at this time; that is, *epigraphé* 1 fell on the crop of regnal year 3-2 (286/7), harvested in late spring 287. The use of a five-year cycle shows clear intention of introducing a means of fiscal reckoning which was not exactly coterminous with regnal years. The *epigraphai* appear only in connection with tax payments and never independently to designate years, but the cyclic and annual pattern must nonetheless have given them some independent existence.

In 302 the last of these numbered tax declarations was issued. For the next five years we have no evidence of any particular use of numbered tax schedules, but in 308/9 we find reference to the indiction of a regnal year or, rather, to an indiction numbered the same as the regnal year (e.g., the 17th indiction in 308/9 = Galerius' regnal year 17); usually only the highest-numbered regnal year is given, but at other times the full sequence is found. There is still no sign of true chronological reckoning by such indictions, but a direct connection with regnal years in this manner (and, unlike the regnal years, often using only the highest numeral) certainly tended to give the indiction some status as a chronological unit, at least in loose speech.

⁶ See further below; the fundamental work is that of Thomas 1978.

The second innovation of Diocletian's reign in chronological matters is the use of Roman consuls for dating Egyptian documents. In the period before Diocletian, consular dates hardly appear except in documents written in Latin or between Roman citizen parties and drafted according to Roman law.⁷ From 284 to 293, only two Egyptian documents are dated by the consuls, one of them a *manumissio inter amicos*.⁸ But beginning in 293 (*P.Lips.* I 4 and 5 are the earliest examples, on 10.ix) we commonly find consular dates in ordinary Greek documents, and the practice becomes steadily more standard as time goes on.⁹

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the introduction of consular dating is in some way connected to the creation of the first tetrarchy in March, 293; it seems likely, furthermore, that the use of consuls was one more part of Diocletian's policy of making more widespread the use of Roman institutions in the East, as well as that of integrating Egypt more closely into normal patterns of imperial administration—a policy also served, for example, by the numismatic reforms three years later.

The use of regnal dating in the papyri and ostraka (Chapter 6 and Appendix F) remains relatively constant up to 312/3, even while consular dating gains in frequency. But after 313/4, regnal dating declines drastically, and in fact the use of actual formulas of regnal titulature is extinct after 316; even citation of regnal years without formula is by 316 extremely rare except in the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite nomes. This decline is perhaps partly a reflection of the weariness of scribes in dealing with the excessively complicated and mutable regnal dates in the decade before, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was the system of numbered indictions that dealt the coup de grâce to the use of references to years by regnal numbers and that the practice in the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite reflects a rather conservative attitude on the part of scribes in these two nomes.

The introduction of the indiction system into Egypt is described in detail later in this chapter. It was apparently the product of the administration brought into Egypt by Licinius in his partnership with Constantine after the death of Maximinus, but the exact beginnings of indictional reckoning, which may lie outside Egypt, are not clearly documented. The indiction came into use somewhat more rapidly in Upper Egypt than in Lower, it seems, with the Arsinoite nome relatively slow and the Oxyrhynchite even slower; Oxyrhynchos, indeed, held on to regnal dating to a large degree even beyond Constantine's death. The indiction did not, generally speaking, replace regnal dating for the main date of legal documents (where in any case regnal dating was disappearing in favor of consulates) but only for *reference to a year* and, as it appears, for an easy year date in private receipts, orders and the like. In the dating clauses of legal instruments and official business, it is the consulate which appears from henceforth. After the start of the tetrarchy, therefore, it is the beginning of the control of Egypt by the government of Licinius and Constantine that is the second major watershed, in which these two Diocletianic innovations reach a full development and virtually completely oust a

⁷ A list may be found in Calderini 1944; *WB* Suppl. I 351-354; II 242-243; III 399 give supplements, but a new list is needed. For a few exceptions to the rule given here about the appearances of consulates before Diocletian, cf. *P.Oxy.* XII 1544, XL 2906.ii, *P.Stras.* IX 856 and *SB* XIV 11589; cf. J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 228. From 270/271 comes the first $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ τὴν ἡμετέραν dating formula, *PSI* X 1101.

⁸ *P.Oxy.* IX 1205 = *C.Pap.Jud.* III 473 (291) is the manumission. The other pre-293 document is *AnalPap* 13 (2001) 31-32 no. 3, of which only one line survives. The other documents listed in Appendix D are all dated after 293 and refer back to the years in question.

⁹ Similarly the use of Roman months comes in at about this time, see Sijpesteijn 1979: 232 n. 16. As Sijpesteijn points out (231 n. 13), it does not have the staying power of consulates, disappearing in private use by about 316.

system of dating in use for some 350 years, or, if one counts Ptolemaic regnal reckoning, for nearly 650.¹⁰

This pair, indictions and consulates, with their rather different spheres of usage, dominate chronological reckoning for the next two centuries, until 537. The two era-type systems mentioned above, however, come into use for specialized areas. An era reckoned by the accession of Diocletian appears in the fourth century in the Philae graffiti (both Greek and Demotic), in reckoning birth dates for purposes of casting horoscopes, and in some literary or theological contexts.¹¹ It is used exclusively for these purposes until the late fifth century, when it begins to be used also on gravestones (the earliest certain instance is *SB III* 6250, 491/2 or 492/3). The eras of Oxyrhynchos, on the other hand, grow out of the Oxyrhynchite predilection for continued regnal dating and represent in their final form a continuation of the regnal years of Constantius II and Julian.¹² These Oxyrhynchite era-years are used much as the indiction is elsewhere, for reference to years and for dating short texts (viz. receipts and orders for payment). The era-year ran from Thoth 1 to Epagomenai 5(6), the traditional Egyptian civil year; the indiction was reckoned differently in different areas, as we show in this book. The era-years did not oust the indiction for fiscal reckoning, but the indiction never achieved in Oxyrhynchos the position it did elsewhere of being the dominant and best-known chronological index in use.

This situation remained in formal use until Justinian's *Novella 47* in A.D. 537.¹³ In the meantime, however, a large variety of factors caused consuls to be announced in Egypt very late in a large proportion of the years of the fifth and early sixth centuries, reducing seriously the usefulness and, eventually, the accuracy of the consulate, for confusion between consulate and postconsulate gradually became more widespread, and postconsulate at times referred to a year later than that immediately following the consulate. It is even conceivable that scribes became so used to postconsular reckoning as to suppose at times that any newly announced consuls must be already out of office.¹⁴

Justinian ordered that all legal instruments bear the regnal year of the emperor, the names of the consuls and the indiction number, all three of them. Regnal years were to be computed not in the old Egyptian manner (perhaps now forgotten), but from the day of accession to the throne (whether to the status of Caesar or of Augustus) to its anniversary. The Egyptian documents do not reflect prompt and uniform compliance, for many still have only the consulate (or consulate and indiction) while others have all three, and the first attestation of regnal dating comes only in 539. For the next century, one finds various combinations in the documents of various nomes. The use of dating by consuls generally declined as the consulate was no longer held by private persons after 541, and emperors may be said in general to hold consular status rather than to have eponymous consulates in the old sense. Justinus II, exceptionally, had a second consulate. Consular dating, therefore, was by definition post-consular dating, until 566 by Fl. Basilius (cos. 541), afterward by the reigning emperor. As

¹⁰ Indeed, regnal dating long precedes Ptolemaic rule.

¹¹ The details are given in Chapter 8. With horoscopes, we know only what year is being referred to and that the date of the horoscope casting is later; how much later, it is usually impossible to determine.

¹² See Chapter 7. This era was the successor to a previous continuation of Constantine I's regnal years; and even while the era was in use, a few instances of regnal dating from the later fourth century are found in the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite nomes (see Chapter 6 and Appendix F).

¹³ See Worp 1985b: 357-360 and 363. To the table at the top of 359 may be added *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935 and 3961.

¹⁴ For the dissemination of consulates see *CLRE* 26ff., for Egypt especially 29-32.

time went on, consular dating lost its independence from regnal years, therefore, and under Phocas and Heraclius the consulate is less often mentioned and rarely without the regnal year. In Chapter 6 some of the problems caused by the unification of consular and regnal dating are dealt with.

In the early seventh century, thus, regnal dating was once again the standard means of giving dates to legal instruments, with the indiction still the standard dating method for shorter texts and for reference to fiscal years; in Oxyrhynchos, the era-years continued in use. During the decade of Persian occupation the indiction cycle was continued undisturbed, but of course reference to Byzantine emperors was not used.¹⁵ When the restored Byzantine rule was swept aside in 641 by the Arabs, once again the indiction continued, but the regnal and consular dates naturally disappeared, and the Oxyrhynchite era similarly vanishes after a last documentary appearance in 644/5 (*SB* VI 8987) and a contract written as a scribal exercise referring to era-year 345/314, or A.D. 668/9 (*T. Varie* 8). The non-Arab Egyptian population, however, still felt the need of some means of reckoning which was more permanent than the indiction cycle, and we can hardly doubt that the Saracene era (years of the Hijra, on which see Appendix I) was unpalatable to most of the conquered population. It is at this time—on present evidence, more precisely in 657 or 658 (see Chapter 8 for the documentation)—that the Era of Diocletian is first used in papyrus documents. Despite its complex origins, this era was ultimately interpreted as a specifically Christian mode of reckoning and given the name Era of the "Martyrs," thus bringing us back to a reckoning from the accession of Diocletian in Coptic use down to the present.

Problems with Multiple Modes of Reckoning

It will be clear from what is said above that the multiplicity of dating systems, while confusing to the historian and papyrologist, is mitigated somewhat by the chronological differentiation of their periods of use. Even within a given period, not all of the known systems will be found simultaneously in most documents. From the earliest uses in 293 on, consular dating had a restricted range of use, being found almost exclusively in actual dating clauses; in a few cases there is a reference to a past document or event by means of the consulate. But its use was strictly chronological. Some documents of 293 to ca. 315 have both consulate and regnal year. The use of regnal dating in the period from Justinian to Heraclius was also purely chronological, and this duplication of systems performing the same function in the later period contributed greatly, we may be sure, to the atrophy of consulates and the tendency of scribes to omit one of the two dates, to assimilate them, and finally to discard consulates altogether. The indiction system, by contrast, was originally used to refer to fiscal years and crops and to date minor documents; its use in later times for general dating did not cause it to lose its fiscal implication, and it never suffered any real duplication of function except to some degree in Oxyrhynchos with its local era.

Nevertheless, we find a number of documents in which more than one of these systems is used at the same time; the number of such documents naturally increases sharply after 540, with the addition of another dating criterion, and so also do cases in which the various criteria for the date disagree.¹⁶ The scribes were capable of errors, but most of them fall into a few

¹⁵ See Chrysos 1975 and L.S.B. MacCoull, *SCO* 36 (1986) 307-313, 328. There are, however, instances of the use of the Oxyrhynchite era during this period, despite its origin in imperial regnal years.

¹⁶ See Appendix B.II and Bagnall-Worp, *CNBD* V 62.

identifiable groups. In a considerable number of cases, a scribe has written ὑπατείας, "consulate," where μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν, "after the consulate," should have been written. The bulk of these fall early in the julian year and are most readily explicable in terms of simple slip of memory, in the absence of the proclamation of new consuls. In the middle and later sixth century, especially, when only the year number of a postconsular era changed, a slip was as natural as it is for us to write mistakenly the old year number in January. The problem must have been compounded by the fact that the Roman year was not the year by which the scribes really worked and lived; it was no doubt easy to forget that on Tybi 6 a new consular year began.

Whether the same was as true of regnal years, which also, according to Justinian's orders, changed at a time of year not associated otherwise with the beginning of the year, is harder to say. There are certainly some such errors, but studies of the documents of some reigns has tended to the conclusion that deliberate assimilation of some of the differing years may be responsible for what at first look like errors; in other words, the difficulty was handled (at least in Oxyrhynchos) by assimilating the regnal year to the civil year. These questions are discussed in Chapter 6.

The Oxyrhynchite era-years, on the other hand, seem almost never to be demonstrably wrong; they were evidently a source or reflection of local pride and were kept track of properly. The indiction is nearly as accurate, for it was the one system which ordinary people probably kept in mind as their taxes were connected to it, and only rarely does an indictional reference seem to be in error (see Appendix B.II).

Regionalism

One further factor which has for a long time caused difficulties to scholars—because it went largely unrecognized—is the profound differences from one region of Egypt to another in the way in which certain chronological systems were applied. A few examples have already been mentioned: the predilection of the Oxyrhynchite nome for regnal dating after it had been abandoned elsewhere in Egypt; the creation in the same nome of an idiosyncratic system of era-dating; the greater alacrity of Upper Egypt in adopting the indiction system compared to Lower Egypt. One other should be mentioned, the restriction of the use of the Era of Diocletian in papyrus documents to the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes, so far as our evidence shows, until in the eighth century Coptic documents from Thebes start to use it. There are other quirks of this kind which are treated below in relation to formulaic peculiarities.

The most striking area of regional individualism is that of the working of the indiction cycle. In Chapter 4 we describe these differences in detail. They show different patterns, and particularly different starting dates for the indiction year, in the Thebaid (the Hermopolite nome and all to its south), and in the nomes of Middle Egypt, the Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite, Herakleopolite and Memphite nomes. Underlying these differences is a generally uniform structure involving the preliminary and final tax schedules, but the results for chronological reckoning are varied even below the level of the provinces into which Egypt was divided in this period.¹⁷

The other noteworthy area of regional differences is that of the use of regnal formulas and titulature in the period from Justinian on. For example, the Arsinoite nome under Justinus II

¹⁷ Cf. also Worp 1987 for another type of regionalism, i.e., the differing use of indictions in dating formulas from the various Egyptian provinces.

and Tiberius II seems to use only consular and postconsular dating, while the Herakleopolite apparently uses consular dating exclusively still under Mauricius. Other nomes vary also, but we find that in general the nomes of the Thebaid agree in large part with one another. These divergences go even to petty matters like the choice of epithet for the emperor or the inclusion or not of the phrase μέγιστος εὐεργέτης, "greatest benefactor," which does not appear in the Arsinoite until Heraclius. It is also interesting that under Justinian, the epithet used for the consul Fl. Basilius, by whose postconsular years one normally dated, was in all cases λαμπρότατος in Arcadia but ἐνδοξότατος or πανεύφημος (the latter much less common) in the Thebaid.¹⁸

The peculiarities of Oxyrhynchite usage we are inclined to ascribe to local choices, given the uniqueness of the systems used. The Herakleopolite, largely dependent on the Oxyrhynchite,¹⁹ followed it to a great degree but not entirely. For the rest, it seems more likely that the division of the province of Egypt fostered variant usage (such as had always existed, if one compares the diversity of tax receipt formulas in Roman times, for example) by broader regions in addition to the traditional diversity of the nomes. Particularly in the sixth century it is difficult to suppose that local initiative by the citizenry was responsible for much of what we see. It should be remarked, finally, that this regional variation is—once recognized—a boon to the scholar, since it allows approximate or precise assignment of provenances to documents which are otherwise of unknown origin.

The Introduction of the Indiction

Early in the development of papyrology, documents began to appear from the Byzantine period (see above, n. 5) which showed a system of referring to crops, taxes and years by numbered indictions. A system of indictions occurring in fifteen-year cycles and related to taxation was already known from literary and legal sources and was discussed in the sixteenth century, when indictions were still in use in some parts of Europe. But the papyri brought growing quantities of new evidence, which prompted an increasingly animated discussion of many aspects of indictions in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.²⁰ The most important of these questions argued were (a) when was an indiction cycle first introduced? (b) was it always fifteen years, or were other lengths used? and (c) when an indiction year is used, at what time of year did it begin and end? To all of these something like a consensus emerged, which may be summarized as follows:²¹ For at least 15 years, namely between 297 and 312, the Roman government issued tax-declarations annually, calling them *epigraphai* or indictions. These declarations were grouped in five-year cycles, with at least three such cycles occurring. In 312, then, began the regular use of a fifteen-year cycle, the cycle length used ever after. The indiction year began at a variable time in early to mid summer, declared each year by the government after the harvest. The crops just harvested were nevertheless counted as those of the indiction beginning after the harvest,

¹⁸ See Bagnall-Worp, *CNBD* III: 245-247.

¹⁹ On this dependency, see Rémondon 1966: 138 with n. 6.

²⁰ The first discussion is in Scaliger's *De emendatione temporum* (first ed. 1583). A summary of the discussions is found in Gardthausen 1913: 454-467, with full references. A history of indictions in general, including much of Gardthausen's material, appears in Goodrich 1937: 2-14. We cite below only what is useful for modern discussion of the problems we treat; the curious are referred to these two works and to N. Hohlwein, *Bibliographie Papyrologique* (Louvain 1905) 73 for full particulars of the historiography of the problem.

²¹ See, e.g., *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.148n. (only for the pre-312 period); Grumel 1958: 192; Bataille 1955: 45-46.

perhaps because the taxes were collected in the new indiction.²²

Although this series of propositions attained the status of near-orthodoxy, it did so in the absence of any full collection of the evidence concerning indictions and a full discussion thereof. Only the dissertation of Goodrich in 1937, which remained unpublished (except through University Microfilms) and thus virtually unknown, attempted such an inquiry, and Goodrich's account, though at many points useful, is very deficient.²³ In the following chapters we will argue that almost every element of this theory is either wrong or in need of modification.

The primary focus of the next chapters is on the operations of the indiction system in Egypt after 312. The period from 287 to 302 needs no lengthy treatment here, as it has been the subject of a full discussion by J. D. Thomas, whose conclusions we follow.²⁴ To summarize briefly: starting in 287, the imperial government issued each year, in May or June (at least for Egypt; the date may have been different elsewhere) a tax schedule called variously ἐπιγραφή (the earliest and most common term), διατύπωσις (= Lat. *delegatio*), and ἰνδικτίων (a term found only after 297/8²⁵). These *epigraphai* were numbered in cycles, from 1 to 5, and three of these cycles took place over the 15 years from 287 to 302. None of the terms cited is a chronological term; all of them refer to the fiscal act of declaring the tax levy for the current year. These terms are never used for dating, but only to qualify tax payments, to indicate for which assessment they were made.

This system lapsed after the fifth διατύπωσις of spring, 301, but the term διατύπωσις continued to be used to describe the tax schedule. We have no indication at all for the years from 302-308 to indicate that any kind of numbering was used. But we find, starting in 308/9, a new type of designation for the tax schedule; it is now called by a numbered indiction. The numbers given are in the main equal to the regnal years of Galerius, the senior emperor at the time; but in a few cases, we find a more complete regnal year given, i.e., not only the regnal year of Galerius but also those of junior emperors. It may be useful to present this material in the form of a chart (Table 1, p. 9).

Kase explained the manner of reckoning shown in this chart (so far as the examples were known to him) as referring to the regnal years of Galerius, and he held that we should read, e.g. in *SB XVI 12340.8*, ιθ (ἔτους) ἰνδικτίωνος; in other words, he consistently expands the sinusoidal curve (plus strokes if present) to (ἔτους).²⁶ While it is undeniably true that this curve had this meaning in Roman papyri, and while it may sometimes be justifiable to so interpret it in early Byzantine papyri, it is manifestly not the case that the curve *must* be expanded in this fashion, for it may as well be simply a numeral marking.²⁷ If one compares the examples in the chart from *SB XIV 12167 = P.Erl.Diosp. 2* with those from *P.Iand. VIII 152* or *P.Princ.Roll*, one can see that the justification for expanding the curve to (ἔτους) is very weak. Furthermore, it must be said that the Greek of a phrase like τῆς ιθ (ἔτους)

²² Further references for the individual views mentioned will be cited in more detail below.

²³ We wish to record, however, that we have on a number of occasions found useful information and references in Goodrich 1937, as well as a number of sensible conclusions.

²⁴ See *BASP* 15 (1978) 133-145.

²⁵ See *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.122, 148, 150; *O.Mich.* III 1008; *P.Lips.* I 84 v.25; vi.2,8,12; *P.Ryl.* IV 616 ii.12 (for the date of this papyrus see App. D s.a. 309).

²⁶ *P.Princ.Roll*, pp. 26-27.

²⁷ See H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam 1973) 949ff., esp. 951. In general we consider it likely that the curve is simply a numeral marking much more often than has been thought by editors, but the subject needs a thorough investigation.

ινδικτιώνος is not very felicitous; one would at least like an article with (ἔτους). Considering all the available evidence we conclude that one should properly speak of the "18th indiction" or whatever, not of "the indiction of the 18th year." It remains true, however, that the numbers used are those of Galerius' regnal years, that the system is not attested before he became senior emperor, and that the use of his regnal years to designate years and indictions persists after his death—until 314/5 for numbering indictions, until 317/8 for numbering years.

Table 1
Numbered Indictions, 308-318

Julian	Indiction	Reference	Phrase	Comments
308/9	17	<i>P.Iand.</i> VIII 152.9 <i>P.Erl.Diosp.</i> 2.9, 17, 19, 32, 41, 44, 45, 51	ἐπιβολῆς ιζS/ ινδικ() ιζ(/) ινδικ()	Note 1
309/310	18	<i>P.Erl.Diosp.</i> 2.30, 50, 62, 65, 71	ιη(/) ινδικ()	
310/311	19	<i>P.Erl.Diosp.</i> 2.49 <i>P.Iand.</i> VIII 152.5 <i>SB XVI</i> 12340.8 <i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 83.10-11	ιθ/ ινδικ() ινδικ() ιθS/ ιθS// ινδικτιώνος ιθS// [ινδικτιώνος	
	19-7	<i>P.Mich.</i> XII 652.7-8	ινδικτιόνος ιθS ζS	Cf. lines 3, 10, 14, 16
		<i>PSI VIII</i> 886.7	ιθS ζS// ινδικτι[ονος	
311/2	20	<i>P.Erl.Diosp.</i> 2.2, 10, 25, 29, 40, 43, 48, 62 <i>P.Erl.Diosp.</i> 1.294 <i>P.Iand.</i> VIII 152.1 <i>P.Princ.Roll</i> 191 = ix.7	κ(/) ινδικ() κS ινδικ() ινδικ() κS/ κS/ ινδικτιόνος	Note 2
	8-6-4	<i>P.Mich.</i> XII 652.22	ινδικτιόνος ηS ζS δS	
313/4	22	<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 122.16	β/ ινδικτιώνος ἄ ἐστιν κβS/	
314/5	23	<i>P.Princ.Roll</i> 123, 128 = v.9, 14; 168 = viii.5 <i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 122.16 <i>P.Sakaon</i> 19.16	κγS/ ινδ(), κγS/ ινδικτιόνος γ/ ινδικτιώνος ἄ ἐστιν κγS/ ἔτους	Note 2
316/7	25	<i>P.Princ.Roll</i> 176 = viii.13	κγS ιν[δ]ικτ[ι]ονος ε/ ινδ[ι]κτιω[ν]ος ὁ ἐ[σ]τιν κεS/	Note 2
317/8	26	<i>P.Princ.Roll</i> 202 = x.6	ζS/ εινδικτιώνος [ὁ] ἐστιν κςS	Note 2

Note 1. The editor read ιδ, 14th; but we have seen on a photo kindly supplied by H.-G. Gundel that the reading ιζ is certain. For this and two other minor corrections to the text see *BL* 7.73.

Note 2. For this text (previously *SB V* 7621), see now our re-edition in *APF* 30 (1984) 53-82, from which the continuous line numbers are cited.

It is very regrettable that our evidence for 312/3 remains exiguous (but see now below, p. 11 on *CPR* XVIII 2 from the fall of 313), because we are unable to trace with precision the history of the introduction of the fifteen-year cycle into Egypt. Nevertheless, the outline of the development can be clearly seen. It was at one time held that the first fifteen-year cycle was based in 297; the principal foundation of this theory was Seeck's reasoning that in 312, from which the *Chronicon Paschale* states that the beginning of the Constantinian indictions was reckoned, Constantine did not control Egypt; and if Maximinus Daia had introduced the system, Constantine would have cancelled it in 313.²⁸ This reasoning found both adherents and opponents until the decisive discussion by E. H. Kase in 1933, who showed without any doubt that we must regard 312 as the starting or base year of the first fifteen-year cycle.²⁹ Kase's conclusion on this point has been generally accepted, although the view of Seeck has sometimes found its way into more recent literature, mainly by way of Wilcken's *Grundzüge* (pp. lix-lxi).³⁰

Though Kase reckoned the first cycle from 312, he stated that it was not actually introduced until the third indiction (314/5). He cites *PSI* VII 820.49 to indicate that the coming introduction of the cycle was known on 16.iv.314. The deduction was reasonable in view of *P.Princ.Roll*, where the payments of 312/3 and 313/4 are most commonly referred to as for years 21 and 22, while those of 314/5 are generally referred to as those of the 3rd indiction.³¹ Kase concluded that the cycle was introduced by Constantine outside Egypt and imported by him in 314.³²

This view was modified by Boak and Youtie on the grounds that *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.12-23, a receipt for rent dated Mesore 4 (28.vii) 315, speaks of the rent on the crops of the 2nd indiction which is the 22nd year and the 3rd indiction which is the 23rd year. *P.Cair.Isid.* 55.9-13, furthermore, is a receipt given on Hathyr 22 (18.xi) 314 for a payment for indiction 2 (which was then past). It could of course be objected that this material is retrospective as regards indiction 2, and does not fully prove Boak and Youtie's point.

There is in fact an item of further information overlooked by Boak and Youtie which appeared since Kase wrote. This is *P.Erl.Diosp.* 2 (*SB* XIV 12167 = *P.Erl.* 52), an official account from Upper Egypt.³³ In it, the scribe provides a statement of accounts covering the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 1st indictions; the last item refers to an expenditure in May, 314 (the date is by the consuls and the Roman calendar). The references to the 1st indiction are thus clear indications that by May or June, 314 at the latest, the indiction cycle was in use in

²⁸ O. Seeck, "Die Entstehung des Indictionencyclus," *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswiss.* 12 (1894-95) 270-296. For an overview of the division of the empire, cf. Barnes 1982: 199. For the *Chronicon Paschale*, see *PG* 92, 700 A 11: under 312 is noted, *ινδικτιόνων Κωνσταντινιανῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχή*. This is either an anachronistic attribution to Constantine of an innovation actually introduced by Maximinus or Licinius, or a reflection of an introduction of the indiction system by agreement within the imperial college. Before A.D. 324 Constantine had no authority in Egypt.

²⁹ *P.Princ.Roll*, pp. 25-31. Kase cites the earlier views and studies and discusses them in detail where appropriate. It is not necessary to repeat these citations here. Cf. especially his p. 25, n. 3.

³⁰ Kase accepted by standard handbooks: Grumel 1958; by editors of papyri: *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.16-17n.; *P.Mich.* XII 652.2n. The view of Seeck still implicitly repeated: *P.Mich.* XII 650.21n. The attempt by L. Depuydt, *BASP* 24 (1987) 137-139, to resurrect 297 as a starting date has value only as a curiosity.

³¹ *P.Princ.Roll*, p. 29, n. 27.

³² This is the solution advanced by Goodrich 1937: 10-11, 14.

³³ This papyrus was discussed by us in *ZPE* 28 (1978) 231-237, with re-edition of the best-preserved parts and correction of the remainder. The reader is referred to this article for the basis of our statements here.

Egypt, and furthermore that it was—at least retrospectively—considered to have begun with the year 312/3 (313 harvest, the last one before the date of the document).³⁴

That the indiction cycle was already in contemporaneous use at the latest during indiction 2 is clear from *P.Harrauer* 38, a receipt for a tax payment of the 2nd indiction dated by the consuls to 17.v.314. Similarly, *P.Col.* VII 141a (Mesore 16 = 9.viii.314) shows that the second indiction was used contemporaneously; it is a receipt for taxes in barley of indiction 2, paid during the harvest season of that indiction. Similarly, but probably even earlier, *CPR XVII A 2* (a fragment of a Hermopolitan lease of land, dated on prosopographical grounds to the fall of 313) seems to refer to the 2nd indiction (313/14) as “current.”

From all of this, we can conclude that the indiction system was already in effect in fall, 313 for the current (2nd) indiction, and that it was considered in official accounts that the previous year had been indiction 1, for its revenues and expenses and officials were designated as those of that indiction. Goodrich cites the remark of the *Chronicon Paschale* (which gives 312 as the base date for reckoning the indiction cycles) that the first indiction cycle was actually established in 314: καθ’ ὃ ἐτέθη ἐν ὑπατεία Βολουσιανοῦ καὶ Ἀννιανοῦ.³⁵ *CPR XVII A 2* now indicates (what the contemporaneous use in the first half of 314 would suggest) that this statement is inaccurate, and that it was at the latest in the fall of 313 that the indiction system was introduced into Egypt, with comprehensive retroactive application to 312/3.³⁶ To avoid such a conclusion it would be necessary either to show that the text refers to a past indiction or to move this text to a later cycle. We cannot prove beyond all doubt that neither is possible, but we think it most unlikely. Moreover, one must in any case reckon that the indiction had been brought into use not much later in indiction 2. It is also conceivable that the first indiction, 312/3, was used contemporaneously, despite the absence to date of any published evidence for it.

³⁴ This was noticed by Cl. Préaux, *CdÉ* 17 (1943) 169, but her remark appears to have passed unnoticed.

³⁵ See Goodrich 1937: 10.

³⁶ A few words may be in order here about another term for indiction sometimes found in documents, ἐπινέμησις. We discuss *infra*, p. 31, the specific meaning which this word takes on in Oxyrhynchite contexts. But in general, there does not seem to be any consistent principle to elucidate the usage of *epinemesis*. Some observations may nonetheless be useful:

(1) *Epinemesis* is almost never used in dating formulas at the heads of documents, as Grenfell and Hunt already observed, *P.Oxy.* I 126.10n. Cf., however, *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151.4 and 67158.2.

(2) The documentation presented in Chapters 1-3 makes it quite clear that the distinction made by H. Cadell, *PapCongr XIII* 62, that ἰνδύκτιον has a “sens purement chronologique”, is not accurate. *Indictio* is, indeed, the normal word for the tax assessment.

(3) The earliest reference to a numbered *epinemesis* seems to be *P.Berl.Zill.* 4 i.2 (ca. 349).

(4) *Epinemesis* in Oxyrhynchite documents frequently has a future meaning (*infra*, p. 31). A future reference appears also in *P.KRU* 78.7-8, apparently the only instance in a Coptic document (see Förster, *WB* s.v.).

(5) This distinction is not consistently used elsewhere, however, for *epinemesis* can also refer to the present indictional period, as in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67030 ii.4, and *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4394.52. A present indiction in *P.David* (P.L. Bat 27) 10.13-14 has been eliminated by a repositioning of fragments and a rereading as τῆς σὺν Θεῷ | [δευτέρ]ας (instead of π[α]ρούσης) ἐπινεμ[ή]σεως (information from N. Kruit).

(6) *Epinemesis* appears in Greek with reference also to past time, as in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67030 ii.2 and *IG XII* 9 307, cited by Goodrich 1937: 55, n. 35.

(7) The use of *epinemesis* in the Fayyum is not attested, as Grenfell and Hunt (*loc.cit.*) already observed. For *SB* I 4683 (to be assigned to the Hermopolite or Antinoopolite) see *BL* 9.240; *ZPE* 140 (2002) 152-153 n. 10.

(8) *Epinemesis* appears in a dating formula in the foundation inscription of the cathedral at Faras (*Faras* IV 1.7) as well as to date gravestones outside Egypt; Adam Lajtar cites A. Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete* 33, commentary.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CYCLE OF 312 TO 327

In the previous chapter we have argued that a cycle of 15 years for numbered indictions was first introduced (as far as present evidence allows us to say) as of indiction 2 in 313, but based on 312/3 as indiction 1, and that at the time of its introduction the system was applied comprehensively to include the preceding year, so that at the latest by the pre-harvest period of indiction 2, the system was fully functioning. The first cycle itself, after its establishment, does not present many significant problems until its end, and the questions relating to the transition of 327-328 will be treated in Chapter 3. For the present, two points need to be discussed: (1) When does *ἰνδικτίων* come to have also a chronological significance (in addition to its fiscal one possessed heretofore)? and (2) What is this chronological significance?

One preliminary remark is in order here: there is no evidence that in 312 (or in 313) a cycle of 15 years was planned. That continuous numbering of some kind was intended is shown by the eventual change in the designation of fiscal periods from regnal years to indictions numbered 1 and following. But the hindsight which tells us that the fifteen-year cycles of indictions began to be reckoned as from 312 does not suffice to prove the original intention. *Ἰνδικτίων* had meant, before 312, a declaration of tax liability, the same thing which was indicated by *delegatio* (*διατύπωσις*) and *ἐπιγραφή*.

The indictions of 307 to 312 were designated by the number corresponding to the regnal years in which they fell, because the indictions in themselves had no chronological meaning. Our documents indicate that the situation changed almost immediately under the new system. Most striking is *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.12-23, a receipt for rent dated to Mesore 4 (28.vii) 315: the landlord acknowledges to the lessee τὸ ἐκφόριον ὧν γεωργίς μου ἀρουρῶν περὶ ὀριοδικτίας Καρανίδος ὑπὲρ γενή(ματος) β/ ἰνδικτίωνος, ἃ ἔστιν κβς/, καὶ γ/ ἰνδικτίωνος, ἃ ἔστιν κγς/ ἔτους (lines 14-17: "the rent of the arouras of mine in the *horiodiktia* of Karanis which you farm, for the crop of the 2nd indiction, which is the 22nd (year), and of the 3rd indiction, which is the 23rd year.") Similar phraseology occurs in *CPR XVIIA* 4, dated to the consuls of 314 (month not indicated), in which a prospective tenant offers to lease land πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἔτος γ ἰνδικτίωνος; payment is due ἐν τῷ Παύνι καὶ Ἐπειφ μῆσι τῆς αὐτῆς [γ ἰνδικ(τίωνος)]. The writer in the first case has directly equated year and indiction, in the second attached the year to the indiction and then referred to months as belonging to an indiction. Similarly in *P.Lond.* III 976 (p. 231) we find a reference (lines 3-4) to Παύνι καὶ Ἐπειφ μῆσει (I. μῆσι) τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους [γ ἰνδικ(τίωνος)], "in the months Pauni and Epeiph of the present year [of the 3rd indict]ion" (i.e., 315). In *M.Chr.* 276 = *P.Lips.* I 19.13 (320) a lease is πρὸς μόνην θ ἰνδικτίωνα, strongly suggesting a time period.

From virtually the start of our documentation of the cycle of 312, therefore, it may be demonstrated that the indictions were real indiction years, genuine chronological units and not

merely fiscal declarations. But we should not push this conclusion too far. Indictions were not used in general as a means of dating documents; for this purpose the consular year is much the favored means of reference in the first half of the fourth century (as later), replacing the traditional regnal years almost entirely by 320. It will in fact be found that indictions are referred to as a means of dating mainly where the document is concerned with something affected by the indiction in the sense of tax declaration. Indiction years are thus used to identify periods of lease, crops and taxes.¹

The equation of regnal years and indictions quoted above suggests very strongly that the indiction year at this time ran from Thoth 1 to Epagomenai 5 (6), just as did the Egyptian civil year. (There is no reason to believe that the civil year ever was altered.) But of course it is always possible for one or two scribes to make an error or use loose language, and it is worth our while to establish the fact of this equivalence securely, in order that the discussion of the events of 327-328 in Chapter 3 may rest on firm ground. The equation between indiction and civil year during this cycle was stated by Kase,² and it is worth setting out the evidence briefly, restricting ourselves to the most illuminating documents:

(1) *P.Princ.Roll* 176 = viii.13 has a direct equation of the kind quoted above: εἰδ[ι]κτιῶ[ν]ος ὃ ἐ[σ]τιν κεS (i.e. 316/7). Cf. *supra*, p. 12, for more such examples.

(2) *P.Sakaon* 67.5 has another, less direct, equation in 322: [τοῦ] ἐνεστῶτος ις' (ἔτους) καὶ ιδ' (ἔτους) καὶ ζ' (ἔτους) δεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος (i.e. 321/2).

(3) In *P.Sakaon* 51, of Pachon 11 (6.v) 324, the komarchs of Theadelphia nominate *sitologoi* and *apaitetai* for the 12th indiction (323/4). It would be purposeless to nominate *sitologoi* if the harvest for which they were responsible had already ended. The harvest must be that of 324, which was just beginning.

(4) The 15th indiction (326/7) is spoken of as still present, ἐνεστῶση, on Pauni 30 (24.vi) 327 in *P.Sakaon* 72.10-11 (cf. *infra*, p. 18, for this text).

(5) The documents of this indiction cycle consistently show rent collected and taxes paid in the second of the two Julian years involved in the indiction. That is, the taxes of 316/7 were paid in the summer months of 317. A single instance of this phenomenon would not be probative, since one might be dealing with arrears, but we do not think that the consistent pattern is open to this reproach. Documents showing this pattern include *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.12-22, *P.Sakaon* 7, *P.Cair.Isid.* 61, and numerous receipts in *P.Princ.Roll* (the table on p. 5 is instructive); cf. also Kase's remarks (p. 30, n. 30) on *P.Oxy.* XVII 2114 (10.viii.316, reference to indiction 5 = 316/7).

(6) *P.Col.* VII 177 is a loan of money to be repaid in kind. It is made on 31 December 326, and it is specified that repayment will be made "on the appointed day in the month of Pauni from produce of the 15th indiction." The indiction in question was 326/7, and its Pauni fell in 327, in the second year of the two Julian years involved.

These texts establish that the harvest of an indiction during this first cycle came at its end; since the harvest and attendant deliveries of rent and taxes continued normally until the end of Mesore (with arrears afterwards, of course), it is clear that the statement of the papyri that the regnal year and the indiction year were identical is to be taken as accurate. That this is so is

¹ This usage can be seen in *P.Col.* VII 176 and 178. The former is a loan of wheat made on 8.ix.325: payment is promised ἐν μηνί Παῦνει τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἀπὸ γενήματος ιδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος. In both cases crops are concerned. Contrast *SB* XIV 11385, a loan of money: τῇ ἐνάτῃ τοῦ Παχ[ῶ]ν μ[ηνὸς] τῆς ἐσομέν[ης ὕ]πατίας.

² *P.Princ.Roll*, pp. 29-30, n. 30.

natural, for the virtual coincidence of the Egyptian New Year (29 or 30 August) with the September start of the indiction elsewhere in the empire must naturally have suggested to the government to make the indiction coincide with the Egyptian civil year in that country.³

³ Mention should be made here of the contention of Seeck (1916: 1330) that the texts now known as *CPR* XVIII 17a/17b demonstrate an indiction year ending in Pachon in 322. (He refers to these texts as *RhM* 62 [1907] 493 ff., where his full argumentation appears; a text of both copies appeared as *CPR* I 10; the first copy was then revised as *SPP* XX 80, and a text of the second copy appears in Seider 1967, no. 48.) The text is a sale of land which specifies that "anything demanded on account of past time up to the past year of the tenth indiction inclusive is to the charge of me the seller, but anything from the present year of the fortunate eleventh indiction for the future is to the charge of you the buyer because of your having the rents in kind and in cash" (lines 6-8: τῶν τούτων ζητούμενων ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεληλυθέντων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ διεληλυθότος ἔτους τῆς δεκάτης ἰνδικτίωνος καὶ αὐτῆς ὄντων πρὸς σοὶ (l. σέ) τὸν πωλοῦντα, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτους τῆς εὐτυχούς ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτίωνος ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον πρὸς σοὶ (l. σέ) τὸν ἀνούμ[ε]νον διὰ τὸ ἵνα σοὶ ἐκφόρια καὶ φόρους). The date is to the consulate of Licinius VI and Licinius Caesar II, Pauni 4 (29.v). Now this consulate, the start of the temporary era by future consuls, fell in 321; Kase's demonstration of this in *P.Princ.Roll*, pp. 32-36, is persuasive. This would then give indiction 11 (=322/3) as already started on Pauni 4, 321, which is nonsensical. Since Seeck placed the consulate in question in 322, he saw this text as evidence for a Pachon start in this year. This view is excluded, but a problem remains. Either the scribe mistook by two years the indiction number, or an entire phrase has been omitted after the consular date (i.e., τοῖς τὸ τρίτον μέλλουσιν ὑπάτοις or the like), and the consular date itself is given as if it were the consulate of the Licinii and not a postconsulate as in all other such texts; cf. *ZPE* 10 (1973) 121 ff. and *infra*, pp. 179-180. We cannot say which of these rather remarkable mistakes was the one made; Kase, *P.Princ.Roll*, pp. 35-36, thought that the consular date was erroneous. Cf. *CPR* XVIII 17a, *introd.*

The start of the indiction year in Constantinople is most recently discussed by Feissel 1984, arguing that at least until the 470s the starting date was 23 September.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
INDUCTION SYSTEM, 327 – CA. 380

In the cycle of 312 to 327, as we have seen, the indiction year was equated to the regnal year, so that the harvest came at the end of the indiction, which began with Thoth 1. During the following cycle a very different scheme was put into effect, whereby the year started in the early summer (we leave the question of an exact date aside for the moment). The following documents illustrate this change.

(1) *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2571 records the delivery of meat for the 12th indiction, 338/9, on Mesore 3 (27.vii) 338. The indiction year 12 may therefore reasonably be taken to have started before this date in this year.

(2) *P.Ant.* I 32 shows that indiction 13, 339/340, had already begun in June (so expressed on the verso; i.e., Pauni), 339.

(3) *P.Col.* VII 149 records deliveries of grain for indiction 14, 340/1, on Pauni 21 and 22 (15 and 16.vi) 340. The indiction had evidently already begun at that time.

(4) *P.Panop.* 19 iii.a.7 and viii.a.5 are dates in tax receipts of Mesore epagomenai 3 (26.viii) and Mesore 19 (12.viii), respectively, of 340 for indiction 14 (340/1) and 338 for indiction 12 (338/9).

(5) *PSI* X 1107 (=1106), dated to Pachon 1 (26.iv) 336, contains the nomination of the *sitologoi* for the 10th indiction, 336/7. It is unlikely that these officials would have been appointed a full year before their duties would have begun (with the harvest), and the 10th indiction therefore concerns the crop of 336.

(6) *P.Charite* 26 (4.v.341) reports the results of a reckoning-up of accounts of taxes for the 13th and 14th indictions. If the harvest of the 14th indiction were just beginning in May, 341, such a σύναρσις would have no meaning.

(7) *SB* XIV 11711 is a lease for dates and olives dated to Mecheir (January-February) 332 by the consuls. In it the lessee states that the lease is to run “for a four-year period, reckoning from the present month Mecheir of the 5th new indiction, and from the crops of the fortunate 6th new or 20th indiction.”¹ Indiction 5 was 331/2, 6, 332/3. Now it is axiomatic (and confirmed by every study of leases on papyrus) that a lease will not begin at a set date without including the next crop to be harvested.² That is, a lessee gets the first crop which he sows, usually the first

¹ This text raises other questions which are treated below, namely the equivalence $6 = 20$ (p. 17) and the term *νέα* *ινδικτικόν* (Chapter 5).

² On this point, see Herrmann 1958: 96-98, and Comfort 1934. As will be explained, we do not accept their theories concerning these documents and their indictions, but that does not change the validity of the demonstration on the subject of occupancy.

harvested after the start of the lease. In this case that must be the crop of 332. Since dates and olives were harvested just around the start of the civil year, however, this example takes force only from its conformity to the pattern of the preceding texts, where no such ambiguity arises.

Considering the small number of documents known between 327 and 342 which give us both unequivocal dates by the consuls and indiction numbers, this array is impressive. There is no evidence on the other side of the balance.³ But it is worthwhile remarking that evidence from the following cycle, 342 to 357, provides confirmation of the change. We cite two representative documents.

(1) *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 14 is a contract of Mesore 18 (11.viii) 343, in which surety is given for a ship captain undertaking to do his duty with regard to delivery of some already collected grain, ἀπὸ κανόνος β [ινδικτίων]ος. Since indiction 2 is 343/4, the harvest of the indiction and the assessment on it may be seen to have taken place already in 343.

(2) *P.Charite* 7 is a lease with rent in wheat, dated Phaophi 24 (22.x) 347, in which it is specified that the one year for which the lease is drawn includes the crops of indiction 7, with rent payable in Epeiph of that indiction. It is evident that the Epeiph in question is that of 348, so that indiction 7 (348/9) had already begun before Epeiph of 348.

As our examples so far concern dates from Pachon 1 and later dates, all evidently in a new indiction, we will speak for the moment of the indiction as starting with that date, a view we will defend in more detail later. We use it now as shorthand for the view that the indiction started early in the summer, by the harvest time—a view we consider adequately justified by the evidence cited above. Since scholars have often placed the harvest very early,⁴ it is worthwhile stating that *Pachon* was the chief harvest month, but that the wheat harvest continued in Pauni and Epeiph.⁵ The grain was not all threshed and ready for delivery as rent or taxes until Pauni and Epeiph; it is for this reason that these two months, especially Pauni, are those cited in leases as due dates for rents.⁶

With the fact of a change in the start of the indiction year firmly established, we must turn to inquire how and why this happened. We cannot give a conclusive answer to either question, but the probable explanations on the two counts can be set forth and argued. For the mechanics of the change, we turn to a series of documents in which we find two indictions equated in such a way

³ O. Seeck saw in *BGU* I 21, a declaration of officials at Prektis (Hermopolite) on Mesore 20 (13.viii) 340 of taxes collected in Pachon, Pauni, Epeiph and Mesore, evidence of a report on the last four-month period of the year in the form of *quadrimestrii breves*: see Seeck 1916: 1331. There is not, however, any mention of what the current indiction is, and a reference to indiction 13 in iii.2 is probably retrospective (see *CPR* XVIII, p. 66 n. 5: ὁ]ξους τῆς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ξ(εστῶν) ιβ), so that Seeck's conclusion involves begging the question of the start of the year. *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 12, two days later, has a new group of people in the same offices in the same village reporting individual assessments for the 14th indiction (340/1). If these two are connected, it is probable that we are dealing in *BGU* I 21 with the first of the *quadrimestrii breves* of 340/1 and not the last of 339/340 as Seeck thought. The remarks on this text in Karayannopoulos 1958: 189-190 rest on failure to comprehend it. For the situation in Prektis, cf. Bagnall-Worp, *CNBD* VIII: 38-44 (on p. 41, heading (3) of that article, "Ammonios and Teukes" is an error for "Ammonios and Herakles").

⁴ Many scholars have taken the end of harvest and the start of the rise of the Nile as the time of the indiction's beginning. See esp. F. G. Kenyon, *P.Lond.* I, p. 197. Cf. also Seeck 1916 and Bonneau 1964: 41.

⁵ For Pachon as the chief harvest month, see Schnebel 1925: 164. *P.Berl.Frisk* 5 (*SB* V 7519) refers to a crop still standing in the fields on Pachon 19, to be harvested in Epeiph. We treat the problem of the designation of crops in later centuries in detail in Chapter 4.

⁶ For julian dates of tax payments, see the tabulation of the Ptolemaic evidence in Packman 1968: Table 22.

that the difference between them is not the expected 15 but instead 14. These all come from the Hermopolite nome.⁷

(1) *P.Charite* 15.1-10 is a tax receipt for the crops of the 15 = 1 indiction and the 16 = 2 indiction, given on Pharmouthi 19 (14.iv) in a year for which there is no consular date. On prosopographical grounds, the date seems most likely to be 329; cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *P.Herm.Landl.*, Introd., § IV; cf. also our remarks in *APF* 30 (1984) 82.

(2) *SPP* II, p. 33, dated Mesore epagomenal day 1 (24.viii) 328 (by consuls), a lease, speaks of payment in Pauni and Epeiph of the coming (έσομένη) ιζ ητοι τρίτη[ς] ινδικτίονος (17 = 3 indiction). The summer of 329 is evidently meant.

(3) *SB* XIV 11885, lacking an absolute date, speaks of an άποδέκ[τ]ης χρυσοϋ συνωνής ιζ ητοι γ' ι[ν]δικτίονος, for prosopographical reasons probably to be assigned to 329, like the following item (cf. the list on *P.Harrauer*, p. 120).

(4) *P.Charite* 16 (26.x; consular date lacking) is a tax receipt concerning payment on the crop of the ιζ ητοι τρίτη[ς] ινδικτίωνος, that is 17 = 3.

(5) *SB* XIV 11711, described above, speaks of the coming year as that of indiction 6 = 20; this text is datable to 332, and it is speaking of 332/3.

(6) *P.Harrauer* 47 = *P.Horak* 12, a receipt for delivery of oil from 335 (by consuls) refers to the *delegatio* of the 9th = [23rd] indiction, i.e. the indiction covering 335/6.

It is unfortunate that three of these texts have no absolute date preserved; but it can be seen that three of them (nos. 2, 5, 6) certainly come from the cycle starting in 327, while the three others can be assigned to this same cycle with probability on prosopographical grounds (nos. 1, 3, 4). In fact, a relationship of two indictions in this fashion, with an x-y = 14 difference, is not attested for any other time than the start of the cycle of 327. It seems to us therefore justifiable to assign all of these texts to the same period.

One example of this kind might be dismissed easily as an error, as might even two. But with five examples (the sixth is partly restored), this option is excluded. This is the more true in that these form a substantial part of the documents bearing indictions and assignable to these years. We consider that one is compelled to bring this phenomenon into connection with the other change demonstrable for the cycle of 327-342, namely the change in the beginning of the year from Thoth 1 to Pachon 1. It is, in fact, apparent that such a change in the reckoning of the indiction year would have produced some dislocation, for the change must have been made at some point. The period Pachon-Mesore in some year must in some sense have been a change or overlapping point.

What conclusions may be drawn from the evidence marshalled above? First, by 24.viii.328, the coming year was described as 17 = 3. As two months are spoken of as belonging to this indiction, it is clear that a chronological sense is intended. Confirmation of this conclusion is provided by the gold receipt where we are given year 17 = 3 as the term of office of a liturgical official. By 14.iv.329, evidently, just before the harvest of 329, the two preceding years and crops were described as 15 = 1 and 16 = 2. It is a natural conclusion that this numbering was already in use at the time when we first encounter the equation 17 = 3, in 328. By 24.viii.328, in other words, it was established that the past indiction was 15 = 1, the present one 16 = 2, and the coming one 17 = 3. The language of *SPP* II, p. 33, moreover, shows that an indiction starting by Pauni was in use already at this time; in other words, that the characteristic early summer starting date of the indiction year in the cycle of 327-342 was already established in 328.

⁷ For the exclusion of *SPP* II, p. 34 from this list, cf. *ZPE* 26 (1977) 282.

The Hermopolite evidence does not, unfortunately, give us any indication of the state of things in 327, or how one moved from a 15th indiction of 29.viii.326-28.viii.327 to a 16 = 2 indiction of early summer 328 to early summer 329. For some further information, then, we turn to the still scantier evidence for these years from the Arsinoite nome. Two documents come into question:

(6) *P.Col.* VII 178, a lease, speaks of the harvest of 328 (and of Pauni) as those of indiction 16; the document is dated to 20.xii.327.

(7) *P.Sakaon* 72 is dated by the consuls to Pauni 30 (24.vi) 327. The contracting party promises σοὶ ἀποδώσω μηνὶ Θῶθ τῆς ἐνεστῶσης ὑπατείας τῇ ἐνεστῶσῃ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ ἰνδικτίονι. Thoth would indeed fall in the then-present consulate, but not in the present 15th indiction on the method of reckoning in use up to 327. It would seem that the scribe considered that indiction 15 was to be prolonged beyond the end of Mesore.

The Columbia text is susceptible of two interpretations. Either the scribe thought that 327/8 was indiction 16, using the old Thoth to Mesore year, or he was referring to a 16th year beginning in early summer, 328. Only the latter hypothesis, however, is compatible with the evidence of *P.Sakaon* 72.

To summarize: In the Hermopolite, by 24.viii.328 the scribes were using a system of reckoning whereby indiction 15 = 1, 16 = 2 and 17 = 3, with at least 17 = 3 and probably 16 = 2 starting in the early summer. In the Arsinoite, indiction 15 seems to have been prolonged beyond the end of Mesore, 327, and 16 probably began only in the early summer of 328. These two methods of expressing dates are compatible if one assumes simply that the Arsinoite 15 is the same as the Hermopolite 15 = 1, that 16 is the same as 16 = 2, etc. The dual numbering in the Hermopolite persisted until 9 [= 23] (*P.Harrauer* 47 = *P.Horak* 12), but it is not attested beyond that. Arsinoite evidence is rather scanty for this cycle, but the new numbering, equivalent to the second number in the Hermopolite usage, was in use before the end of the cycle (e.g., *P.Col.* VII 149).

It is possible, to be sure, to argue that any given document reflects scribal error, and final certainty cannot be claimed for a conclusion based on this limited evidence. But, as the evidence is all explainable by a single hypothesis, it would seem that the burden of proof would lie on anyone challenging the scribes' accuracy. It appears that sometime before 24.vi.327 the authorities announced that indiction 15 would be prolonged beyond 28.viii.327, when it normally would have ended, until a date at the start of the summer of 328; further, that it would be equated to indiction 1 of a new cycle. The combined indiction 15 = 1 would therefore run probably from Thoth, 326 until the end of Pharmouthi, 328, a period of 20 months. After that time, indiction 16 would start, equated to indiction 2. Scribes might continue to use the old numbering, or to use two numbers, both the old and the new. Given the regional distribution of the existing evidence, it is quite possible that these scribal variations reflect different orders from the local authorities. Future evidence may bring more light to this whole question, but we consider that the conclusions drawn above are as far as we can go for the present.

We must now try to explain this set of developments. We would wish to know why the beginning of the year was changed, why it was done in 327, and why a fifteen-year cycle was so firmly retained when it seems a bit awkward. Providing motives is anything but easy, of course; one can think of many but prove none. Still, some probabilities can be offered. It is reasonable to suppose that any such change rests on motives of fiscal advantage to the state; the indiction was in this time still largely a means of fiscal reckoning, as we have seen (and cf. p. 26, n. 15), and

that did not change in 327. Furthermore, later evidence from the fourth and other centuries shows that the traditional Egyptian year (regnal, but also computed according to Oxyrhynchite eras, cf. Chapter 7) was maintained for other purposes. Notable among these is the term of office of liturgical officials who are not directly connected to fiscal exactions, who continued to serve from Thoth to Mesore.⁸ We have sought explanations in the area of taxation, therefore, and we offer two of these as likely.

(1) Under the old system of reckoning, not all of the crops harvested in the same julian year—in the same growing season, in effect—were counted in the same indiction. We know that olives were harvested in October and the following months,⁹ while grapes for wine were harvested in August and September,¹⁰ and dates at about the same time.¹¹ All of these would thus be harvested partly or entirely at the start of the indiction following that in which the wheat crop, which was grown simultaneously with them, was harvested and accounted for. To an orderly bureaucratic mind, the unification of all harvests in the same indiction, in its first half, would have much to recommend it.

(2) A second motive involved in the change may have been a desire to reduce problems with arrears by placing the time when taxes were due early in the year rather than late in it. There is abundant testimony in the papyri of the problems created by the inevitable shortfall between the tax demanded and that collected in the months Pachon to Mesore. The effect, therefore, was that liturgical officials found their careers prolonged beyond the original period as a matter of course; under even the best of circumstances this was inevitable. To the bureaucratic mind, again, this situation was unpalatable, and we can hardly doubt that the liturgists were equally unhappy, for they might well be assigned a new liturgy with the start of a new civil year. With the start of the indiction year in Pachon, collectors would have a whole year before their term of office ended, in which to complete their duties. We have, unfortunately, no way of assessing whether the net time devoted to the liturgy actually declined. We can offer only the impressionistic opinion that the grain delivery receipts of *P.NYU* I and *P.Col.* VII show a far lower amount of arrearage than the documents concerned with Aurelius Isidoros' tenure of liturgies a couple of decades earlier. Whether special circumstances were operative in the case of Isidoros we cannot say.

Even if it is granted that these motives are sufficient (and we believe that their appeal to the bureaucratic mind should not be underestimated), one must ask why the change was effected only in 327 and not earlier. Why did the government wait until the end of a fifteen-year cycle to change? Two mutually contradictory answers suggest themselves to us:

(1) There was no notion at all of a fifteen-year cycle until the government decided to make the change, and the length of the cycle up to the change became the standard. Perhaps the fifteen-year standard was not really set until 342, hence the predominance of the 16th indiction in texts of that year (cf. pp. 41–42 below).

⁸ *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2715 is a nomination to liturgy dated Thoth 1 (29.viii, not 30 as ed.) 386. The liturgy is ναυτικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν δημοσίων πλοίων πλατυπηγίων ἐφ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἓνα ἀπὸ νευμηνιας Θῶθ ἕως Μεσορῆ ἐπαγομένων πέμπτῃς καὶ αὐτῆς πέμπτῃς τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτ[ο]υς ξγ' λβ' τῆς ἐνεστώση[ς π]εντεκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονο[ς] (similar phrasing in *PSI* X 1108). We have not found evidence to show if this practice was in use in places other than Oxyrhynchus.

⁹ Schnebel 1925: 308–311; he notes that the harvest goes on for several months, with the bulk of it in October to November, but some as late as January.

¹⁰ Schnebel 1925: 275–276.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 297–298; the date depended on the variety, and some may have been harvested later. Comfort 1934: 443 n. 3, cites *P.Oxy.* XIV 1632.21n. for a date in Hathyr (November).

(2) The government (or the emperor) had a fixed notion that the cycle was to be fifteen years long, and it offended their sensibilities to disturb a cycle in its middle; far better to wait for a neat dividing place. One thinks of the parallel of the decision of Augustus to wait until the Egyptian New Year in 30 B.C. to declare the Ptolemaic kingdom at an end and his own rule at a start.¹² If there was not this fixed idea of a fifteen-year cycle, why the cumbersome double numbering, the precautions to make sure that the new cycle was really fifteen years later than the old one even though only fourteen harvests intervened?

The reader will have perceived that we do not consider either of these hypotheses demonstrable. And we must remember that our areas of ignorance allow for many other purely hypothetical answers to be formulated. It is even doubtful if more evidence in the future will do much to illuminate thinking at the exalted levels where this sort of decision must have been made.

We have remarked above that the cycle which began in 342 continued the practices that we have described for the cycle of 327-342. It will be useful here to set forth the documents of 342 and later which use double indiction numbers, which show consistently a difference of fifteen rather than the fourteen we found in the documents of 328-332.

(1) *SPP* II, p. 34, a receipt of 7.vii.343 concerning transportation charges on the crop of the 17th = 2nd new indiction (343/4).¹³

(2) *P.Panop.* 19 vi.c.2, a tax receipt of 9.ix.342 for χρυσὸς τελωνικός of the 16th = 1st new indiction (342/3).

(3) *O.Mich.* I 215, in which a tax receipt of 7.viii.342¹⁴ is given for the 16th indiction (342/3); a third hand has remarked "1st new (indiction)" at the bottom.

(4) *P.Charite* 7, a lease application of 22.x.347, specifies that the rent is to be paid in Epeiph of the 7th new = 22nd indiction (348/9).

(5) *BGU* IV 1092, a lease with rent in wheat and barley on 1.ix.372 for the sowing of the 16th = 1st indiction and crop of the 2nd (i.e. sowing in winter 372 for crops of summer 373).

(6) *P.Lond.* V 1648, a nomination to liturgy from 373 (no month date), in which the eirenarch nominates various dike officials τῆς [εὐτυ]χῶς εἰσιούσης 1[ζ] ἢ τ[οι] β' νέας ἰνδικ(τίωνος), ἀ[να]βάσεως καρ[π]ῶν τῆς εὐτυχοῦς [1η] ἦτοι γ' ἰνδικ(τίωνος) (text is of 1648; the restorations are securely made from the preserved text in the duplicate 1822 and the parallel 1649), i.e. starting with the flood of summer, 373, which fertilized the ground for the crops of 374. (*P.Flor.* III 346.4 perhaps reflects the same phenomenon.)

We turn now to the question of the start of the indiction year. The evidence cited above shows clearly that the harvest came at the start of the indiction in the period after 342 (as in the preceding cycle from 327). We must now inquire further whether the starting point was fixed or movable in the middle fourth century. The evidence cited thus far offers no real indications incompatible with either answer, although it demonstrates that the indiction began as early as Pachon 1 on at least some occasions. We now present three arguments which to us suggest a fixed start on Pachon 1 in this period.

¹² Skeat 1953: 98-100; cf. Skeat 1993.

¹³ Cf. *ZPE* 26 (1977) 282 for the reading. It is interesting that all explicit equations of indictions (16 = 1, for example) come from Upper Egypt; we cannot say what the significance of this fact is. The implicit equation of 16 and 1 new in *O.Mich.* I 215 (item 3 in this list), however, shows that such equations were made in the Arsinoite as well, even if they were not expressed in the same fashion.

¹⁴ See *P.Col.* VII 143-165, introd. for the date.

(1) The argument that such a remarkable phenomenon as a fluctuating beginning of the fiscal year existed in the fifth to seventh centuries¹⁵ is based mainly on the use of ἀρχῆ and τέλει with the indiction numbers in documents dating largely to the summer. Regardless of the merits of the theory for later times (discussed in Chapter 4) it is striking that no such use of these words is found in any documents certainly of the period before A.D. 400; this to us suggests that there is no positive argument in favor of a movable indiction in the fourth century.¹⁶ It may also be pointed out that the other feature underlying the later argument is the occurrence of dates to the old indiction dated between Pachon and Thoth; no such dates occur in the documents between 328 and the last quarter of the fourth century.

(2) The receipts for delivery of grain to the river harbors by farmers of Karanis¹⁷ from indictions 13 (339/340) to 4 (345/6) are numerous enough and sufficiently complete for some individual payers that they can contribute to our analysis. In these years the large-scale delivery of grain, evidently on current account, starts sometimes in Pachon (otherwise in Pauni), grows greatly in Pauni, continues and becomes heaviest by far in Epeiph, and declines but remains heavy in Mesore and Thoth, after which it falls off to low levels for the winter. The delivery of grain to the harbor thus becomes significant each year in Pachon or Pauni. The delivery must follow the actual harvest, which was held mainly in Pachon but began often in Pharmouthi, and went on at least until Epeiph. Since the crops are always called those of the indiction beginning in the early summer, it is likely that the indiction in fact began at a time such that it would encompass all months in which one could speak of a largely harvested crop. That indicates the early part of Pachon as a start.

(3) There was a very clear predilection in Egypt for dividing the year into three parts of four months each. This was, of course, the seasonal division of the ancient Egyptian year, winter (in our period, Tybi to Pharmouthi), summer (Pachon to Mesore), and inundation (Thoth to Choiak), and the basis of the calendar in Egyptian texts. It was, moreover, adopted by the Romans for administrative purposes, whether referring to Egyptian months or to Roman ones, and whether the year was the Egyptian civil year, the Julian year, or the indiction. For example, *P.Lips.* I 97.7 speaks of the [α τετρ]αμήνου τῆς ἐνεστώσης ὑπατείας, which in fact is Tybi to Pharmouthi, the rough equivalent of January to April. In *P.Lond.* V 1663.20-21, *SB* V 8028, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67320.A.3 and 67321.A.9-10, and *P.Erl.* 55.8-9, we find reference to the four month period involving Roman months and based on the Constantinopolitan indiction (these are all from the sixth century). We have already cited (*supra*, n. 3) the list of tax collections in *BGU* I 21 which covers Pachon, Pauni, Epeiph and Mesore; by comparison with *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 12 (*cf. supra*, n. 3), we are inclined to think that this is the first four-month period of the fourteenth indiction (340/1). A shift from Thoth 1 to Pachon 1 would equal a shift of one season, a very orderly arrangement.

We recognize that none of these arguments is conclusive, but we consider that individually and together they point to a fixed date at the start of Pachon for the start of the indiction year after 328, and that no evidence indicates a movable start.

¹⁵ See below, Chapter 4, for a discussion of this supposed fluctuation.

¹⁶ To be sure, an ἀρχῆ occurs in *P.NYU* 8 and 10, but the context is not at all the same as in the later documents, and the word is not used in the same way. In another context, also not like the later dating formulas, *P.Stras.* V 316 has lost the month name which is apparently said to be the ἀρχῆ. For *CPR* V 8, where τέλει does not occur, see *ZPE* 26 (1977) 272-278.

¹⁷ Published examples are *P.NYU* 5-11a, *P.Mich.* XII 648-649, and *SB* X 10729. A large number appear in *P.Col.* VII 143-165, where a full discussion of their form, contents and distribution is found.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INDICTION YEAR

Very early in the history of papyrology it became the common belief that the indiction year started at a date which was changed, or at least changeable, each year; or, in other words, that the Egyptian indiction by contrast to the Constantinopolitan was a movable indiction. Through the decades this tenet became, as we have already noted, an accepted dogma of papyrology. It has, to be sure, the merit of allowing the editor of a papyrus to find a refuge from the difficulties which dating formulas of documents sometimes present. It is, however, not specifically supported by the evidence, and it has some important objections against it. These objections are both general and specific.

The most important problem with the entire conception of the movable indiction, as Kenyon pointed out many years ago,¹ is its extreme inconvenience. One must keep in mind that the indiction system was devised as an instrument of fiscal administration and that this remained its primary function throughout the period with which we are concerned. The persons primarily interested in the system, in other words, were financial officials in the government: bureaucrats. It is contrary both to sense and to the example of all other governments to suppose that for bureaucrats it is a convenient system *not* to know until shortly before it happens when the financial year will end or begin. On the contrary, financial administrations by their nature demand regularity. If we are to assert that an administration deliberately created a system which would have given it much trouble, we must have a very convincing body of evidence which cannot be explained by any hypothesis involving a regular start.

In fact, that evidence is in no way convincing. The argument for the movable indiction rests on two complementary bodies of evidence. The first of these is the substantial number of texts in which a month and day (or month alone) date is qualified by one of the words ἀρχῆ and τέλει, "at the beginning" and "at the end" of an indiction. Although some scholars very early concluded that these phrases could not mean that the very day mentioned was the first or last of the indiction,² almost all took such phrases to mean that the start or finish of a year lay in close proximity to the date given. That is, if one papyrus speaks of Pachon 1 as ἀρχῆ and another of Pachon 20 as τέλει, in referring to two different years, one may conclude that in the first one the year had begun by Pachon 1, and in the second that it did not begin until after Pachon 20. The second body of evidence is the group of papyri in which a new indiction has clearly begun before a date at which in another text it had not yet ended. The movable indiction is, no doubt, on the

¹ *P.Lond.* I, p. 197.

² Wilcken, *Hermes* 19 (1884) 295 argued, without much evidence, that the exact day probably was meant, but he himself discarded this idea in *Hermes* 21 (1886) 279-280. Cf. the convincing arguments of Kenyon (*supra*, n. 1).

surface the simplest explanation of these phenomena. But when the implications of the principle are explored, it becomes apparent that there are serious problems. It is, indeed, possible to assert that such terminology reflects instead a situation in which more than one system of reckoning was in use; such was Goodrich's conclusion (1937: 22-28), and such, in a somewhat different way, is ours. For the moment it suffices to deny that such phrases *must* bear the meaning which was given to them by virtually every scholar since Wilcken and Wessely first discussed the problem in the 1880s.

Before passing on, we should deal with a possible variant interpretation of ἀρχῆ and τέλει. Could these terms mean simply that a given date falls in the first or last part of an indiction and are added to avoid ambiguity? In a system of movable indictions, after all, a given date might fall now in the end, now in the start of the indiction, and even twice in one indiction. On this hypothesis, these terms would not refer specifically to the last part of the indiction, but to any period within which variation was possible. This theory was suggested by Kenyon in *P.Lond.* I, p. 197, but he rejected it himself on the grounds that it would then be necessary *always* to add these words whenever a date was given within the limits of variation. We can point out further that if one adopted this interpretation, serious problems would arise with the actual data concerning the use of these terms in the papyri, as will appear from our discussion below.

The occurrences of ἀρχῆ and τέλει known to us, so far as they are sufficiently preserved to afford material for discussion, are listed in Appendix A, and it is on the basis of these lists that we will form our argument. Texts with ἀρχῆ range from Pachon 1 to Pharmouthi 28, in other words, the entire year. If we suppose that the year might begin anywhere over this period, the irregularity of the system becomes astonishing, and motives for it increasingly difficult to find. Indeed, most of those who accepted the movable indiction rather arbitrarily limited their defined range within which the indiction could move, generally taking Pauni as the normal month and Pachon and Epeiph as the extreme limits.³ Such limitations are sometimes given tacitly, without examination of the evidence—arbitrarily, one might say—and sometimes explicitly, as in the case of Kenyon, who coped with the uncomfortable evidence relating to Mesore by the notion that the year was loosely divided into two halves, one called ἀρχῆ and the other τέλει, and that at any point within the half the relevant term might appear.⁴ This hypothesis in itself has no logical foundation, and indeed, it undermines the very argument for a movable indiction. One must indeed acknowledge that *no* answer to the question of the indiction will eliminate every anomaly from the texts; but to accept the movable indiction, one must not only denounce the relatively few examples from Thoth and following months as blunders (scribes did, after all, make blunders sometimes, as we shall see), but also dismiss the large series of dates in Mesore in the same manner. It was perhaps not entirely illogical to proceed in this manner with the very limited evidence available to Kenyon, but it is not a tenable position with the extensive material available today. Similar logic, however, apparently lies at the root of the tacit ignoring of these dates by later scholars.⁵ In fact, dates even to Thoth and following months are capable of a reasonable explanation, as we shall see (pp. 30-34). With τέλει, the range of dates is similarly wide, from

³ For example, Grumel 1958: 193 (May to July); Seeck 1916: 1330 (some at the end of Pachon, mostly Pauni and Epeiph); Gardthausen 1913: 459-460, gives more of an idea of the range; Bataille 1955: 45-46 (end of Pachon to Epeiph).

⁴ *P.Lond.* I, p. 198.

⁵ Who had, moreover, the list of Hohmann 1911: 40-41, where Mesore has in fact the largest list of texts with ἀρχῆ.

(one text has no known provenance, but not one is assignable to any other origin)¹¹ and may consequently be regarded as indicative of a local habit in expressing dates; the implications are discussed further below, pp. 30-32.

In the Thebaid (the examples are mainly Antinoopolite, Antaiopolite and Hermopolite), we find an entirely different situation. Here ἀρχή appears very commonly in Pachon, less frequently in Pauni and Epeiph, and barely at all after that. This distribution, in fact, led J. Maspero to conclude that in the sixth century the indiction started in this region in early Pachon.¹²

In starting to construct a theory of the indiction which takes this evidence into account, we do not start from the assumption that all regional differences in means of expressing date indicate entirely different actual indiction systems; this is a possibility, but we know from many other areas of papyrology that a difference of formula may occur in the local execution of the same basic operation.

It was argued in Chapter 3 that the evidence from the fourth century after 327 points to a beginning of the indiction in Pachon; at least, the crop harvested then is reckoned as that of the new indiction, tax payments made from Pachon 1 on are ascribed to the new indiction, and the operations in the months of Pachon, Pauni and Epeiph are consistently spoken of in leases and loans as belonging to the coming indiction. Now it is striking that no example of ἀρχή in the type of phrase we have discussed here occurs in a text datable before AD. 400; *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203, A.D. 400, is the earliest with a precise date.¹³ It is possible that *P.Oxy.* X 1280 (cf. Appendix A, n. 15) and *SPP* XX 108 (Arsinoite) belong to the fourth century; if so, in our judgment, they belong to its last quarter. In the case of τέλει, the situation is different: the earliest datable example is *SPP* XX 128 of A.D. 487.¹⁴ The earliest datable example of ἀρχή in the Arsinoite or Herakleopolite is *P.Amh.* II 148, also from A.D. 487. It must therefore be taken as probable that the system indicated by the use of ἀρχή in the Thebaid (e.g., *P.Berl.Zill.* 5, A.D. 417) and in the Oxyrhynchite is earlier and not connected to the development which led to the adoption of the ἀρχή/τέλει system in the Fayyum, although these systems have an obvious underlying connection. The use of all these terms is clearly not linked to the shift to an early summer (Pachon) indiction in 327, but arises at a later time, perhaps when the indiction actually starts to be used more commonly for dating documents. In connection with this, it may be pointed out that it is not until the 350s (earliest example in a real dating clause is 355, *P.Oxy.* IV, p. 202; but cf. *P.Stras.* I 9, A.D. 352) that the indiction starts to be used more generally for dating.¹⁵ It is not

¹¹ For instances of the x+1 pattern, see Appendix A, notes 6, 16, 30, 35, 40, 44, 50-56, and 60, all Oxyrhynchite; the text at n. 28 has no known provenance.

¹² He expresses this opinion on numerous occasions, e.g., *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67137.13n., 67158.2, 27n.

¹³ *P.Rain.Cent.* 136, dated by the editor to the 6th century on palaeographical grounds, has been assigned to the years 347-355 by K. Maresch (see *BL* 10.165). It is dated Pachon 20, ἀρχ(ῆς) [sic] εἰς ἰβδ(ικτίωνος). Maresch argues that the price of gold indicated by the papyrus (via a price for a semmissis, a half-solidus) points to the middle of the 4th century, and that in that century the semmissis was minted only in the years 347-355 (at Antioch). Fractions of the solidus like the tremissis and carat do not appear in 4th-century papyri, however, nor do we think the palaeography can be dismissed so easily. We have therefore rejected this date.

¹⁴ There are others dated by their editors on palaeographical grounds to the fifth century: *SB* I 5681, *SPP* XX 195 = VIII 970, *SPP* VIII 804, but these dates of Preisigke and Wessely must be taken as very uncertain. (*SB* I 5681 is certainly wrongly dated, see Appendix A, n. 70; *ZPE* 134 [2001] 176; *SPP* XX 112, also dated early by Wessely, is certainly a sixth-century text at the earliest, cf. *BL* 7.262.)

¹⁵ Note also that the earliest example of indictional dating in the Theodosian code is, according to Goodrich 1937: 19, *Cod.Theod.* 12.12.2, of 15.i.356. It is possible that private correspondence (as opposed to formal legal texts) began to use the indiction for dating well before mid-century; if the editor's dates for many of the texts in the archive published in *CPR* VI 12-71 are correct, this would be attested as early as 322. See Worp 1987 on the varied pace at which the indiction was adopted in different nomes for dating.

until the last quarter of the fourth century that such dates become at all common. The comparative scarcity of late fourth and fifth century documents, however, makes it impossible for us to provide any detailed sketch of the early development of the use of indictional reference in true dating clauses. Let us hope that future publications will remedy this gap.

A capital document for our inquiry is the edict of Theodosius and Valentinian preserved in *Cod.Theod.* 11.5.3. We quote the text:

Cum omnis hoc Aegyptiaci tractus possessoribus conducibile videatur, ut ante kal. Mai. praedelegatio manifestetur in locis, ne per ignorantiam conlatores ad anni prioris exemplum ante delegationem missam ea cogantur exsolvere, quae postmodum indebita missa delegatione forsitan provocavit eventus; scriniariis videlicet sedis excelsae modis omnibus ordinata salubriter impleturis, ita ut Augustaliani officii et cohortalis et defensoris discrimine in locis celeberrimis per dimenstruum tempus ad omnium perveniat notionem.

Since this appears to be advantageous to the holders of the entire district of Egypt, let a preliminary tax schedule be published locally before the calends of May, lest the taxpayers through ignorance be compelled to pay, on the precedent of the preceding year, that which the outcome later may perhaps challenge, when the tax schedule has been sent. In all particulars the bureau clerks of your exalted office shall fulfill Our salutary orders, so that at the risk of the office staff of the augustal prefect and of the office staff of the governor and of the *defensor civitatis* this ordinance shall come to the knowledge of all, by being posted for a period of two months in the most frequented places.¹⁶

This edict, dated to 4 June 436, distinguishes the *praedelegatio* and the *delegatio*. The *praedelegatio* (Gr. προδηληγάτων) is to be published by the calends of May, or in the Egyptian calendar, Pachon 6. This date is certainly chosen, as the edict itself says, because the taxpayers must then start paying their taxes, and if they do not know what rates they are to pay, they will not be able to be sure that they are not paying too much (or too little, for that matter). A comparison of *P.Lips.* I 64 (*W.Chr.* 281), dated to 368, shows that the imperial edict aimed at correcting a real difficulty. In the letter occupying lines 10-21 of this papyrus, the *praeses* of the Thebaid instructs officials to start collecting λόγου ναύλου θαλασσίων πλοί(ων) ἰβ ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ἀπροκρίτως ἄχρις τῆς ἀποστελλομένης δηληγατίωνος κατὰ τὸν τύπον τ[ῆ]ς ια ἰνδικ(τίωνος) ("on account of the charge for maritime transportation for the 12th indiction without prejudice, until the dispatch of the schedule, according to the schedule for the 11th indiction"). Precisely what the emperors forbade in 436 is thus seen happening in 368, the collection of taxes on the basis of the preceding year's schedule.

Now 1 May corresponds exactly to Pachon 6; but we have seen above (p. 21) on the basis of *P.Lips.* I 97 that there was a tendency to equate Egyptian and Roman months, so that Pachon and May would be equated. And we have seen already that tax payments begin with the start of Pachon in the fourth century documents. From 1 May (or Pachon 1), then, one can meaningfully speak of the newly harvested crops and currently collected taxes as belonging to the new indiction. Both fourth-century practice and the edict, then, indicate that the meaning of speaking of a new indiction in Pachon is that the start of tax-collection comes then. Before the edict of 436, such collections were evidently made on the basis of the previous year's *delegatio*, if the new one had not yet been issued; after 436, the issuance of the *praedelegatio* by 1 May would

¹⁶ The translation is based on that in C. Pharr, ed., *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton 1952) 298; but we translate the phrase *ad anni prioris exemplum* differently; it is the use of a prior year's assessment as the basis for tax payments which is the root of the potential abuse attacked here, cf. *infra*.

make it possible for tax-collection to proceed on the basis of an approximate schedule for the new indiction, which would be used until the new *delegatio* was sent. When this would be, the emperors do not say, and we can leave that subject aside for a moment.¹⁷ It is evident that it was very late in 368, but as the exact date of these letters is not stated, we cannot be more precise.

The date 1 May is of some interest; H. Cadell has argued on the basis of official correspondence found at Aphrodite that the indiction year began in the early eighth century on Pachon 6 = 1 May;¹⁸ and since it is not likely that the Arabs would have introduced such a date keyed to the Roman calendar, this system probably goes back at least to the first half of the seventh century.¹⁹ Once one has accepted that a movable indiction is not necessary, one may suppose that at least the first of these, taken with the evidence above, points to a regular start of the indiction on 1 May, at least for the sixth and seventh centuries.

It must be said at once, however, that this conclusion cannot be accepted in such a simple form, for the number of documents which would stand in contradiction to it is so large as to preclude the possibility of dismissing them as errors, including the Arsinoite distribution discussed above. Another edict of the same emperors from 28 August of the same year (436) (*Cod.Theod.* 11.5.4 = *Cod.Just.* 10.17.2) provides:

Particulari delegationum notitia ante indictionis exordium singulis transmissa provinciiis conlationis modum a possessoribus multo ante prospectum devotioni solitae, non subitis calumniis tua sublimitas faciat imputari ut et provincialibus subeundi dispendia necessitas auferatur et officiis ingerendi damna licentia denegetur.

Before the beginning of the indiction Your Sublimity shall send specific notice of the tax levies to each separate province; you shall provide that the measure of the tax payment shall be foreseen far in advance by the landholders, and thus accounted to their customary devotion rather than to unforeseen chicanery. Thus the necessity for the provincials to undergo any losses shall be removed, and the license to inflict such losses shall be denied to the office staffs.²⁰

Now this edict, unlike the other one, deals with all provinces. But we have no reason to doubt that it was applicable to Egypt as well, and it is consonant with the other edict. What is new here is the statement that the start of the indiction follows upon the *delegatio*, which in turn follows at a considerable distance the *praedelegatio*. In other words, while 1 May was the deadline for the publication of the *praedelegatio* and hence the start of the indiction from the point of view of

¹⁷ Gothofredus, XI, 1 paratitlon and p. 64 (in *Cod.Theod.*, ed. 2 of Ritter, IV, Leipzig 1740) took the mention of a two-month period in *Cod.Theod.* 11.5.3 to refer to the posting of the *praedelegatio* for two months before 1 May, i.e., on 1 March; but it is clear that the period referred to is connected to the posting of the present decree, not of the *praedelegatio*. In any event, the two months would have to follow the date, not precede it.

¹⁸ *RechPap* 4 (1967) 138-160.

¹⁹ It is worth mentioning in this connection *SPP* III 302 = *XX* 215.4, which reads Παχών ζ ἡ(μέρα) β ἰνδ(ικτίονος) τγ, "Pachon 7th, day 2 of the 13th indiction." (For the reading cf. *BL* 7.264.) That this refers to the second day of the week (Monday) rather than the second day of the indiction is suggested by the parallel to this phrase in *Lef.* 80, where one reads the date as μνι Τὸβι ἡμέρα β τῆς εἰ ἰνδ(ικτίονος). The facsimile in Crum, *Coptic Monuments*, pl. xxxii, cited by Lefebvre, confirms this reading. That 18 or 19 January should be the second day of an indiction seems very unlikely on any hypothesis. That this refers to the day of the week was already suggested by M. Chaîne, "La chronologie de quelques inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte," *JSOR* 10 (1926) 293-299, esp. 296-297; Chaîne comes to the conclusion that the text may date from 717, 762 or 807. The order of the numerals is unusual for Egypt; cf. B. Kramer, *APF* 43 (1997) 332. For weekdays see Appendix K.

²⁰ The translation is by C. Pharr (*supra*, n. 16).

taxation, in the imperial scheme of things the indiction proper (in a chronological sense) was marked by the *delegatio* itself, the final tax schedule. In the rest of the empire, this date was 1 September; but since we do not have the date of the *praedelegatio* for other provinces, we cannot automatically assert that this would also be the date in Egypt, where the harvest came earlier than in other areas. We do not even know if there was a *praedelegatio* in other provinces.

Before proceeding further to attempt to establish the date by which the *delegatio* had to be published in Egypt, that is, the start of the indiction properly speaking, it will be useful to establish the fact that the indiction of Constantinople, that of 1 September, was known and used in some official circumstances in Egyptian documents. It is principally from Aphrodite papyri that this conclusion may be reached, notably from *P.Lond.* V 1663, where January to April are said to be the second *quadrimestrium* of the present 13th indiction; September to December would therefore be the first.²¹ A similar situation is found in *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67321 and *SB* V 8028,²² where we read (ii.17-19) μηνὸς [Μ]αίου [κ]αὶ Ἰ[ου]νίου τῆς τρι[σκ]αιδεκάτης ἐνδ(ικτίονος), ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἰουλίου κ[αὶ] Αὐγ[ού]στου [κ]ατὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίους τῆς αὐτῆς τρισκαίδεκάτης [ἐ]νδ(ικτίονος) κατὰ δὲ [Αἰ]γυπτίους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης ἐπιμεμή[σεως] ("in the months of May and June of the thirteenth indiction, and for July and August, by Roman reckoning of the same thirteenth indiction, but by Egyptian reckoning of the fourteenth indiction"). In column i, where this phrase is largely restored, it is followed by ἀκολουθῶς τῆ καταπεμφθεῖσθαι θείᾳ δηλῆσθαι καὶ τῆ ὑποταγμένη γνώσει. A phrase similar to this last is found also (better preserved) in *BGU* III 836. In *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032.29-30 (= *Jur.Pap.* 52), on the other hand, the month of June is said to belong still to the 14th indiction, but already to the 15th Egyptian; but as this is a private contract, not an official document, and the Egyptian party comes from Upper Egypt, the 1 May indiction (cf. *infra*, p. 30) is what we would expect.

A second phenomenon which points to the use of an indiction ending in Mesore or August is the large number of papyri in which only the assumption of such a custom allows reconciliation of the indiction number with the other data given, such as consulates or regnal years. A list of these is given in Appendix B.I. In all, 38 such texts are listed. Now an important caveat is in order here, namely that blunders by scribes in using consulates and regnal years in Byzantine papyri and even in the fourth century are not rare. By "blunders" we refer to those texts in which no system or theory can provide a date which satisfies both or all of the chronological indices given by the scribe. We do not (unlike for example, the editor of *P.Princ.* III 154) consider the indiction the probable source of error in such cases. "Errors" in the use of the era of Diocletian are treated in Chapter 8; many of the rest are probably due to failure to advance regnal years at the right time or to indicate a postconsulate properly (cf. Chapter 9). The existence of this mass of demonstrable error makes it possible that any given document in which a date after 1 May is still ascribed to the old indiction could be dismissed as yet another error. But the quantity of texts involved seems to us to forbid this course for the body of evidence as a whole. If, moreover, one tabulates the geographical origins of the documents in question, significant results emerge:

²¹ See the editor's introduction. There is a question in this text of a *praedelegatio*, but the fragmentary nature of the text makes it difficult to know what the connection of this to the indiction already in progress is. In all likelihood, it refers to the preliminary tax schedule for the Egyptian indiction which was about to begin in May. Cf. the similar *P.Erl.* 55 and *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67320 and 67321. Cf. Mitthof 2001: 550-554, nos. 188 and 190, with commentary.

²² For the provenance of this papyrus, cf. *BGU* XII, p. xviii, n. 10.

Oxyrhynchite	30	(A.D. 484-621)
Herakleopolite	5	(A.D. 478-630)
Hermopolite	2	(A.D. 410-432)
Arsinoite	1	(A.D. 439)

Faced with this lopsided distribution (even when one considers the numbers of papyri known from various points), we are led to suppose that we are dealing with an Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite phenomenon, and that the other texts are at least partly to be classed as errors of the sort described above (cf. below, pp. 34-35). At any rate, non-Oxyrhynchite/Herakleopolite examples are so rare as to be aberrations compared with the mass of material, while such documents from Oxyrhynchus are so common as to constitute not only a class, but the normal rule in that place. It is logical to suppose, therefore, that it was common in Oxyrhynchus and Herakleopolis to date documents by an indiction year starting on Thoth 1 (or 1 September).

From the information given above, we think it is possible to construct a new theory of the indiction system in Egypt. The crucial element of this explanation is the consideration of the question for each separate place. The evidence allows us to make an argument for four areas: (1) the Thebaid, by which we refer to the Hermopolite and all to its south; (2) Oxyrhynchus and its nome; (3) the Arsinoite nome; and (4) the Herakleopolite nome. Evidence is almost entirely lacking from other areas of the valley, i.e., the rest of Middle Egypt, and there is nothing from the Delta. For the scanty documentation from Alexandria and Memphis, which although insufficient to support any theory appears to point to the use of Pachon 1, see *infra*, p. 34. In describing a given system as characteristic of one of these three areas, we do not mean to say that it was current only there, merely that our present evidence allows such conclusions to be drawn only for this locality.

(1) *Thebaid*: All classes of documents from the Thebaid regularly use an indictional year beginning in Pachon, whether Pachon 1 or 1 May was used. There is virtually no evidence for any other means of reckoning in this area, and the use of ἀρχὴ in documents to indicate that the new indiction had started begins with Pachon 5. A handful of documents from circles oriented to Constantinople (i.e., the army and high administration) indicate awareness of, and use for military purposes of, the Constantinopolitan or Thoth indiction, but in the populace at large and in the local administration it is the date in Pachon which is always used. All the same, the edict of the *praeses* quoted above (*P.Lips.* I 64) shows that he was aware that properly speaking the Egyptian indiction began, chronologically, on 1 July, by which time the *delegatio* was supposed to have been sent. But the date of the *praedelegatio*, 1 May, was nonetheless used even in official circles. Here, as throughout Egypt, crops and taxes are reckoned on the basis of the *praedelegatio*; that is, the harvest and taxes after 1 May are numbered according to the new indiction, the *praedelegatio* of which had just been issued.

(2) *Oxyrhynchite*: It has already been noted above that the pattern of distribution of dates with ἀρχὴ from the Oxyrhynchite is markedly different from that in the Thebaid or in the Arsinoite. There are two other distinctive characteristics of the Oxyrhynchite use of the indiction that together show that at a certain point this nome adopted for chronological reckoning an indiction year running from Thoth 1 to Mesore epagomenai 5(6), i.e., the traditional Egyptian civil year. The first of these is the systematic equation of first regnal years, and then era years, to the indiction. It was certainly on the basis of the civil year that the Oxyrhynchite eras, which were locally more important than the indiction for dating purposes, were reckoned (see Chapter 7). The formulation of these equations varies, but in its simplest form it runs "the year nn/nn of the nth indiction" (τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ... τῆς .. ἰνδικτιῶνος). It is true that no language explicitly

equating them is introduced; the indiction always simply follows in the genitive the statement of the year, also in the genitive. But the close association of the two certainly creates a presumption that the two run parallel, and in two of the earliest examples (*PSI* X 1108 [381] and *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2715 [386]) the phrase refers to a liturgical chronological year, from Thoth to Mesore.

That presumption can be tested by examining the documents in which the date falls into the period from Pachon to Mesore. The era and indiction always refer to the same pair of julian years in the case of the documents dated between Thoth and Pharmouthi, but that would be true regardless of the starting date of the indiction. The test leaves out of account, for the moment, documents in which ἀρχή occurs, because the presence of that term suggests a deliberate desire to signal a distinction. Unfortunately, the number of documents actually usable for our test is small, as leases tended to be entered into in Thoth or one of the succeeding fall months. The documents in which all of the chronological indications can be reconciled on the assumption of an indiction beginning in Thoth are *P.Oxy.* VII 1041 (381), *P.Harr.* I 149 (444), and *P.Oxy.* XVI 1983 (535). In addition, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1958 (19.viii.476) should probably be counted in that camp, on the likely assumption that the phrase τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους 153 122 τῆς εὐτυχούσας [πε]ντεκαίδεκα[άτης] ἰνδικτιόνοσ intends to describe both the year and the indiction as future. The documents favoring a start in Pachon are *SB* IV 7445 (382) and *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4681 (419). A vote of 3-2 or 4-2 is not overwhelmingly decisive. It must be said that with this body of evidence it is impossible to make a coherent argument for a change at some point during the period after 381 from Pachon to Thoth as the indiction start. The evidence simply does not distribute itself in such a fashion.

The other distinctive Oxyrhynchite habit is the addition of a distinctive style of phrase to Oxyrhynchite dating formulas, precisely no doubt because Oxyrhynchite scribes were aware that their practice was not the common one of the rest of the country. In a number of texts, as is noted above (p. 25), we find "indiction x, ἀρχή x+1."²³ It is a striking fact that in every instance but one (*P.Oxy.* LIX 3985, A.D. 473) where this phrase occurs and the second number is *not* followed by any word for indiction, the date is after 1 July. On this basis—the one example of a date in Pachon had not yet been published in 1978—we suggested in the first edition that such double indictional dates refer to the date of the *delegatio*, the Egyptian indiction properly speaking, and that the double date thus joins the Thoth and Epeiph (July) reckonings. Herwig Maehler, in publishing *P.Oxy.* LIX 3985, dated to Pachon 14, argued that it "shows . . . that the second part of the formula . . . must refer to the Pachon indiction, i.e. to the *praedelegatio*." He compared it to the only two instances where ἐπινέμησις follows the second numeral, in which we have dates before 1 July (*P.Oxy.* I 140 and XVI 1966), namely Pachon 1 and Pauni 1. The examples where ἐπινέμησις follows, however, come not in dating clauses but in the body of the text, whereas the examples with no word for indiction following come from dating clauses. The use of ἐπινέμησις in this particular type of context, therefore, certainly does seem to refer to the

²³ In *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2480, an account of wine from 565/6, several indications were taken by T. C. Skeat (quoted in the introd.) to show that the indiction in Oxyrhynchus began in Mesore. At first glance, the account does suggest this. But the phrase in line 19, where a date in Mesore (to all appearances the immediately preceding month) is called 13th indiction, ῥ[ύσεως τῷ (?)] ἰνδ[ικτιόνοσ] (according to the editor's good restoration), suggests that the date in line 1 should properly be the 13th indiction. Such a slip is perfectly natural with wine, since the τρύγη (harvest) came at the end of an indiction (Mesore) and the wine was accounted that of the new indiction then already in effect for taxation. There are numerous examples of this phraseology, e.g., *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896.14-18, *P.Flor.* I 65. Since the wine was 14th indiction wine, expenditures of it would naturally be attributed to that indiction. Cf. line 125, where the account of the 15th indiction is mentioned at the end of the year.

fiscal reckoning, i.e. to the crops and taxes as calculated from the *praedelegatio*, 1 May.²⁴ But the scarcity of dates from Pachon and Pauni for the ἀρχὴ $x+1$ datings remains striking, and we cannot explain it.²⁵ It is also worth observing that *P.Oxy.* LIX 3985 is also the earliest example of this double-notation of the indiction.

The use of ἀρχὴ in Oxyrhynchos, however, antedates the adoption of the double notation by about three quarters of a century. The first instance is in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203 (400), dated to Epeiph but referring ahead to Mesore 1. As one would anticipate, the era year and indiction refer to different pairs of julian years in this case. Another instance appears in *P.Oxy.* VIII 1130 (484), dated to Pachon 9 of the 7th indiction (483/4), where Phaophi (the date of repayment) is said to be in the “present” year 161-130 (484/5) and ἀρχὴ of the 8th indiction. As the editors noted, year 161-130 was not present at the time of writing.²⁶ It is possible that *P.Bingen* 129 is to be added to this list. It is dated to 10 (?) July 501, indiction 10, and it refers subsequently to the lease term as beginning on Thoth 1 of year 178-147 of the 10th indiction. In the dating clause, the loss of the beginning of line 2 makes it impossible to know whether a double reckoning was present (which would require abbreviation of the first ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)), or ἀρχὴ by itself, or no qualifier of the indiction. There is certainly space for ἀρχὴ.

The scribes of the Oxyrhynchite thus knew about two senses of the indiction. They were aware of and used the fiscal indiction, for in the Oxyrhynchite also taxes and crops are consistently reckoned, as in the Thebaid, on the basis of the date of the *praedelegatio*, Pachon 1 or 1 May. It is in this sense that phrases like those calling for delivery of rent in Pauni of the 5th indiction from crops of the 6th make sense. Chronological reckoning, however, linked the era years and the indiction, which except in the instances mentioned above (*SB* IV 7445 and *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4681, plus cases where ἀρχὴ figures) always agree.

It remains difficult to say with confidence at exactly what date the Oxyrhynchite adopted these practices. The combination of *P.Oxy.* VII 1041 and XLIV 3203, however, leads us to believe that already by the late 4th century the Oxyrhynchite recognized an indiction starting date on Thoth 1, all the while maintaining the Pachon 1 indiction for fiscal purposes. In particular, the appearance of ἀρχὴ in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203 suggests that scribes were already using this word to distinguish the already-begun indiction (reckoned in the fiscal sense) from the not-yet ended indiction (reckoned purely chronologically, i.e., using the Thoth indiction). The complexities of the late fourth-century and early fifth-century Oxyrhynchite evidence may point to the incompleteness of consistent adoption of this set of practices, or the two documents pointing to a Pachon indiction but not using the term ἀρχὴ may be either simple slips or signs that adoption of the new practices was incomplete.

²⁴ Cf. above, p. 11, n. 36 for ἐπινέμησις. *SB* XII 10766 (cf. *BL* 7.222) presents a peculiar formula which cannot be assigned to either group; but its provenance is unknown, and it seems to us unsafe to draw any conclusions from it. It may be pointed out that the only use of a Pachon indiction in Oxyrhynchos for dating in an ordinary context with no warning seems to be *SB* IV 7445, of 12.vii.382 (see below for discussion of this text). The apparent instance of a Pachon indiction in *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780 is eliminated in *BASP* 17 (1980) 21. In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1958, we think that ind. 15 in the heading is a slip, cf. its equation in the same text to era year 153-122. For this text see p. 89, n. 3.

²⁵ It is worth mentioning the enigmatic *P.Oxy.* XVI 1973 (420), which refers to repayment of a loan ἐν Παύνι μὴνὶ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους 96 65 εἰς ἀρχὴν τῆς τετάρτη[ς] ἰνδ[ικτί]ωνος. It is not clear to us whether εἰς here signifies something more than “at.”

²⁶ Compare *P.Yale* I 71, in which an indiction is spoken of as “present” on Epagomenai 5, as is the era year, even though the reference is to the following day—Thoth 1—as the start of the lease and this day is also the start of the year and the indiction. Cf. the editors’ introduction, the conclusion of which is not, as we observed already in 1978, correct for Oxyrhynchos. Similar slips, referring to a year as “present” just before it actually starts, occur in *P.Ant.* II 103 and *P.Benaki* 2.

Finally, it is worth noting that usage in the neighboring Kynopolite nome may have resembled practices in the Oxyrhynchite; *P.Köln* III 151 (423), a document drawn up between two Kynopolite villagers on Epeiph 30, describes the date as being ἀρχῆ of the 7th indiction.

(3) *Arsinoite*: In dating clauses, i.e. for chronological usage, this nome used the date of 1 July, the Egyptian indiction proper (i.e., the *delegatio*) as the start of the indiction. Presumably because of an awareness that this date was not used in other areas, and because they wished to distinguish the chronological usage from the fiscal one, the scribes normally add τέλει to dates in the last two months before 1 July, and ἀρχῆ to dates in the first two months after this date. Here also, however, the taxes and crops were numbered according to the 1 May *praedelegatio*. It is probably precisely to distinguish dates from fiscal usage that the ἀρχῆ/τέλει system was adopted, to avoid all ambiguity.

(4) *Herakleopolite*: There is little useful material for the period before the fifth century for this nome. As we have indicated already, it adopted the same combination of ἀρχῆ and τέλει that the Arsinoite nome did. It used them differently, however. There are clear examples in which the indiction is that of Thoth 1 in *P.Rain.Cent.* 123 (478), *SB* XVIII 13953 = VI 9152 (492), *SB* VIII 9876 (534), and *CPR* VIII 62 (575). Moreover, the Herakleopolite examples of τέλει are from Epeiph and Mesore (App. A, nn. 81 and 82), while its instances of ἀρχῆ are all from Thoth except for one stray example from Mesore. And though there is no τέλει in *BGU* I 314 (24.v.630; cf. App. B.I), the mention of the 3rd indiction in this text (= 629/630) as being current indicates that here one was also operating on the basis of a Thoth indiction. The same basis appears in *P.Köln* III 158 (599) in which Mesore is spoken of as belonging to the 3rd indiction, the immediately following Thoth to the 4th. The evidence thus strongly points to a use of Arsinoite terminology but with an Oxyrhynchite calendar, the indictional year beginning on Thoth 1.

There are three texts that might be adduced as counter-examples or possibly evidence for a relatively late adoption of the Thoth indiction. One is *SPP* XX 90, where on 15.vi.415 the 14th indiction (415/6) is apparently present. But it is worth noting that the actual phrase is τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος; it is the year, not the indiction, that is said to be present. It is not to be taken for granted that this is a trivial quibble. Oxyrhynchite texts very commonly qualify the indiction as present (usually παρούσης) even when the year has already been described as present.²⁷ This testimony is thus somewhat ambiguous. A second, and probably even less compelling, document is *SPP* XX 130, where on 26.v in the postconsulate of Fl. Cethegus (cos. 504) the 14th indiction (505/6) is already present. There are strong reasons for assigning this scrap to the Herakleopolite nome.²⁸ The date would thus be 26.v.505, and the new indiction would already have begun. As we discuss in Chapter 9, however, this document is capable of another interpretation, namely that it dates from 506 and reflects continued use of the postconsulate of Cethegus, in a fashion known in other years in the fifth and sixth centuries. The other documents from 506 with exact dates all come from the Thebaid. The third text, *P.Benaki* 2, defines a lease term as being ἀπὸ νεομηνίας τοῦ εισιόντος μηνὸς Θῶθ τῆς παρούσης γγ// ἰνδικτίονος, thus apparently suggesting that the indiction had already started by Mesore. But if (as the editor suggests) the lease was in fact drawn up at the end of Mesore or during the epagomenal days, this is likely to be just an error; precisely similar cases are found in *P.Yale* I 71 and *P.Ant.* II 103 (see *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 59). With no precise date preserved and a strong

²⁷ Such usage is not, however, universal. The two early texts discussed above, *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203 and *SB* IV 7445, lack any such παρούσης.

²⁸ Worp 1984.

suspicion of error, this last item is weaker than either of the first two. We are therefore not persuaded that any of this evidence supports a start to the indiction before Thoth 1 in the Herakleopolite.

It may, in summary, be said that the indictional system was essentially uniform throughout Egypt: the *praedelegatio* on 1 May provided tentative tax schedules, so that taxes could be collected on the new crops; these crops and taxes were designated by the number of the new indiction. The Egyptian indiction proper began with the sending of the *delegatio*, 1 July,²⁹ and in the Fayyum (and to a lesser extent in the Oxyrhynchite) this date was used for chronological purposes. The Constantinopolitan indiction (1 September) and the Egyptian civil year (Thoth 1) roughly coincided, and this year was used for chronological reckoning in the Oxyrhynchite and the Herakleopolite. What varied from place to place was only the scribal habits of calculating dates; the roots of these calculations in the taxation system were everywhere the same.

We have very little information for Alexandria. In fact, so far as we can see, only one document contributes unequivocally to the question, namely *SB* III 6249, a gravestone dated to Pachon 27 at the ἀρχῆ of the 5th indiction (year 318 of Diocletian). The use of ἀρχῆ in Pachon points to the use of a system similar to that used in Upper Egypt where the *praedelegatio* by 1 May was treated uniformly in all types of documents as the start of the indiction year. This text would therefore come from 601, and we should conclude that Alexandria used the system prevalent in Upper Egypt.³⁰ The equally scanty evidence for Memphis also suggests the use of the Pachon indiction.³¹

It is no doubt because the Egyptian indiction depended on an imperial order providing the tax rates that we find the phrase κατὰ θεῖον νεύμα (*P. Cair. Masp.* II 67158, 67162, 67253.3) or κατὰ θεῖον θέσπισμα (*P. Michael.* 43),³² referring to the indiction. These phrases are to be compared not to the pious σὺν θεῷ often attached to indiction numbers, but rather to the θεῖας δηληγατίου of *BGU* III 836; it was the *imperial* (for that is what θεῖος refers to) sending first of the *praedelegatio* and then of the *delegatio* which established the indiction each year for Egypt.

That Egypt had a different indiction is due, we have argued, to the unusual chronology of its agricultural cycle, a cycle which depended principally not on weather in Egypt but on the behavior of the Nile. It is in keeping with this conclusion that we are to interpret the "Nile-indiction," for which we now have three examples, as follows:

P. Vind. Tand. 18.30: χωμάτων θ (ινδικτίουος), Νείλου ι (ινδικτίουος);³³

SPP XX 116.1-2: τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίουος Νείλου τῆς ἰσομένης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδικ(τίουος);

SPP VIII 1003.3: ἰνδ(ικτίουος) Νείλου τῆς α ἰνδ(ικτίουος).

In the last of these, as is observed in *P. Vind. Tand.* 18.30n., we should probably restore ιε. In each case the first indiction mentioned is the Constantinopolitan one, the second the Egyptian. Unfortunately, in no case do we have a month and day.

²⁹ The fact that the *delegatio* was sometimes late (as in *P. Lips.* I 64) would not affect the fact that it was due on a certain date and that date was properly the start of the indiction.

³⁰ *SPP* XX 114 may help confirm this conclusion; see *ZPE* 25 (1978) 225-226.

³¹ Cf. *BASP* 16 (1979) 243-244.

³² Naturally we do not accept the contention of Bell and Turner in their note *ad loc.*, that this phrase is evidence for the movable indiction.

³³ The translation of *P. Vind. Tand.* 18.30 should be corrected: "wegen der Deiche wegen der 9. Indiktion, des Nils der 10. Indiktion . . ."

Before closing this chapter, we think we should discuss those documents which stand out in the tables above as exceptional, relatively isolated pieces. We discern five classes of these and take them in turn.

(1) Examples of ἀρχῆ in the Arsinoite nome before the start of July. There are four certain instances. *SPP* III 239 is dated to Pachon 16; we have not been able to verify the reading. *BGU* III 751 is dated to Pauni 15. *BGU* I 323 and *P. Prag.* I 44 are dated in Pauni, with no day. In addition, there are two cases in which the Arsinoite provenance is uncertain, *SB* I 4898 (Pauni 17) and 4891 (no day preserved). We think it probable that these examples show a misapplication of the terminology concerning the 1 July indictional date to the 1 May system; cf. the next paragraph for a similar confusion.

(2) Examples of ἀρχῆ after Thoth 1. The eight attestations of this phenomenon in the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite nomes should not detain us unduly, as these nomes used an indiction year starting in Thoth, and even if the usage of ἀρχῆ after Thoth 1 was not in line with normal technical habits, it was intelligible. The other cases with known provenances (*P. KRU* 35.80, *O. Crum VC* 30, *O. Sarga* 173, *BGU* I 311, *SPP* VIII 1320 [= *SB* I 5279]) come from nomes using indiction starting dates in Pachon (the Thebaid) or Epeiph (Arsinoite). There is no obvious explanation for these very late uses of ἀρχῆ.

(3) Examples of τέλει after 1 July. As we have seen, the two Herakleopolite instances, *SB* VIII 9876 and *SPP* III 86 (App. A, n. 81, 82) both fall into this category; an indiction year stated to be ending in July or August forms no problem in that nome. Of the three Arsinoite examples, *SPP* XX 112 is, as is noted in Appendix A, note 83, written in a very confused manner, and we cannot even tell which Thoth is meant. Under these circumstances we conclude that the use of τέλει is the product of the writer's confusion. The instances of Choiak in *SB* I 4810 (we have verified it on a photograph) and Mecheir in *P. Ross. Georg.* III 57 (reading checked by I. F. Fikhman), are remarkable uses which we can only consider blunders (cf. for the latter App. A, n. 85). *P. Prag.* II 178 is of unknown provenance; see p. 117, n. 86 for discussion.

(4) Arsinoite use of an indiction after Pachon 1 without τέλει. There is just one example, *P. Haun.* III 58; it comes from the pen of a scribe who commits other infelicities in the dating formula and is presumably simply an error.

(5) Indictions from elsewhere pointing to a Thoth reckoning. These are few. *BGU* XII 2139 must be regarded as somewhat doubtful. The editor gives a very dubious reading of the part of the date where he prints two dots for the day in Pachon, and it is thus hard to say whether a single wide letter might not suffice and thus give us a day before 1 May. It is, however, true that in line 8 the next month, Pauni, is said to be part of the present 15th indiction, which could in theory refer to either the 1 July or Thoth 1 indiction. But the 2nd indiction is described in line 15 as coming (εἰσιούσης), the lease runs for one year, and the indiction number is given in the dating formula as [1]ε. These indications are not compatible. It is most likely that in fact the contract was drawn up in Pachon shortly after the start of the indiction and the scribe failed to advance the number accordingly. *P. Herm.* 69, which is dated Pachon 10, refers to pay for work performed up to Pachon 10 of the 8th indiction. Since virtually all of the work would have been performed in the 8th indiction, ending on the immediately preceding Pachon 5, or perhaps Pharmouthi 30, we think this is to be regarded as a very minor and quite natural slip. There remains *P. Münch.* I 9 from Syene, which we regard as containing scribal error (cf. App. B.II).

A summary of the results of our discussion of the starting dates of the indiction, nome by nome, may be found on pp. 127-128.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MEANING OF ΝΕΑ ΙΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝ

In a considerable number of cases the word *ἰνδικτίων* is modified by the adjective *νέα*.¹ The meaning of “new” applied to indictions was early a subject of discussion, though not on the basis of very much evidence. A summary of this controversy is given by Gardthausen.² Wessely (*SPP* II, p. 33) concluded that *νέα* referred not to the indiction year but to the cycle to which it belonged, and this view has been widely followed. There remained, however, the question why the cycle was called “new.” Since Wessely had, as he thought, shown that the fifteen-year cycle followed a fourteen-year one, it was suggested (cf. Gardthausen 1913: 461) that “new” might mean “new type”. Wessely, however, concluded that *νέα* meant “new cycle” as opposed to the preceding one, citing such phrases as that equating ζ *νέα* and κβ indictions.³ This interpretation is that generally accepted at the time of the first edition of this book, although one modern editor took *νέα* to mean instead that the indiction mentioned had recently begun.⁴

A systematic review of the evidence shows that no single explanation is adequate for all instances. We present first a list of all occurrences of *νέα ἰνδικτίων* known to us, arranged by the number of the indiction year.⁵

<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	<i>P.Ant.</i> II 108.2	IV	tax receipt
	<i>O.Mich.</i> 215	7.viii.342	ind. 1 = 16
	<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 vi.c.2	9.ix.342	
	<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 vi.d.1	23.xi.342	ind. 1 = 16
	<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 i.a.2	342	
	<i>SB</i> XII 10988.5	342	
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXII 4344.10	342 (before 1.v)	nomination of future sitologoi of ind. 1

¹ The instances of *νέα* with *ἐπιγραφή* (*O.Mich.* 802, 1029) lack a numeral and are not a relevant parallel. Cf. Thomas 1976: 271f. on these texts.

² Gardthausen 1913: 460-461, with references.

³ *SPP* II, pp. 33-35. This equation is found in *P.Charite* 7.

⁴ *BGU* XII 2148.9n. The editor based on his theory his dating of the text to the early summer. For a redating of this text see Bagnall-Worp, *CNBD* I: 233-235.

⁵ Cases in which the numeral is wholly restored are not included. A few other dubious instances are deliberately excluded from the table: *P.Stras.* V 337 v (numeral lost); *BGU* IV 1020.15 (see *BL* 7.17); *P.Abinn.* 80.2 (numeral lost; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 280); *P.Amst.* I 39.8 (numeral lost) and *SB* XIV 11551.10 (numeral lost).

<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
10	<i>P.Mich.</i> XX 807.11	1.ix.372	current
	<i>P.Mich.</i> XX 808.9	3.ix.372	current
	<i>P.Mich.</i> XX 809.9	6.xi.372	current
	<i>P.Mich.</i> XX 813.11	10.vii.373	collected crop
	<i>P.Mich.</i> XX 814.8	10.vii.373	collected crop
	<i>P.Mich.</i> XX 815.8 = XV 724	373 (?)	collected crop
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 168.7	373	past
	<i>O.Waqfa</i> 61.2	372/3 or 387/8?	past?
2	<i>P.NYU</i> I 7.14	22.vi.343	
	<i>SPP</i> II, p. 34.16-17	7.vii.343	ind. 17 = 2; see <i>BL</i> 7.255
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 153.7-12	22.vii.343	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 155.1-5	3.viii.343	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 155.9-12	3.viii.343	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 155.16-19	3.viii.343	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 155.6-8	5.viii.343	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 155.13-15	5.viii.343	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 155.20-23	5.viii.343	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 150.29-33	13.viii.343	
	<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 i.b.1	13.ix.343	
	<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 i.d.2	6.x.343	
	<i>SB</i> XIV 11548.4	343/344	ind. 1[7 = 2]? (<i>BL</i> 9.274)
	<i>P.Munch.</i> III 72.1,6	343	receipt on oath for taxes
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXII 4345.5	343	nomination of collector
<i>P.Vind.Sijp.</i> 13.13	3.i.373	future reference; cf. <i>BL</i> 7.97, 9.152	
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1648.9	373	future reference; cf. <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1649 and 1822	
3	<i>P.Charite</i> 16.6	26.x.329	ind. 17=3 [new]
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 157.14	30.vi.344	
	<i>P.NYU</i> 19.1-5	3.vii.344	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 158.17-20	4.vii.344	
	<i>P.NYU</i> 19.6-9	6.vii.344	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 152.39-43	9.vii.344	
	<i>P.NYU</i> 19.10-14	14.vii.344	
	<i>P.NYU</i> 15.8-14	20.vii.344	
	<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 iii.b.2	xi-xii.344	
	<i>SB</i> XIV 11548.4	343/344	ind. 1[8 = 3]? (<i>BL</i> 9.274)
<i>SB</i> XXII 15605.11	373	future reference	
<i>SB</i> VIII 9907.12	19.ix.388	future reference	
<i>P.Lips.</i> I 22= <i>M.Chr.</i> 277.8	1.x.388	future reference	
<i>SPP</i> XX 105.6	IV	past reference	

¹ See *Bl. 7.255*, no. 1.1.9.

² For the date, see *Bl. 7.252*. See also below, p. 41.

Ind.	Document	Date	Remarks
4	<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 ii.2	15.x.345	
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 166.6	345/6	(= <i>SB</i> III 7189)
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 160.63-67	345/6	
	<i>BGU</i> XIII 2332.16	12.xi.374	future reference
	<i>P.Lips.</i> I 23.14	24.ix.374	future reference; cf. <i>BL</i> 8.170, 9.123
5	<i>SB</i> XIV 11711.7	i-ii.332	
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVII 4606.8	viii-ix.361	collected crop
	<i>BGU</i> XII 2148.9	late 375	cf. <i>BL</i> 7.24
	<i>P.Prag.</i> I 44.13	VI	future reference; <i>BL</i> 9.214
6	<i>SB</i> XIV 11711.8	i-ii.332	ind. 6 = 20; future reference
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 161.33-37	8.vii.347	
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVII 4609.7	v-xii.362	collected crop
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXII 2347.9-10	362	future reference
	<i>P.Flor.</i> I 52.18	376	future reference
	<i>P.Ryl.</i> IV 655 r.5	332/3 or 347/8	land-taxation register
7	<i>SB</i> XX 14509.11 = <i>SEG</i> 41.1613	332/3 or 347/8	inscription; current date
	<i>P.Oslo</i> III 113.10-11	346	future reference
	<i>P.Charite</i> 7.9	22.x.347	future ref.; ind. 7 = 22
	<i>SB</i> XXII 15728.14	31.xii.347	future reference
	<i>BGU</i> III 917.17	348	future reference
	<i>SB</i> XXII 15286.17-18	362	future reference
	<i>P.Kell.</i> I Gr. 30.2	22.v.362	contract dating
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVII 4612.8	vii-viii.363	collected crop
	<i>P.Mich.</i> XX 802.8	364	collected crop
	<i>BGU</i> III 930.4	IV	tax receipt
8	<i>P.Wisc.</i> II 47.1	IV	tax payments (present reference)
	<i>P.Ant.</i> I 40.4	IV	tax receipt; cf. <i>BL</i> 11.6
	<i>SB</i> XIV 11550.9	334/5	past reference
	<i>P.Sijp.</i> 22.7	31.iii.349	future reference
9	<i>P.Grenf.</i> I 54.11	10.xi.378	future reference
	<i>SPP</i> XX 121.27	6.vii.439	see <i>BL</i> 7.262
	<i>I.Philae</i> II 225	VI?	present ref.; cf. p. 41
	<i>P.Harrauer</i> 47.3-4 = <i>P.Horak</i> 12	335	ind. 9 = 23; see note to l. 3
9	<i>P.Abinn.</i> 62.9	5.ii.350	future reference
	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67112.10	544	future ⁶

<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
10	<i>CPR XVII A 38.8</i> <i>P.Mich. XX 803.9</i> <i>PSI I 80.18-19</i>	336/7 25.xi.366 V? ⁷	present reference in lease application collected crop
11	<i>P.Mich. XX 805.10</i> = <i>P.Wash.Univ. II 82</i> <i>P.Oxy. LV 3803.10,20</i> <i>SPP XX 117.13-17</i>	367 16.viii.411 9.xii.411	collected crop future ref. cf. <i>BL 7.262</i>
12	<i>P.Lips. I 97 xxxi.10, 12, 16</i>	25.iv.338	future reference
13	<i>P.Mich. XX 800.11</i> = <i>P.Laur. IV 162</i>	354	collected crop
14	<i>CPR I 42.19</i>	IV	lease
15	<i>P.Cair.Preis. 20.1</i>	356/7	list of liturgies; cf. <i>BL 8.76</i>

Two facts are apparent at once from a perusal of this list:

- (1) Although there are occurrences of *véa* in every year of the cycle, there is a general preponderance of the lower indiction numbers.
- (2) Documents of the fourth century figure very heavily, and there are not very many documents of later centuries.

Beyond these considerations, however, one must observe that the texts of the lower-numbered indictions belong largely to tax receipts from Karanis and Panopolis which can be dated in the cycle starting in 342. A tabulation which breaks the data down by chronological divisions is therefore a useful test of the representative character of the apparent distribution.

<i>Ind.</i>	327-42	342-57	357-72	372-87	<i>IV other</i>	<i>V-VI</i>	<i>To 347/8</i>	<i>347/8 on</i>
1	-	6	-	7	2	-	6	8
2	-	15	-	2	-	-	15	2
3	1	8	-	1	3	-	9	3
4	-	3	-	2	-	-	3	2
5	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	4
6	1	1	2	1	-	-	3	3
7	-	4	3	-	3	-	3	4
8	1	1	-	1	-	2	1	4
9	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	2
10	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	2

⁶ See *ByzNot* 25, no. 1.1.9.

⁷ For the date, see *BL 7.232*. See also below, p. 41.

Ind.	327-42	342-57	357-72	372-87	IV other	V-VI	To 347/8	347/8 on
11	-	1	-	-	2	1	3	
12	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	
13	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
14	-	6	-	1	-	-	-	
15	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	

The last two columns omit those fourth-century texts which cannot be definitely assigned to either column.

From this table it is clear that the contrast between the cycle of 342-357 and later times must be taken seriously. Statistically, the occurrence of *véa* in indictions 1-4 (342/3-345/6) is so overwhelming that even allowing for archival influences (Karanis and Panopolis) one can only conclude that the new cycle is what is meant. There is no other reasonable explanation of such a statistical pattern. It will be remarked as well that these texts are tax receipts and that their normal pattern is to speak of taxes paid for the *x*th (new) indiction, an indiction which has already begun.

Before passing to the later texts, we must consider those of the cycle 327-342. *SB XIV 11711* speaks of reckoning the lease *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Μεχρίρ ε// νέας ἰνδικτιῶνος, καρπῶν τῆς εὐτυχοῦς ἕκτης νέας ἦτοι κ// ἰνδικτιῶ[νο]ς*. Both years in the new cycle are called *véa*, whereas the year reckoned according to the old cycle—even though the same year is meant—is never *véa*. Similarly, in *P.Charite 16* we find *εἰς ἦτοι τρίτη[ς] | [νέας ἰνδικτιῶ]νος*. Although *véas* is restored, space requires it. *SB XIV 11550.9* refers to an 8th new indiction. The crop (barley, chaff) the embarkation of part of which is in question is described as belonging to that indiction; it is thus a crop already collected, and the indiction is at least underway. The 10th new indiction in *CPR XVIII 38* is present. This pattern is of interest when the very different situation in the later texts is clear. These four texts belong to the second indiction cycle, which was the first in which the question of what year was meant by a particular indiction could have arisen. A possibly different usage is found in *P.Lips. I 97 xxxi*, where the reference is to the coming year, ind. 12. One cannot be sure what the sense of “new” is here. During the beginning years of the next, 3rd, indiction cycle, the 2nd new indiction in *P.Münch. III 72* (343/344) and the 6th new indiction (347/348) in *SB XX 14509* are also present.

So far, then, it can be said with confidence that in the period up to 347 (see next paragraph), the use of *véa* with an indiction is with one possible exception characteristic of situations where the writer wishes to make it clear that he is referring to the most recently begun cycle of numbered indictions. It is with the years around 348 that an apparent change begins to be visible. One factor of some importance is the distribution of indictions visible in the table above. There is now no general concentration of occurrences in the first four years of a cycle as there was earlier, although the first indiction of the cycle starting in 372 has an archival cluster; the middle years are in fact the most populated, but the smallness of the discrepancies observable is not significant (although it must be pointed out that the last years of the cycle remain underrepresented). This pattern of distribution, the opposite of the earlier one, may point to a quite different usage of the term. It is possible that the explanation lies in the futurity of these “new” indictions. Many of the texts referring to the 7th indiction of this cycle and to later cycles, in which the word *véa* is used, refer to indictions yet to begin. The references occur in contracts of various sorts which refer to indiction years still in the future in which crops will be harvested, taxes paid, or other duties carried out. In 1978 we could set this principle forth as a rule with few exceptions. But the

number of exceptions has grown dramatically in the twenty-five years since the publication of the first edition of this book. They now include *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4606.8 (361, collected crop), *P.Kell.* I Gr. 30.2 (362, contract dating), *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4609.7 (362, collected crop), *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4612.8 (363, collected crop), *P.Col.* VII 168 (373, reference late in the indiction), the entire skipper's archive in *P.Mich.* XX (from 354 to 373, all referring to collected crops) and (less convincingly) *PSI* I 80, which seems to have, with unusual word order, a 10th indiction called "new"; but as the same indiction is not called "new" in many other mentions in the same papyrus, we cannot say what the usage here means. *I.Philae* II 225, with its peculiar word order, seems to refer neither to a new cycle nor to a future year.

We conclude that the term "new indiction", which began with reference to the newness of the cycle, at some point, perhaps around 347, lost this primary meaning, perhaps because scribes became accustomed to writing *vēa* automatically, and instead ceased to have this meaning under all circumstances. Instead, in many cases it took on the meaning "coming," i.e. new next year, much in the same vein as the modern expression "new year." In other cases it may still have retained the older meaning of reference to a cycle. With the end of the concentration of usage at the start of the cycle, a technical term was converted into a virtually meaningless convention. But it is understandable that this should be so; the use of indictions for dating was still a fairly new phenomenon in the cycle of 327 to 342, and even in the early 340's we are dealing with only the second cycle widely used for any sort of dating. With the passage of time, the scribes became used to indictions and ceased to identify cycles, as cycles stretched on without apparent end.

The practice soon became rarer, however. From the table it is clear that there are three certain examples (plus one uncertain) from the fifth century, and three instances in the sixth century.

The following table lists all indiction numbers 16 to 18 that do not already figure in the table above as equated with a new indiction:⁸

16	<i>BGU</i> II 539.1 (4th cent., perhaps ca. 342, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.28)
	<i>BGU</i> IV 1049.19 (342)
	<i>P.Col.</i> VII 181 = <i>P.Coll.Youtie</i> II 78.13 (342)
	<i>P.Flor.</i> I 117.6 (341, ref. to 342/3; cf. <i>BL</i> 7.49)
	<i>P.Köln</i> II 120.4 (4th cent.)
	<i>P.Mich.</i> X 596.7,19 (372, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.216)
	<i>P.NYU</i> I 5.26,34 (342, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.227)
	<i>P.NYU</i> I 23.12 (326/7, ref. to 327/8)
	<i>SB</i> XX 14510.1 = <i>SEG</i> 41.1614 (357?)
	<i>SB</i> XXII 15720.3 (342)
	<i>SB</i> XXII 15843.5 (4th cent.)
	<i>O.Douch</i> III 335 (= <i>SB</i> XVI 12802; ed.: 6th ind.!) (4th cent., cf. <i>O.Douch</i> IV, p. viii)

⁸ We know of three claimed instances of 19th indictions. The 19th indiction in *Lef.* 67 cannot be verified, as the surface of the stone now breaks after the zeta (Lefebvre's hori) which may be the day numeral. (We are grateful to Mervat Seif el-Din and Jean-Yves Empereur for an excellent photograph.) *Lef.* 208 has not been able to be found; it is no longer at Antinoopolis. Both numerals are dotted in the edition. *Lef.* 322 is now Coptic Museum 9356; we have not yet been able to see it or a photograph. The 20th indiction in *SB* I 5963 is probably a printing error or something of the sort. For the disappearance of the 26th indiction that appeared in the editor's text of *P.Vind.Sijp.* 16 see the reedition of this text in *P.Rain.Cent.* 124.

- 16 *O.Mich.* I 213-214, 216-218 (342)
O.Mich. III 1022 (342)
O.Mich. IV 1124-1125 = *SB XIV* 11511-11512 (4th cent.)
O.Waafa 22 (4th cent.)
- 17 *P.Col.* VII 181.16 (342; future)
P.Sakaon 73.7 (328; current)
P.Stras. V 337 recto (330 or 331)
- 18 *P.Vind.Bosw.* 10 verso (329 or 344, cf. *BL* 7.94)
P.Flor. I 103 (cf. *BL* 7.51) (330/1 or 344/5)
P.Stras. V 337 recto (330 or 331)
O.Douch IV 436.6 (4th cent., cf. *O.Douch* IV, p. viii)

The first edition of this book, though I believe it is now the best edition of the text, contains several errors which have been corrected in this edition. The first of these is the correction of the date of the first edition of the book from 1851 to 1852. The second is the correction of the date of the second edition of the book from 1853 to 1854. The third is the correction of the date of the third edition of the book from 1855 to 1856. The fourth is the correction of the date of the fourth edition of the book from 1857 to 1858. The fifth is the correction of the date of the fifth edition of the book from 1859 to 1860. The sixth is the correction of the date of the sixth edition of the book from 1861 to 1862. The seventh is the correction of the date of the seventh edition of the book from 1863 to 1864. The eighth is the correction of the date of the eighth edition of the book from 1865 to 1866. The ninth is the correction of the date of the ninth edition of the book from 1867 to 1868. The tenth is the correction of the date of the tenth edition of the book from 1869 to 1870. The eleventh is the correction of the date of the eleventh edition of the book from 1871 to 1872. The twelfth is the correction of the date of the twelfth edition of the book from 1873 to 1874. The thirteenth is the correction of the date of the thirteenth edition of the book from 1875 to 1876. The fourteenth is the correction of the date of the fourteenth edition of the book from 1877 to 1878. The fifteenth is the correction of the date of the fifteenth edition of the book from 1879 to 1880. The sixteenth is the correction of the date of the sixteenth edition of the book from 1881 to 1882. The seventeenth is the correction of the date of the seventeenth edition of the book from 1883 to 1884. The eighteenth is the correction of the date of the eighteenth edition of the book from 1885 to 1886. The nineteenth is the correction of the date of the nineteenth edition of the book from 1887 to 1888. The twentieth is the correction of the date of the twentieth edition of the book from 1889 to 1890. The twenty-first is the correction of the date of the twenty-first edition of the book from 1891 to 1892. The twenty-second is the correction of the date of the twenty-second edition of the book from 1893 to 1894. The twenty-third is the correction of the date of the twenty-third edition of the book from 1895 to 1896. The twenty-fourth is the correction of the date of the twenty-fourth edition of the book from 1897 to 1898. The twenty-fifth is the correction of the date of the twenty-fifth edition of the book from 1899 to 1900. The twenty-sixth is the correction of the date of the twenty-sixth edition of the book from 1901 to 1902. The twenty-seventh is the correction of the date of the twenty-seventh edition of the book from 1903 to 1904. The twenty-eighth is the correction of the date of the twenty-eighth edition of the book from 1905 to 1906. The twenty-ninth is the correction of the date of the twenty-ninth edition of the book from 1907 to 1908. The thirtieth is the correction of the date of the thirtieth edition of the book from 1909 to 1910. The thirty-first is the correction of the date of the thirty-first edition of the book from 1911 to 1912. The thirty-second is the correction of the date of the thirty-second edition of the book from 1913 to 1914. The thirty-third is the correction of the date of the thirty-third edition of the book from 1915 to 1916. The thirty-fourth is the correction of the date of the thirty-fourth edition of the book from 1917 to 1918. The thirty-fifth is the correction of the date of the thirty-fifth edition of the book from 1919 to 1920. The thirty-sixth is the correction of the date of the thirty-sixth edition of the book from 1921 to 1922. The thirty-seventh is the correction of the date of the thirty-seventh edition of the book from 1923 to 1924. The thirty-eighth is the correction of the date of the thirty-eighth edition of the book from 1925 to 1926. The thirty-ninth is the correction of the date of the thirty-ninth edition of the book from 1927 to 1928. The fortieth is the correction of the date of the fortieth edition of the book from 1929 to 1930. The forty-first is the correction of the date of the forty-first edition of the book from 1931 to 1932. The forty-second is the correction of the date of the forty-second edition of the book from 1933 to 1934. The forty-third is the correction of the date of the forty-third edition of the book from 1935 to 1936. The forty-fourth is the correction of the date of the forty-fourth edition of the book from 1937 to 1938. The forty-fifth is the correction of the date of the forty-fifth edition of the book from 1939 to 1940. The forty-sixth is the correction of the date of the forty-sixth edition of the book from 1941 to 1942. The forty-seventh is the correction of the date of the forty-seventh edition of the book from 1943 to 1944. The forty-eighth is the correction of the date of the forty-eighth edition of the book from 1945 to 1946. The forty-ninth is the correction of the date of the forty-ninth edition of the book from 1947 to 1948. The fiftieth is the correction of the date of the fiftieth edition of the book from 1949 to 1950. The fifty-first is the correction of the date of the fifty-first edition of the book from 1951 to 1952. The fifty-second is the correction of the date of the fifty-second edition of the book from 1953 to 1954. The fifty-third is the correction of the date of the fifty-third edition of the book from 1955 to 1956. The fifty-fourth is the correction of the date of the fifty-fourth edition of the book from 1957 to 1958. The fifty-fifth is the correction of the date of the fifty-fifth edition of the book from 1959 to 1960. The fifty-sixth is the correction of the date of the fifty-sixth edition of the book from 1961 to 1962. The fifty-seventh is the correction of the date of the fifty-seventh edition of the book from 1963 to 1964. The fifty-eighth is the correction of the date of the fifty-eighth edition of the book from 1965 to 1966. The fifty-ninth is the correction of the date of the fifty-ninth edition of the book from 1967 to 1968. The sixtieth is the correction of the date of the sixtieth edition of the book from 1969 to 1970. The sixty-first is the correction of the date of the sixty-first edition of the book from 1971 to 1972. The sixty-second is the correction of the date of the sixty-second edition of the book from 1973 to 1974. The sixty-third is the correction of the date of the sixty-third edition of the book from 1975 to 1976. The sixty-fourth is the correction of the date of the sixty-fourth edition of the book from 1977 to 1978. The sixty-fifth is the correction of the date of the sixty-fifth edition of the book from 1979 to 1980. The sixty-sixth is the correction of the date of the sixty-sixth edition of the book from 1981 to 1982. The sixty-seventh is the correction of the date of the sixty-seventh edition of the book from 1983 to 1984. The sixty-eighth is the correction of the date of the sixty-eighth edition of the book from 1985 to 1986. The sixty-ninth is the correction of the date of the sixty-ninth edition of the book from 1987 to 1988. The seventieth is the correction of the date of the seventieth edition of the book from 1989 to 1990. The seventy-first is the correction of the date of the seventy-first edition of the book from 1991 to 1992. The seventy-second is the correction of the date of the seventy-second edition of the book from 1993 to 1994. The seventy-third is the correction of the date of the seventy-third edition of the book from 1995 to 1996. The seventy-fourth is the correction of the date of the seventy-fourth edition of the book from 1997 to 1998. The seventy-fifth is the correction of the date of the seventy-fifth edition of the book from 1999 to 2000. The seventy-sixth is the correction of the date of the seventy-sixth edition of the book from 2001 to 2002. The seventy-seventh is the correction of the date of the seventy-seventh edition of the book from 2003 to 2004. The seventy-eighth is the correction of the date of the seventy-eighth edition of the book from 2005 to 2006. The seventy-ninth is the correction of the date of the seventy-ninth edition of the book from 2007 to 2008. The eightieth is the correction of the date of the eightieth edition of the book from 2009 to 2010. The eighty-first is the correction of the date of the eighty-first edition of the book from 2011 to 2012. The eighty-second is the correction of the date of the eighty-second edition of the book from 2013 to 2014. The eighty-third is the correction of the date of the eighty-third edition of the book from 2015 to 2016. The eighty-fourth is the correction of the date of the eighty-fourth edition of the book from 2017 to 2018. The eighty-fifth is the correction of the date of the eighty-fifth edition of the book from 2019 to 2020. The eighty-sixth is the correction of the date of the eighty-sixth edition of the book from 2021 to 2022. The eighty-seventh is the correction of the date of the eighty-seventh edition of the book from 2023 to 2024. The eighty-eighth is the correction of the date of the eighty-eighth edition of the book from 2025 to 2026. The eighty-ninth is the correction of the date of the eighty-ninth edition of the book from 2027 to 2028. The ninetieth is the correction of the date of the ninetieth edition of the book from 2029 to 2030. The ninety-first is the correction of the date of the ninety-first edition of the book from 2031 to 2032. The ninety-second is the correction of the date of the ninety-second edition of the book from 2033 to 2034. The ninety-third is the correction of the date of the ninety-third edition of the book from 2035 to 2036. The ninety-fourth is the correction of the date of the ninety-fourth edition of the book from 2037 to 2038. The ninety-fifth is the correction of the date of the ninety-fifth edition of the book from 2039 to 2040. The ninety-sixth is the correction of the date of the ninety-sixth edition of the book from 2041 to 2042. The ninety-seventh is the correction of the date of the ninety-seventh edition of the book from 2043 to 2044. The ninety-eighth is the correction of the date of the ninety-eighth edition of the book from 2045 to 2046. The ninety-ninth is the correction of the date of the ninety-ninth edition of the book from 2047 to 2048. The hundredth is the correction of the date of the hundredth edition of the book from 2049 to 2050.

So far, then, it can be said with confidence (see *ibid.* 8.346) that the use of *indictionis* with an *indictionis* is with one of the writers who wish to make it clear that he is referring to a cycle of numbered *indictiones*. It is with the years around 340-350 that the use of *indictionis* is most frequent. There is no general concentration of occurrences in the first half of the century, as earlier years are in fact the most populated, but the smallness of the discrepancies observable in the pattern of distribution, the opposite of the earlier one, may point to a new usage in the late 3rd or early 4th century. This is the case of the *indictionis* with *indictionis* which is found in *P.Laps.* 197 xxxi, where the text reads: *indictionis* 12. One cannot be sure what the text means, but the 2nd or 3rd *indictionis* next, 3rd *indictionis* (12/348) in *SB XX* 14509 are also present. (The use of *indictionis* with *indictionis* is also found in *P.Laps.* 197 xxxi, where the text reads: *indictionis* 12. One cannot be sure what the text means, but the 2nd or 3rd *indictionis* next, 3rd *indictionis* (12/348) in *SB XX* 14509 are also present.)

CHAPTER SIX

REGNAL DATING AND OATHS

The Roman emperors took over for use in Egypt a system of regnal dating inherited from the Ptolemies, based on the Egyptian civil year, which started on Thoth 1. Although the state of the calendar in the early years of Augustus' reign remains controverted,¹ it is certain that before many years had passed the leap year was regularly observed and the Egyptian year therefore fixed against the Julian year.² The year thus began on 29 or 30 August, depending on whether the year was a leap year. An emperor's first regnal year was counted from the date of his accession until the end of the current Egyptian year, whether that was 364 days distant or only a few—that is, until the next 28/29 August; at that point year 2 began.³ As was true under the Ptolemies, therefore, the total number of attested regnal years of all emperors is higher than the actual number of elapsed years, because a given year could be counted for both the emperor who died during it and the one who acceded to the throne.

The purely individual character of regnal years first started to change with the coregency of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161-169), for whom a single year count was used. When Marcus took Commodus on as co-ruler in 176, the latter did not begin his own count of years but that of Marcus was used for them both. At the death of Marcus, Commodus followed the logic of this practice by simply continuing the same count right up to his own death, by which time the count had reached 33 (year 1 = (160)/161). The Severans followed suit, and in the third century the use of the same year count by more than one concurrent emperor was normal.

A further innovation dates to the Palmyrene control of Egypt, when Vaballathus had formulas promulgated that included both Aurelian's regnal years and his own. The complex history of the regnal counts was explored in detail by John Rea (*P.Oxy.* XL, pp. 15-26; see now Kreucher 1998). It does not concern us here except for the fact that for the first time under Roman rule two different regnal counts were used in the same document to refer to two different rulers. Whereas in 270/1, the formula in use in the early part of the year specified year 1 of Aurelian and Vaballathus, by mid-March this had been replaced by the 1st of Aurelian and 4th of Vaballathus, in that order. In 271/2 the formulas indicated that it was the 2nd year of Aurelian and the 5th of Vaballathus, again in that order (e.g., *P.Oxy.* XL 2904.15-23, 2936.25-28). Aurelian thus had precedence, despite the lower regnal year count.

That novelty does not reappear, but when Diocletian associated Maximian with himself in imperial power during his second year (285/6),⁴ he assigned Maximian a regnal year count

¹ See Skeat 1993; Hagedorn 1994; Skeat 2001; Bennett 2003.

² The movable Egyptian year remained in use for some purposes. See Hagedorn-Worp 1994 for this phenomenon, and see the table after Appendix C for the conversion tables between the fixed ("Alexandrian") year and the movable ("Egyptian") year.

³ See Wilcken, *Grdz.* LVIII-LIX and Kienast 1996²: 15-17.

⁴ Barnes 1982: 4 n. 5 argues for dating Maximian's appointment as Caesar to 21.vii.285. This may be correct, but in any event the small balance of 284/5 was not proclaimed as Maximian's year 1 in Egypt.

beginning one year later than his own, so that 285/6 was Diocletian 2, Maximian 1. Logically enough, when the first tetrarchy was formed on 1.iii.293, the new Caesars were also given a regnal count, so that the year 9-8 became 9-8-1. Apart from the slight gesture of simplification demonstrated in the change from 20-19-12 to simply 20-12 in December, 303 (thus equating Maximian to Diocletian in seniority), this pattern of numbering years remained in use until regnal dating disappeared altogether (see below). Each of the emperors had his own count, and the four-number sequences of 309-311 no doubt tried the patience of scribes.⁵ The long pages of attestations from the early fourth century in Appendix F are studded with scribal errors, even after every attempt to save the scribe's credit at the expense of that of the editor.

The scribes' ability and willingness to cope with this system nonetheless remained high under the reign of Diocletian and Maximian. There is no secure example from that period of failure to use the second imperial count in a date.⁶ Once the tetrarchy, with three numbers, was well established, instances do begin to occur of the use of a single year (Diocletian's) in retrospective reference to a crop or taxes, but not in actual dating formulas. The phenomenon is not early, and difficulty in distinguishing between single-number dates to Diocletian and to Galerius has made it hard to be sure just how common it is. The earliest references known to us at present are those to years 10 (i.e., 10-9-2) and 11 (i.e., 11-10-3) in *O.Kellis* 1 and 2, probably issued during year 12-11-4 (295/6).

It is during the four-number era beginning in 308 that the scribes started in earnest to shorten the dates ordained on high. Alongside 18-6-4-2 we find 18-6, and in retrospect 18-6-4 and 18 are also found. Posthumous dates by Galerius (from his year 20 onward) began to seem attractive, providing some continuity amid the flux of regnal dates (8-6-4-2, 311/2, giving rise to 8-6-4 and 8 as well as the full sequence), even being combined with one or more current regnal datings. We thus find, alongside references to 9-7-5, dates to 21 = 9-7-5 (and other variations once the year was over).

It has often been claimed that regnal year dating died out because of the introduction of consular dates into Egypt.⁷ There is some truth in this, in the sense that full regnal dates with the imperial titulature, used almost exclusively for giving the official date to a legal document, virtually disappear after 309. Regnal year dates without regnal formulas last a bit longer, mostly in the Oxyrhynchite nome. But regnal years had a second usage, the identification of crops and tax years, which did not require the use of the full titulature. Indeed, in such references the use of the titulature with the year number had largely dropped out of use already in the early third century. This use of regnal dates did not disappear as early as the full titulature. They remain relatively common up to about 316. But anyone who looks at the pages in Appendix F devoted to the years from 311-316 can see that the situation was in flux, with current regnal years competing with the stability of the Galerian count and, from about 313 on, with the indiction. For the reader's convenience, we give a table (Table 6.1) summarizing the regnal years as they are actually attested in use during the period 305-317 (see Appendix F for citations).

During the years that Constantine ruled Egypt (late 324-337), it is evident from our collection of evidence in Appendix F that true regnal year dating, even without imperial titulature, still existed only in the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite, at least of those nomes

⁵ The appearance of a sequence 19-7-5-3-1 in *P.Cair.Isid.* 51.7 (1.iv.311) has given rise to controversy; Barnes 1982: 6 n.18 views it as a scribal aberration, there being no fifth emperor with a separate count, but cf. *BL* 7.33.

⁶ See Bagnall-Worp *CNBD* II: 221-225 on single-year regnal dating.

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of the end of regnal dating, see Bagnall-Worp 1982a.

represented in the documentation. The Oxyrhynchite remained attached to regnal dating, and it was in that nome that the era described in Chapter 7, prolonging imperial counts *post mortem*, as with Galerius, came into existence. The handful of regnal dates after Constantine, which come from the 360s to 380s, are also entirely from Oxyrhynchos or Herakleopolis. The reason for this local particularity is not evident, but it is so pronounced that any unprovenanced document with a regnal date later than Constantine's coming to power in Egypt in 324 is almost certain to belong to one of these nomes.

The phrasing of regnal titulature in the period 284–337 shows no wide-ranging changes compared with previous centuries. Traditional victory epithets like "Germanicus maximus" and "general" epithets like εὐσεβής, εὐτυχής, etc. remain in use, supplemented by new epithets like ἀνίκητος (Lat. *invictus*, under Diocletian⁸), πάντα νικῶν (under Constantine) and the like; the use of another epithet, *perpetuus* (Greek αἰώνιος), begins under his successors, the emperors Constantius and Constans, but because there are no surviving regnal formulas for these rulers we find this epithet only in their consular formula (cf. *CLRE* s.a. 339, Oriens). The only other novelty worth noting is the transition, beginning already before the year 300, from κύριος to δεσπότης as a title referring to the emperor.⁹ Oath formulas on the whole tend to follow the same patterns as the regnal formulas, but there are some shortened versions of imperial titulature used in oaths and some variance in the use of adjectives.¹⁰

During the two centuries from 337 to 537, the traditional practice of dating documents in Roman Egypt by the regnal year of the ruling emperor became almost extinct, except for a handful of fourth-century documents from the Oxyrhynchite and Herakleopolite nomes (see App. F, p. 251). Instead, as we have explained in Chapter 1, one finds dating formulas featuring the Roman consuls or, in relatively short texts like receipts, orders for delivery, memoranda, and the like written in the city of Oxyrhynchos, the Oxyrhynchite era (cf. Chapter 7). After the year 537, however, this situation changes drastically.

In his *Novella* 47, issued in Constantinople on 31.viii.537, the emperor Justinian prescribed that from then on all contracts and legal documents should be dated by

- (1) the current regnal year of the ruling emperor,
- (2) an indication of the consul of the current year,
- (3) an indication of the current indiction year, and finally
- (4) the month and the day.

Justinian decreed also that a reference to a current local era year might also be added, provided that such an era was not used as the *sole* dating criterion in such contracts and legal documents.¹¹ In Egypt, of course, there was only one such era known to us, that of the city of Oxyrhynchos discussed in Chapter 7 below. An important innovation compared to time-honored practices in Roman Egypt was that the emperor's regnal years were now to be counted from one *dies imperii* to the next, rather than in the fashion described above, by which the first year ran only until the next Thoth 1.

⁸ See Barnes 1982: 24 and n. 8.

⁹ See Hagedorn-Worp 1980, who reject the idea that this change is connected with Christian reluctance to use κύριος for the emperor.

¹⁰ See Packman 1992a and 1992b.

¹¹ On the practical application of this imperial concession in the papyri see Worp 1985b: 357–360, 363; add to the examples given there of era years added to a regnal formula *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935.5 (591) and 3961.5 (631/2). Cf. also Feissel 1993.

Table 6.1: Regnal Year Grid, 305-317

Julian	January	February	March	April	May	June
305		21-13	21-13	21-13	21-13	21-13
306			14-2	14-2	14-2	14-2
307		15-3-1	15-3-1	15-3-1	15-3-1	15-3-1
308				16-4	16-4	16-4
309	17-5			17-5		17-5
310	18-6		18-6	18-6		
311		19-7-5-3		19-7-5-3-1		
312			8-6-4		8-6-4	8-6-4
313		9			9	
314		8-6				8-6 22-8
315	9-7		23			
316		10-8				
317						11-9-1

Julian	July	August	September	October	November	December
305	21-13-1 13-1	13-1				
306		14-2		15-3	15-3 15-3-1	15-3-1
307	15-3-1		16-4-2			
308	16-4	16-4	17-5		17-5	
309	17-5	17-5 17-5-3-1	18-6	18-6	18-6 18-6-4-2	18
310				19-7-5-3		
311		19-7-5-3 19-7-5	20-8			
312		8-6-4 8				9
313	9-7-5	9-7-5 21-9-7-5	8-6		8-6	
314	8-6 8-6=22	8-6 22=8-6				
315	9-7 23	9-7 23		10-8	10-8	
316		10-8		11-9		
317						

³ The appearance of a sequence 19-7-5-3-1 in P. Cal. Jul. 317 (1.v. 311) is noted in the text. The sequence 19-7-5-3-1 is also noted in the text. For a more detailed discussion of the end of regnal dating, see Bagrall-Worp 2002.

Justinian's law was not observed in Egypt immediately and uniformly. Our earliest attestation of the renewed use of regnal year dating comes only from 4.iv.539 (*P.Harr.* II 238), while even as late as the year 566 there still are documents dated solely by the postconsulate of the last private person to hold the consulate in the Roman Empire, i.e., that of Flavius Basilius. While a sizeable number of papyri (ca. 70 texts published to date) feature a date only by this postconsulate, the majority of documents written during Justinian's reign use one of two regnal formulas:

(1) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαυίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . , μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ. Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου, ἔτους . . .

which is found in the Arsinoite, the Herakleopolite, the Memphite, the Oxyrhynchite (all in the province of Arcadia), and in a few documents from Constantinople, while the other formula (lacking the element καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου) is:

(2) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαυίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . , μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ. Βασιλείου τοῦ ---, ἔτους . . .

which is found in the Hermopolite, the Antinoopolite, and the Antaiopolite (all in the Thebaid). Strikingly, although the Oxyrhynchite eras appear in papyri of the reign of Justinian commonly enough, hardly any of these instances are part of the dating formulas about which Justinian was legislating.¹²

In contrast with the regnal formulas, the oath formulas under Justinian are less standardized in their use of epithets, using not only θειότατος καὶ εὐσεβεστάτος but also πάντα νικῶν (*App. G*, XXIX.a, b), γαληνότητος (*App. G*, XXIX.c), and καλλίνικος (*App. G*, XXIX.e, f, g, i, k, and perhaps also h). Moreover, sometimes the emperor is called δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης (cf. esp. *App. G*, XXIX.b, g, *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67299 and h). This greater variety of epithets and titles in the oath formulas remains characteristic of the succeeding reigns, as we shall see.

Justinian's successor, Justinus II, took the consulate in the first year after his ascension to the throne (on 15.xi.565), as had been the tradition since the emperor Vespasian (cf. *CLRE* 23). This first consulate of Justinus in 566 was followed in 568 by a second consulate; unlike his predecessors, however, he would never take any further consulate. During this reign, moreover, separate consular dating formulas begin to disappear. Just three types are known, of which the first two come from the start of 566, when Justinus' own consulate was not yet known:

(1) dating only by the postconsulate of Fl. Basilius, a phenomenon known so far from only one document (*CPR IX* 33; Hermopolis, i-ii.566);

(2) a combination of such a postconsulate of Fl. Basilius with Justinus' regnal formula, found in a cluster of documents listed in Appendix F under Justinus' formula 2 (*P.Stras.* I 46-51, all from Antinoopolis, 17.iii.566; cf. *BL* 7.244) and in *CPR XIX* 13 (Thebaid, 8.xii.566); and

(3) Justinus' own consulate or postconsulate, found in a few documents from the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes (cf. *App. F*, Justinus' formulas 1, 6). Almost all of these texts count the consular year on the basis of his first consulate in 566; two documents, however, from Arsinoe (*CPR XIV* 11 and *P.Harrauer* 54) use a postconsular year count reckoning from his second consulate in 568. All other references to this second consulate occur in documents from Oxyrhynchus. We do not know what significance to attribute to this regionalistic feature.

¹² For the quite different situation in papyri from Petra (Jordan) see *P.Petra* I, pp. 17ff.; for the situation in Nesana (Negev desert) see *P.Ness.* III, pp. 35-37, and the indices to the volume, esp. pp. 332f.

The bulk of the documents from Justinus' reign feature a striking novelty, formulas combining regnal and consular phraseology, suggesting the degree to which the consulate was becoming just a part of the regnal titulature and assimilated to it:

(3a) βασιλείας και ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου
Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . or

(3b) βασιλείας και ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου και εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ.
Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .

As Justinus' regnal years ran from 15.xi.(565 etc.) until 14.xi of the next year (566 etc.), the consular year count of Justinus, if reckoned from his first consulate in 566, overlapped his regnal year count during ten and a half months each year; only during the 6-week period 15.xi-31.xii was his regnal year number higher by one than his consular year number. No doubt this situation favored a practical equation of the two year counts and the rise of this combined formula βασιλείας και ὑπατείας --- ἔτους . . . (cf. *P.Heid.* VII 405, note to lines 1-2). Formula 3a occurs predominantly in documents from the Antinoopolite, Antaiopolite and Hermopolite nomes (on the provenance of *SB* I 4796 see *BL* 8.315 and 9.240 *ad SB* I 4683), while the use of formula 3b is restricted to Oxyrhynchos, A.D. 566-567 (for further comment on this formula see App. F).

Starting with the year 568 scribes in Oxyrhynchos referred to Justinus' second consulate, or to its postconsular years, in new regnal formulas:

(4) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου και εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ.
Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . , ὑπατείας τῆς
αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β', or

(5) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου και εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ.
Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . , (τοῖς) μετὰ τὴν
δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους . . .

The latter formula is found also in Syene and perhaps also in Alexandria; see App. F. Obviously, under Justinus II the consulate is still a standard element in dating clauses, and there is only one inscription referring to his 9th regnal year (= 573/4; see App. F, form. 7) without mention of a consulate. In this case one may argue that mention of Justinus' consulate was omitted just for reasons of economy. The dating formula in this text, however, is otherwise peculiar, as there is hardly a regular regnal "formula."

Some papyri from Justinus' reign written during the period of his co-regency with Tiberius II (7.xii.574-5.x.578) add a mention of the co-regent to Justinus' own formula consisting of (1) a regnal and (2) a (post-) consular year. In such references it is not always clear that Tiberius' years in question were regnal and not consular (see App. F, p. 257). One finds:

(1) Justinus II's regnal formula 3 + Φλ. Τιβερίου τοῦ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου Καίσαρος ἔτους . . . in 1 text from Hermopolis;

(2) Justinus II's regnal formula 4 or 5 + Φλ. Τιβερίου τοῦ και Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος ἔτους . . . in 5 texts from Oxyrhynchos;

(3) Justinus II's regnal formula 5 + Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλανθρωποτάτου και εὐτυχεστάτου τρισεγγύτου εὐεργέτου Καίσαρος ἔτους . . . in 2 texts from Syene;

(4) Justinus II's regnal formula 6 + Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου Καίσαρος ἔτους . . . in 2 texts from Arsinoe.

The papyri are not consistent in their treatment of Tiberius during his co-regency. His first appearance in the papyri as a ruler comes only in July 576, while several papyri dating from after his appointment as co-regent (7.xii.574) still omit him.¹³ Not all of these texts, however, come

from after the date at which Tiberius first actually appears in Egyptian documents, and in the case of *CPR* VIII 62 and *SB* XX 15008 one may argue that such a mentioning of Tiberius' regnal years is not to be expected in a formula referring only to the postconsular year of Justinus himself; such a reference, moreover, is also lacking in the posthumous references to postconsulates of Justinus in *CPR* XIV 11 (20.xii.578) and *P.Harrauer* 54 (5.ii.579), both written at a time when Tiberius was *de facto* already Justinus' successor and sole emperor on the throne. At any rate, no consistent usage is visible.

From the reign of Justinus II as sole emperor we have thus far no oath formulas. From the period of his co-regency with Tiberius II Caesar there is one such formula attested in *SB* I 4678.9 (*Arsin.*, 574-578; see App. G, XXXII). This formula refers to the νίκη και διαμονή τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου και αὐτοκράτορος και Αιλίας Σοφίας τῆς ἡμῶν Αὐγούστης, being thus the first to mention an empress in an official imperial formula of any sort. It attributes the epithet εὐτυχεστάτος to Tiberius (cf. above the two datings from Syene listed under [3]), but in other respects it shows no remarkable deviations from oath formulas found under earlier reigns.

The beginning of Tiberius' reign as sole emperor (6.x.578-13.viii.582) is normally counted by scribes from the date of his appointment as co-regent with Justinus II, i.e., 7.xii.574. Bärbel Kramer and Dieter Hagedorn (1981) have shown that the count of Tiberius' regnal years in Oxyrhynchos lagged ten and a half months behind the count as practiced elsewhere, until this error was rectified in Oxyrhynchos some time during the first half of 581 (the last irregular year count occurs in *PSI* VII 786 from 2.i.581 [cf. Kramer-Hagedorn 1981: 125 n. 15], the first "normal" year count in *SB* XX 15138 from 18.vii.581).

Two documents, however, do not use the year 574 as the counting point, i.e., *SB* VI 9085 inv. 16050 (*Hermop.*, 16.ix.579, cf. *BL* 8.338-339; Tiberius' regnal year 1, ind. 13 = 579/580) and *P.Lond.* V 1725 + *P.Münch.* I 3 (Syene, 6.iii.580; Tiberius' regnal year 2, cos. year 2, ind. 13). Bell pointed out that the London text's date could be explained on the assumption that the scribe was reckoning from Tiberius' accession to sole power (6.x.578). It seems also conceivable that the regnal year numbering in these two texts results from confusion with a supposed consular dating of Tiberius; cf. our remarks in *BASP* 17 (1980) 19-25.

Merely consular or postconsular dating formulas under Tiberius' sole reign (App. F, Tiberius, section B, formulas 4, 5) are found predominantly in the Arsinoite nome (*P.Ant.* II 103 from the Oxyrhynchite nome, presenting an "anonymous" consulate, is exceptional; see below, pp. 50-51, for these formulas and p. 124 for a possible conflict between the consular date and the indictional date). As already under Tiberius' predecessor Justinus II (cf. App. F, Justinus II, formulas 1 and 6), one finds no Arsinoite papyri from Tiberius' reign which use regnal dating. It looks, therefore, as if one is dealing here again with a regionalism.

Another characteristic already found under the reign of Justinus II (his formula 3a) also reappears under Tiberius II, a combination formula of the type βασιλείας και ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου και μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους δευτέρου (cf. App. F, Tiberius II, form. 7). It is rare, found only once in Syene. Occurring far more frequently, but limited thus far mostly to the

¹³ These are *CPR* VIII 62.1 (*Herakleop.*, 29.vii.575; cf. Justinus II, form. 6), *PSI* III 242 (*Oxy.*, 30.viii-14.xi.575; cf. Justinus II, form. 4), *SB* XVI 12865 (*Hermop.*, 25.ix.576; cf. Justinus II, form. 3), *P.Heid.* VII 405 (*Hermop.*, 23.x.577; Justinus II, form. 3), *P.Flor.* I 15 = *SB* XX 15008 (*Herakleop.*; 6.iv.578; cf. Justinus II, form. 6) and *P.Bad.* II 30 (*Hermop.*, ca. 9.vii.577, cf. *BL* 11.9; cf. Justinus II, form. 3).

Oxyrhynchite nome (there are 3 exceptions, viz. *P.Oxy.* I 144 [possibly from the Herakleopolite], *CPR IX* 31 [Hermopolite], and *SB XXII* 15522 [possibly from the Antaiopolite]) is a formula in which a regnal and a (post-)consular formula are associated less directly, i.e. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη (μεγίστου εὐεργέτου) Φλ. Τιβερίου (Νέου) Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . / ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ (εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη) ἔτους . . . / ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους . . . / μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῆς αὐτοῦ δεσποτείας τὸ β'.

An important innovation found in the Byzantine papyri for the first time under Tiberius II is the practice of dating *only* by his regnal year, cf. the formula βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου (καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότη (μεγίστου εὐεργέτου) Φλ. Τιβερίου (Νέου) Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . ., in *P.Oxy.* I 135 (Oxy.) and in *SB VI* 9085, inv. 16050 (Hermop.).¹⁴

For postconsular (and even posthumous) formulas of Tiberius II still used under Mauricius see below in the discussion of that emperor.

Tiberius' oath formulas (cf. App. G.XXXIII) refer to the νίκη καὶ διαμονή τῶν (εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ) γαληνοτάτων (καὶ τροπαιούχων) ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Αἰλίας Ἀναστασίας τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων. There are just two examples from Syene (*P.Münch.* I 4.4 [581; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1726] and *P.Lond.* V 1724.16 [578/582]) and one from Apollonopolis (*P.Grenf.* I 60.15 [582]). One finds in these oath formulas two epithets attributed to Tiberius II (and to his wife) which are never found in his dating formulas, γαληνότητος and τροπαιούχος. The practice of including the empress in the oath formula, initiated under Justinus II, is thus continued.

Finally, the form of Tiberius' nomenclature varies regionally (for details, see App. F, Tiberius, section C). The form Τιβέριος Νέος Κωνσταντίνος is found in virtually all texts from the Arsinoite nome (Νέος lacking only in *CPR X* 124), twice in Syene (*P.Münch.* I 2 and 3), once in the Antaiopolite nome (*SB XXII* 15522), once in Arcadia (cf. *CPR XIX* 15, below, p. 258, form. 5), twice in the Hermopolite (*SB VI* 9085, inv. 16050, *CPR IX* 31). The form Τιβέριος ὁ καὶ Νέος Κωνσταντίνος is found under the co-regency several times in Oxyrhynchos and has been restored once in Hermopolis (*P.Vind.Tand.* 28, 576-577, omitting καὶ). The form Τιβέριος Κωνσταντίνος is used at Oxyrhynchos during his sole rule and in all posthumous dating formulas (written under Mauricius; see App. F, Mauricius, form. 2). The simple Τιβέριος is found once in the dating formula of a papyrus from Syene (*P.Lond.* V 1723).

Under Tiberius II's successor, Mauricius (13.viii.582-23.xi.602) one finds a reinforced tendency to make use of regnal year dating, while the number of documents dated also (or only) by the consulate is further reduced. In fact, datings to Mauricius' postconsulate appear in only seven published documents from the Herakleopolite nome, listed in App. F, Mauricius, form. 10. This formula may be compared with form. 6 (Arsinoite and Herakleopolite) of Justinus II and formulas 4 (Arsinoite only) and 5 (Arsinoite and Arcadia) of Tiberius II. At the same time it may be noticed that for the reign of Mauricius there are no instances of regnal dating from the Herakleopolite. Again, we are apparently dealing here with a regional practice. Another local particularism is the series of (post-)consular datings of the type "in the consulate of our same most pious lord" from Oxyrhynchos, seemingly taking for granted a preceding regnal formula

The papyri are not consistent in their treatment of Tiberius during his co-regency. His first appearance in the papyri is as ruler starting only on July 576, while several papyri dating from after

¹⁴ This statement leaves aside the exceptional *P.Mich.* XV 734 (29.viii-14.xi.572, cf. Justinus II, form. 4) in which the consular part of the formula is lacking. This looks, however, like a scribal aberration, rather than a systematically introduced new development, and it has no immediate successors.

that is not in fact written. The first example comes under Tiberius; there is an entire series under Mauricius (ranging from 584/5 to 602), and two further examples under Phocas. No such formulas have been found in documents of any other provenance. J. R. Rea (*P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 59-62) has argued from the chronological distribution of these formulas that they cannot, as was thought when fewer instances had been published, be connected to problems in the recognition of emperors, but no convincing explanation of them has yet been offered.

A singular phenomenon is presented by the counting of Mauricius' regnal and consular years, especially in Oxyrhynchos. A detailed study by J. R. Rea (*P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 51-57), using ideas developed earlier by R. Hübner in a note to *P.Münch.* III 98, produced results which Rea summarized as follows:

"The calculations for the Oxyrhynchite consular date formulas of Maurice seem to resolve themselves into three types, the first using post-consular years of Tiberius Constantinus and regnal years of Maurice (known from 22.11.582-11.1.584),¹⁵ the second using regnal and consular years of Maurice strictly (*P.Oxy.* VI] 996 only, of 20.11.584) the third using a system which assimilates the years in some way not yet precisely definable, but probably by making regnal, consular, and indictional years correspond with the traditional calendar year beginning on Thoth 1 (first clearly indicated by [*P.Oxy.* XVI] 1989 of 3.11.590). Although the items of evidence are still very few, the indications are that in Oxyrhynchus conflation of regnal, consular and indictional years endured into the reigns of Phocas [cf. the discussion of SB XII 10798 in *P.Oxy.* LVIII p. 61 s.n. 12] and Heraclius, see [*P.Oxy.* LVIII] 3955 introd."

It is not difficult to accept the idea that for practical purposes in Oxyrhynchos Mauricius' *dies imperii* (on 13.viii) and the start of the local civil year, i.e., the Oxyrhynchite era year and the chronological indiction (starting in non-leap years on 29.viii) were conflated, for they were only sixteen days distant from one another. Far more startling in this theory is, of course, the move in Oxyrhynchos of the start of the consular year (traditionally on 1.i) to a moment in late August. Such a move may have been inspired by the conflation of regnal and consular year in formulas of the type βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ (epithet[s]) δεσπότη (name) τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . (see below).¹⁶

Formulas in other nomes also show conflation of Mauricius' regnal and consular year count in the formula βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη (τῆς οἰκουμένης) Φλ. Μαυρικίου (Τιβερίου) (Νέου) τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . ., attested twice in the Hermopolite nome, and once in the Thinite nome (see App. F, Mauricius, form. 1; we combine here various elements found in individual documents). This identification of the regnal and the consular year count was found already under the reigns of Justinus II (form. 3, very common in various parts of Egypt) and Tiberius II (form. 7, one example from Syene).

There is also one formula with the regnal year and consular year tied together somewhat less directly, viz. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ.

Ἡερτακονίας, 616, adding a consular year). 8 (two texts, (1) Φλ. 616, (2) Φλ. 616) αὐτοκράτορος (αὐτοκράτορος) ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. 616.

¹⁵ Read 23.11.582. For the formula and its attestations, see App. F, Tiberius, form. 6 and Mauricius, form. 2, βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . ., μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους . . . This combination of a regnal date of Mauricius with a postconsular formula of Tiberius is found only at Oxyrhynchos in the early years of Mauricius' reign.

¹⁶ Rea's proposal was in part a response to the large number of apparent conflicts between different dating criteria in the Oxyrhynchite documents. For conflicts between regnal years and indictions in non-Oxyrhynchite documents from this reign see our discussion in *BASP* 17 (1980) 23-24 and the remarks on some documents made by Rea in *P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 53-55.

Τιβερίου Μαυρικού (or Μαυρικού [Νέου] Τιβερίου) τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . , ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους . . . , very frequently attested in and almost characteristic for the Oxyrhynchite nome (see App. F, Mauricius, form 3), but shown also by one Memphite document and one text from the Arsinoite nome. In Oxyrhynchos, the element Νέος is consistently absent up to 588, with the names in the order Τιβέριος Μαυρίκιος; after that one finds Μαυρίκιος Νέος Τιβέριος in almost all texts (for other regionalisms in Mauricius' names see App. F, pp. 264-265).

Similar combinations of a regnal dating formula βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου (καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλ. Μαυρικού Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος (καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου) ἔτους . . . and a (post-)consular dating formula καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ (δεσπότης ἡμῶν) ἔτους . . . / ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους . . . / μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν --- ἔτους . . . are also found, with many variants in phraseology, in App. F, Mauricius form. 7, 8, 9, and 12. These texts have in common that all (or at least most) of them come from the Thebaid/Upper Egypt; obviously, dating by means of a (post-)consulate was still rather popular there. On the other hand, formulas featuring only a regnal formula (again, with variants in epithets and titles) become increasingly popular in Lower Egypt, especially in Arsinoe, cf. Mauricius formulas 4 - 6.

Virtually all published oath formulas under Mauricius come from Upper Egypt. The oath formula involves swearing by the emperor's νίκη καὶ διαμονή (App. G, XXXIV, form. a, b, c, e), his νίκη καὶ σωτηρία (App. G, XXXIV, form. d, g), his νίκη καὶ σωτηρία καὶ διαμονή (App. G, XXXIV, form. h), or his θεία καὶ οὐράνιος τύχη (App. G, XXXIV, form. f). The imperial epithets in these oath formulas are γαληνότατος, εὐσεβέστατος, or θεοφύλακτος (or a combination of the latter two). Sometimes the formula refers to the emperor himself and his wife (App. G, XXXIV, form. b). Occasionally, one finds the emperor(s) styled δεσπότης/δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης (App. G, XXXIV, form. b, g), while sometimes μέγιστος εὐεργέτης is added to the formula. There are a few "anonymous" oath formulas under Mauricius (cf. App. G, XXXIV, form. e, i) which may be compared with the anonymous consulates during this reign (see above, pp. 50-51).

Under the emperor Phocas (23.xi.602-5.x.610) one finds a further reinforcement of tendencies that became visible already during the reigns of Tiberius II and Mauricius. Regnal dating formulas without consular dates are now the norm almost throughout Egypt, and the only major difference between formulas is found in regionalisms like the use of particular epithets in Upper Egypt (e.g. γαληνότατος) or Lower Egypt (εὐσεβέστατος, though contrast Phocas' form. 6, for a papyrus from Hermopolis and an inscription from the Theban region). Occasionally one finds among the papyri from the Fayyum texts lacking all honorific epithets for the emperor and even the element αὐτοκράτωρ (Phocas form. 1). The distinctive Oxyrhynchite peculiarities of Mauricius' reign are also found under Phocas: the unification of regnal and indictional years and the occasional appearance of the "anonymous" consular phrases that refer to a non-existent regnal clause (see Gonis 2001: 259-261).

Apart from those phrases, only a few texts from this reign still show some interest in Phocas' consulate, cf. first of all the formula βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλ. Φωκά τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος (actually an inscription in Coptic) in *Monastery of Epiphanius* I, p.11; cf. *AnalPap* 2 [1990] 139 and Gonis 2001: 261-262); we have seen attestations of such a combination already in Greek texts from the reigns of Justinus II (form. 3), Tiberius (form. 7) and Mauricius (form. 1). A less direct link between the regnal year and the consular year is found in two papyri, one from the Fayyum (*BGU* I 3, cf. Phocas form. 3, adding the post-consular formula μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους . . .) and

one from the Oxyrhynchite nome (*P.Oxy.* LVIII 3948, cf. Phocas, form. 6, adding ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους . . .).

Oath formulas under Phocas (App. G, XXXV) offer little to compare with regnal titulature. Only one document (*SB XVI* 12604; Hermopolis, 603?) refers to the εὐσέβεια καὶ νίκη of the emperor, who is not given any epithet.

Finally, we come to dating formulas from the reigns of Heraclius (5.x.610-11.i.641), of Heraclius and his son Heraclius Novus Constantinus, and of Heraclius Novus Constantinus, Heraclius II, David, and Mar(t)inus.

Formulas referring to Heraclius' regnal years are found from the beginning of his reign until the Persian conquest of Egypt in 619. It appears, however, that the transition from Phocas to Heraclius was not free of confusion in at least the Fayyum, where at least one notary, Kosmas, continued to use the invocation formula (3C) characteristic of Phocas' reign, coupled with an absence of any regnal formula, until July, 612 (see the list and discussion below, p. 107). During the Persian occupation (618/9-629), no regnal formulas appear in the documents. After the recovery of Egypt in 629, formulas with Heraclius alone or with Heraclius and his son Heraclius Novus Constantinus are found for the remainder of the reign, and now there are two texts from the reigns of Heraclius Novus Constantinus as senior emperor and his half-brother Heraclius/Heraclonas. Many of the documents from the later years of the reign are very fragmentary.

Heraclius' regnal formula 1, in which the emperor carries the epithets θεϊότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος and is styled μέγιστος εὐεργέτης, is found only in the numerous documents from the Oxyrhynchite nome written during the period 611-619. In three texts the element μέγιστος εὐεργέτης is lacking, but no special significance should be attributed to this, as the element was "optional" already during earlier reigns. His slightly shorter formula 2 (lacking the epithet θεϊότατος and the element μέγιστος εὐεργέτης) is found in 15 documents from the Arsinoite nome, written between 613-639; a few of these also lack the element (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος, while others (*CPR X* 132, *SB I* 4662, and *P.Prag.* I 43) add a consulate and one (*P.Prag.* I 43) also a regnal formula of Heraclius Novus Constantinus. Other regnal formulas written under Heraclius' reign also come almost exclusively from the Arsinoite and are merely variants of this pattern. Formula 3 (12 documents from 611-636; 1 text possibly from the Herakleopolite nome) is mostly identical to form. 2 but extended by a second epithet, καὶ φιλανθρώπου, while lacking the element μέγιστος εὐεργέτης. His formula 4 (4 documents, three of which add a [post-]consular date) is identical to formula 3, but now extended by the element καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου. These formulas may be taken as featuring elements of regionalism restricted to the Fayyum or to Middle Egypt. Other formulas are found exclusively in Upper Egypt and feature epithets common there like, e.g., γαληνότητος, cf. his formulas 6 (5 texts from the Hermopolite nome and 1 from the Apollonopolite, all pre-Persian invasion), 7 (one text from the Apollonopolite Heptakomias, 616, adding a consular year), 8 (two texts from Syene, 611 and 613) and 9 (1 text from Panopolis, 2 texts from the Thinite). Sometimes, however, a formula is found in both Middle and Upper Egypt, in particular Heraclius' formula 5, found in both the Hermopolite (4 documents, written between 614 and 618) and the Arsinoite (2 documents, written in 612 and 638; one text adds Heraclius' postconsulate).

During the coregency of Heraclius and his son Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i.613-11.i.641) one finds formulas which feature familiar elements, but now with epithets and other elements given in the plural. Compare regnal formula 11, found in two texts from Oxyrhynchos (both lacking, however, the element μεγ. εὐεργ.) and in one from the Herakleopolite nome, with

form. 1 (used in the Oxyrhynchite nome), and regnal formula 12 (four texts listed, all from the Hermopolite nome) with formulas 5 and 6 (found mostly also in the Hermopolite nome).

There are numerous texts certainly to be dated after the accession of Heraclius which lack regnal and/or consular dating formulas. These are inherently more difficult to date exactly. In our view, all of them may be attributed to one of three periods: (1) the transitional period after his accession, (2) the years of the Persian occupation, or (3) the era of Arab rule; see the discussion below, Chapter 10.

There are now two documents from the short reigns of Heraclius Novus Constantinus (who became senior emperor on 11.i.641) and his half-brother Heraclius/Heraclonas. The first of these is *SB* VI 8986 (Apollonopolite, between 26.i-24.ii.641). C. Zuckerman proposes (in *JJP* 25 [1995] 193) to restore its dating formula as follows:

[βασιλείας τῶν θειοτάτων καὶ γαληνοτάτων καὶ θεοστεφῶν ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλαουίων
[Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἡρακλείου τῶν] αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων
[καὶ μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν ἔτους εικοστοῦ ἐνάτου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν αὐτῶν
[ἔτους δεκάτου καὶ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν?] Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου καὶ Δαυεῖδ
[τῶν εὐεργετῶν Καισάρων καὶ Φλαουίου Μαρτίνου? τοῦ θεο]φυλάκτου νοβελλησίμου, κτλ.

The second of these, found in *CPR* XXIII 35.3ff. (Alexandria, 10.x.641), is now the latest imperial formula from Byzantine Egypt:

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτ[άτου]
καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Ἡρακλείου π[ιστοῦ]
ἐν Χρ[ιστῷ ἢ] με[ρ]ωτάτου βασιλέως ἔτους δ[εκάτου]
καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατ[ε]ίαν αὐτοῦ ἔτους τετάρτ[ου καὶ Δαυίδ]
τοῦ εὐ[τυ]χεστάτου Καίσαρ[ο]ς ἔτους τετάρτο[υ καὶ Μαρ(τ)ίνου]
καὶ αὐτοῦ εὐ[τυ]χεστάτου Καίσαρος ἔτους τρίτου [τῶν]
αἰωνί[ων] Αὐγούστων καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων, Φ[αῶφι]
τρε[ι]σ[κ]αίδε[κάτη] ἰνδικτιονι πεντεκαίδε[κάτη]

Numerous difficulties emerge in the combinations of regnal and consular counts used in the documents of Heraclius and his immediate successors. These are discussed in the context of consular counts in Chapter 9, pp. 97-98.

A comparison of the imperial oath formulas of Heraclius with his dating formulas (cf. Packman 1992a: 251-257, 1992b: 76) shows, next to a distinct variety among the oath formulas, some divergences versus regnal dating formulas. The emperor is styled in the oath formulas as τὰ πάντα νικῶν (App. G, XXXVI.a), or εὐσεβέστατος (App. G, XXXVI.b,c; XXXVII.b), and one finds in these oath formulas also epithets not encountered thus far in regnal formulas, i.e. θεοστήρικτος (App. G, XXXVII.a) or θεοστεφής (App. G, XXXVII.b), used in combination with the traditionally Upper Egyptian epithet γαληνότατος (App. G, XXXVII.a, b). Sometimes the emperor appears together with his wife (App. G, XXXVI.b), and one swears by invoking various combinations of his νίκη, σωτηρία, τύχη and διαμονή (cf. App. G, XXXVI.b, c, XXXVII.a, b). In a unique case a private person (i.e., the famous general Nicetas) is also included in the imperial oath formula (cf. App. G, XXXVII.a, *SB* I 5112). Some oath formulas found in documents written under Heraclius (cf. App. G, XXXVII.c) simply refer anonymously to the βασιλική σωτηρία, thus featuring a continuation of a practice of anonymous reference found already under the emperors Zeno, Justinus II and Mauricius, cf. App. G, form. XXXVIII (κορυφή) and XXXIX (βασιλική σωτηρία).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE OXYRHYNCHITE ERAS AND LOCAL COUNTS

If one consults the *Wörterbuch* of Preisigke (III, Abschn. 5), one finds there a whole series of eras by which documents from Oxyrhynchos are said to be dated. These take the form of a series of numerals, as "year xx and xx." In all, Preisigke lists five such combinations, all occurring within (though not all limited to) a span of 15 years. The reader may well be pardoned for asking how such a confused scheme could have helped anyone to date documents. The reality is considerably more rational. The basis of these eras was explained already by Grenfell and Hunt in *P.Oxy.* XIV, pp. 27-30; it remains only to set forth these datings in systematic fashion.

A number of datings commonly referred to as era datings are not at all such. They are in fact simply the regnal years of the reigning emperors, given in sequence. Thus, year 31-21-13-4-2 is designated by the regnal years respectively of Constantine I, Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans, and Dalmatius; it is in fact Constantine I's last regnal year. The regnal datings of papyri which fall in the lifetime of Constantine I are listed in Appendix F, to which the reader is referred.¹

Our concern, rather, is for the use of era-building which was the result of the continued use of the years of Constantine I after his death and then, after their deaths, of the use of those of Constantius II and Julian (i.e., year 40/9 is 363/4, the first true era year). It will be useful to present the years in question in the form of a chart. Years printed in bold represent those years for which the papyri actually have preserved an example of dating with this combination of years. Other years are given in the sequence of years which we expect would be found in papyri from those years. Lines with daggers indicate the death of an emperor.

Julian year	Constantine I	Constantine II	Constantius II	Constans	Dalmatius
336/7	31	21	13	4	2
	†				
337/8	32	22	14	5	†3
338/9	33	23	15	6	
339/340	34	24	16	7	
		†			

¹ The editor assigns this piece to the *Asiaticus* Nitras on the basis of the toponyms *Heraklion* and *Diospolis*. But the other two toponyms mentioned in the text (*Serapis* and *Isidion*) are Oxyrhynchite. The text may thus be of Oxyrhynchite origin. (This is the case with the other examples of era datings which in fact fall in the lifetime of Constantine I.)

² This appendix replaces our *RFBE* as well as critical comments contained on various texts in the first edition of *CSBE*. See, our Chapters 1 and 5. Year 1 of Dalmatius is only prospective.

Julian year	Constantine I	Constantine II	Constantius II	Constans	Dalmatius
340/1	35		17	8	
341/2	36		18	9	
342/3	37		19	10	
343/4	38		20	11	
344/5	39		21	12	
345/6	40		22	13	
346/7	41		23	14	
347/8	42		24	15	
348/9	43		25	16	
349/350	44		26	17	
				†	
350/1	45		27	18	Gallus
351/2	46		28		1
352/3	47		29		2
353/4	48		30		3
					†
354/5	49		31		Julian
					1
355/6	50		32		2
356/7	51		33		3
357/8	52		34		4
358/9	53		35		5
359/360	54		36		6
360/1	55		37		7
361/2	56		†— 38 —		8
362/3	57		39		9
					†
363/4	58		40		

The references for the years in bold type are as follows.

- 336/7 See Appendix F, p. 251.
 337/8 *P.Coll.Youtie* II 82.11 = *P.Oxy.* XLV 3266; *P.Oxy.* XII 1575.4 (cf. *BL* 7.140 and *BASP* 17 [1980] 116); XLVIII 3386.12; *P.Köln* V 233.4
 338/9 *P.Oxy.* LX 4084.13
 340/1 *PSI* VII 781, 782; *SB* XVI 13035.9, 16, 21, 25, 30, 40, 42, 53
 341/2 *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3387.5
 342/3 *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3388.4
 344/5 *P.Mert.* I 33

345/6	<i>P.Genova</i> I 22.8 (see <i>BL</i> 7.275); <i>PSI</i> VIII 948.4, 9; ² <i>P.Harr.</i> I 82.10; <i>SB</i> XIV 12088.19
346/7	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1751.4; <i>P.Mert.</i> I 34.4; <i>P.Batav.</i> 6.4
347/8	<i>P.Mert.</i> I 35.5 (cf. <i>BASP</i> 17 [1980] 116)
350/1	<i>PSI</i> VI 707.8 (45-29-18 pap., cf. <i>BL</i> 7.236); <i>P.Oxy.</i> XII 1431.5 (cf. <i>RFBE</i> 42.n.1, ignored by <i>BL</i>)
352/3	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1632.9 (cf. <i>ZPE</i> 28 [1978] 243)
353/4	<i>ZPE</i> 38 (1980) 285 recto (= H. C. Youtie, <i>Script. Post.</i> II [Bonn 1982] 595)
354/5	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LX 4092.10
355/6	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXII 4347.6; 4348 introd.
356/7	<i>PSI</i> IX 1078.9
357/8	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVIII 3390.7; LXI 4129.15; 4130.17
359/360	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVIII 3391.7; 3392.8; LVI 3875.1; <i>PSI</i> VI 711.6; <i>P.Mert.</i> I 36.14
360/1	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1056.9; XIV 1695.13; <i>PSI</i> V 467.8
361/2	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 93.4; VII 1057.4; <i>P.Harr.</i> II 219.5
363/4	<i>P.Harr.</i> I 145.4; <i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1116.15; LXIII 4373.5; <i>P.Lond.</i> V 1655.9 = <i>SB</i> XXIV 16281 (cf. <i>BL</i> 11.119)

From this table the following conclusions can be drawn. When Constantine I died in 337 (22.v), his successors, Constantine II, Constantius II and Constans, continued to use the regnal years of Constantine I along with their own, thus treating them as a kind of era to which their actual regnal years were attached. There was some precedent for this action, in that the years of Galerius continued for a brief time after his death to be used either alone or with those of living rulers.³ This method of computing the years, with one dead emperor and three live ones, continued until the death of Constantine II (iii-iv. 340); he was then deleted, and the reckoning continued until the death of Constans (18.i.350) with one dead emperor and two live ones. (Problems with the year 350/1 will be treated below.) When Gallus was made Caesar, his years were added, just as those of Constans had been deleted. In sum, Constantius II seems to have ordered that while the years of Constantine I should continue to be reckoned, those of other rulers were to be included only while they lived and terminated at their deaths. Thus we find the years of Constantine I, dead, accompanied by the regnal years of whatever emperors happened to be alive.

After Gallus' death, after a brief interval Constantius II associated Julian with himself in the dating formulas. It appears to be at this time that Constantine I was finally dropped from the dates, and only the years of Constantius II and Julian are found. As we have evidence of this change already in year 33-2, we may suppose that it goes back to the accession of Julian during the preceding year. When Constantius died, during his thirty-eighth year, Julian kept the same numbering as before his death; that is, the years of Constantius II were continued as those of Constantine I had been earlier. Both examples of dates from this year in fact fall after the death of Constantius II (3.xi.361), coming on 16.i and 9.ii.362.

² The editors assign this piece to the Arsinoite Nome on the basis of the toponyms Herakleia and Dionysias. But the other two toponyms mentioned in the text (Senyris and Helikon) are Oxyrhynchite. The text may thus come from either nome. Since dates of the kind given are otherwise found *exclusively* in the Oxyrhynchite, we consider that this text must also be assigned to that nome (cf. *BL* 7.238).

³ See above, our Chapters 1 and 6. Year 3 of Dalmatius is only prospective.

Julian At the death of Julian, the combination of the regnal years of Constantius II and Julian continued to be used in Oxyrhynchos. So far as evidence up to the present goes, no other locality in Egypt ever used this era. The reasons for Oxyrhynchite use of this double era, this continuation of regnal years, are unknown. It continued right through the reigns of other emperors of the fourth century who did occasionally use regnal years for dating.⁴ The last attestation of the use of the era comes remarkably enough in 668/9 (year 345-314), i.e., approximately a quarter of a century after the Arab conquest.⁵

The development sketched here, then, is one from the simple use, in traditional fashion, of regnal years of the emperors, through a period in which a firm precedent was set for having them accompanied by those of an emperor now dead but still prestigious, to the point where after the death of Julian the years continued in use even though they referred to no living emperor. It is only after this point, starting with year 40-9 (363/4) that we can legitimately speak of these numerals as being entirely eras. The first instances of the eras, however, using years 41-10 and 44-13, add to them the current regnal year of the most senior emperor. Only from year 46-15 do era dates without attached regnal years appear.

The problem remains of a number of single-digit dates too high to belong to any reign. The first of these is a year 51 in *PSI* VII 783.11. (The reading is correct, cf. *BL* 7.236.) The editors refer this to the years of Constantine I, placing it thus in 356/7. It will be seen from the chart above that such a dating is highly unlikely, as the years of Constantius II and Julian were in use at this time. On the other hand, a use of the era of Diocletian in a business letter in year 51 of that era (from 284/5) is not very likely either, cf. Chapter 8 below. It is just possible that the writer has used the Oxyrhynchite era of Constantius II without giving the year of Julian, in which case the date would be 374/5. The provenance of the papyrus is not known, but Oxyrhynchos is a likely provenance for many papyri in *PSI* for which no information is available.

A whole group of such datings comes from ostraca from the Small Oasis, which was very closely dependent on Oxyrhynchos. The references may be found in the following appendix under years 51, 77, 80, 81, 82, 87, and 88, or between 374 and 412 if these are in fact Oxyrhynchite era years (i.e., the regnal era of Constantius II). The only plausible alternative would be to attribute these to the era of Diocletian, but that would be entirely out of line with the remainder of the usage of that era.

After Gallus' death, after a brief interval Constantine I associated Julian with himself in the dating formulas. It appears to be at this time that Constantine I was finally dropped from the dates, and only the years of Constantius II and Julian are found. We have evidence of this change already in year 335, we may suppose that it goes back to the accession of Julian during the preceding year. When Constantine died during the third-eighth year, Julian kept the same numbering as before his death, that is, the years of Constantius II were continued as those of Constantine I and began again. Both examples of dates from this year in fact fall after the death of Constantius II (3. xi. 361), coming on 101 and 97. 342/3 and 344/5.

⁴ The editors assign this piece to the Antonine home on the basis of the topographic features and Dionysius but the other two topographies mentioned in the text (Smyrna and Hierakon) are Oxyrhynchite. The text may be...

⁴ See Appendix F, p. 250, for a listing of these papyri.

⁵ *T. Varie* 8; cf. *BL* 11.305. The doubtful attestation of an Oxyrhynchite era year 390 = 359 in *P.Lond.* V 1738 has now been removed by I. J. Poll, in *Tyche* 10 (1995) 249 no. 201.

APPENDIX

YEARS OF THE OXYRHYNCHITE ERAS ATTESTED IN GREEK PAPYRI

<i>Era year</i>	<i>Julian</i>	<i>References</i>
41/10	364/365	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4375.5; <i>SB</i> XXII 15341.5 (adds regnal year 1, which probably is an error for year 2 of the current emperors, Valentinianus I and Valens)
44/13	367/368	<i>P.Laur.</i> III 70.5,8; in l. 5 also regnal year 5 for the current emperors, Valentinianus I and Valens
46/15	369/370	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4379.8
47/16	370/371	<i>SB</i> XVI 12618.5; <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVIII 3395.14
51	374/375	<i>PSI</i> VII 783.11? (cf. above); <i>O.Bahria</i> 6 = <i>SB</i> XX 14889
53/22	376/377	<i>PSI</i> IV 287.11
56/25	379/380	<i>PSI</i> VII 813.4 (cf. <i>BL</i> 7.237, 10.243)
62/31	385/386	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4384.10
63/32	386/387	<i>P.Köln</i> III 139.7; <i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2715.13
65/34	388/389	<i>PSI</i> IX 1073.6
66/35	389/390	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1753.7
67/36	390/391	<i>PSI</i> VIII 884.11
70/39	393/394	<i>SB</i> XVI 12523.7
73/42	396/397	<i>P.Flor.</i> I 39.9
74/43	397/398	<i>P.Haun.</i> III 67.4; <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4675.4 (?)
75/44	398/399	<i>SB</i> XXII 15627.4 (cf. <i>ZPE</i> 101 [1994] 97)
76/45	399/400	<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1329; XLIV 3203.11
77/46	400/401	<i>PSI</i> IX 1074.5
77 (?)	400/401	<i>O.Bahria</i> div. 11 = <i>SB</i> XX 14933
78/47	401/402	<i>P.Haun.</i> III 68.5; <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4387.6
80	403/404	<i>O.Sarm.</i> 1; 6 = <i>SB</i> XX 14902, 14907
81/50	404/405	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4676.3
81 (?)	404/405	<i>O.Bahria</i> 11 = <i>SB</i> XX 14893
82/51	405/406	<i>SB</i> XVI 11574.10; <i>P.Mert.</i> I 41.6; <i>P.Harr.</i> I 150.8 (cf. <i>BL</i> 11.91)
82 (?)	405/406	<i>O.Sarm.</i> 13 = <i>SB</i> XX 14914
83/52	406/407	<i>P.Mert.</i> I 41.13; <i>CPR</i> VII 39.5 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.112); <i>ZPE</i> 133 (2001) 183.6
84/53	407/408	<i>P.Harr.</i> I 90.5 (cf. <i>BL</i> 11.89)
85/54	408/409	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4677.9 (restored)
86/55	409/410	<i>P.Wisc.</i> II 63.4
87/56	410/411	<i>P.Harr.</i> II 237.3
87 (?)	410/411	<i>O.Dor.</i> 2; 3 = <i>SB</i> XX 14919, 14920; <i>O.Bahria</i> div. 6; 8 = <i>SB</i> XX 14928, 14930
88 (?)	411/412	<i>O.Dor.</i> 4 = <i>SB</i> XX 14921

<i>Era year</i>	<i>Julian</i>	<i>References</i>
89/58	412/413	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 992; LI 3639.8; LV 3796.11; <i>P.Mich.</i> XI 611.7
90/59	413/414	<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1322
93/62	416/417	<i>SB XX</i> 15137.10
94/63	417/418	<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1334 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.244 (93/62); or from year 95/64?, cf. <i>BL</i> 11.149)
95/64	418/419	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1953.4; LXVIII 4680.3; LXVIII 4681.10; cf. s.a. 94/63.
96/65	419/420	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1973.14
97/66	420/421	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1136.6
98/67	421/422	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4682.8 (restored)
100/69	423/424	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIII 3148.3
103/72	426/427	<i>P.Oslo</i> II 35.10 (restored; cf. <i>ZPE</i> 141 [2002] 159-161); <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4683.4
106/75	429/430	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1957.8
107/76	430/431	<i>P.Wash.Univ.</i> II 96.4
109/78	432/433	<i>P.Rein.</i> II 105.4; <i>P.Col.</i> VIII 241.6
110/79	433/434	<i>P.Amst.</i> I 53.5
111/80	434/435	<i>P.Laur.</i> IV 177.4
113/82	436/437	<i>PSI</i> VI 708.7; <i>BASP</i> 37 (2000) 71-81 no. 2
115/84	438/439	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4389.4
117/86	440/441	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4686.6; 4687.7 (restored)
118/87	441/442	<i>P.Fouad</i> 20.9 (?) (cf. <i>BL</i> 7.35); <i>PSI</i> III 165.5 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.393)
119/88	442/443	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3481.12; L 3582.5; LXVIII 4689.9
120/89	443/444	<i>P.Harr.</i> I 149.5
121/90	444/445	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1037.9 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.240)
125/94	448/449	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1129.7
129/98	452/453	<i>P.Harr.</i> I 78.11
130/99	453/454	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4692.7
133/102	456/457	<i>P.Yale</i> I 71.7 (cf. introd.: 101 wrongly for 102)
137/106	460/461	<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3599.15
139/108	462/463	<i>PSI</i> III 175.10
142/111	465/466	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4693.9
143/112	466/467	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2001.6; LXVIII 4694.8 (restored); <i>P.Mich.</i> XIV 681.10; <i>ZPE</i> 129 (2000) 185-186 (?)
145/114	468/469	<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 10.12
146/115	469/470	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4390.7
147/116	470/471	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4391.4
148/117	471/472	<i>JJP</i> 32 (2002) 36.7
151/120	474/475	<i>SB XVI</i> 12946.16; <i>APF</i> 45 (1999) 42.10 (15<1>/120)
152/121	475/476	<i>SB XX</i> 15027.2; <i>APF</i> 45 (1999) 41.2
153/122	476/477	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1958.9
156/125	479/480	<i>P.Wisc.</i> II 64.4
157/126	480/481	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1949.4

<i>Era year</i>	<i>Julian</i>	<i>References</i>
158/127	481/482	<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1335
160/129	483/484	<i>PSI Congr. XX</i> 17.5
161/130	484/485	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1130.16; XVI 1969.10; <i>P.Laur.</i> III 95.5; <i>P.Harr.</i> I 91.5 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.147)
162/131	485/486	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 914.13
163/132	486/487	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1950.4; 1961.12
164/133	487/488	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2237.11
165/134	488/489	<i>P.Flor.</i> III 325.6; <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1888.4; <i>SB</i> XVIII 13886.10
168/137	491/492	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIX 3512.16
171/140	494/495	<i>SO</i> 71 (1996) 172-173 = <i>ZPE</i> 128 (1999) 165.7
172/141	495/496	<i>P.Köln</i> V 235.16; <i>P.Mich.</i> XIV 682.3 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.218)
173/142	496/497	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1889.12; 1891.13; <i>ZPE</i> 129 (2000) 185-186 (?)
174/143	497/498	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1982.18
176/145	499/500	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 994; XVI 1959.9
177/146	500/501	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1962 = <i>SB</i> XVI 12583.11
178/147	501/502	<i>P.Bingen</i> 129.11
179/148	502/503	<i>SB</i> XXIV 16127.2
180/149	503/504	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 141.6; LXVIII 4699.3
181/150	504/505	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1966.8; LXII 4349.15
182/151	505/506	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVII 4615.9
184/153	507/508	<i>SB</i> XVIII 13921.3
185/154	508/509	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1890.5
187/156	510/511	<i>SB</i> XVI 12608.4
189/158	512/513	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2005.16
191/160	514/515	<i>P.Mich.</i> XI 612.9
194/163	517/518	<i>P.Leid.Inst.</i> 70r.1-2n.
195/164	518/519	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1964 (cf. <i>ZPE</i> 132 [2000] 189-192); <i>PSI</i> V 466.9; <i>P.Leid.Inst.</i> 70r.1-2n.
197/166	520/521	<i>P.Mert.</i> III 124.8
198/167	521/522	<i>PSI</i> VIII 964 (?; see <i>Korr.Tyche</i> 356 and <i>BL</i> 11.249)
199/168	522/523	<i>P.David</i> 10.13 (cf. <i>BASP</i> 17 [1980] 117 ⁶)
200/169	523/524	<i>SB</i> V 8264.8 (cf. <i>BL</i> 11.203)
201/170	524/525	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1946.5; <i>P.Heid.</i> V 358.8
205/174	528/529	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1900.24; <i>P.Bingen</i> 131.10 (205 = 173 error for 205 = 174; cf. <i>ZPE</i> 134 [2001] 180-181)
206/175	529/530	<i>P.Wash.Univ.</i> I 25.2
207/176	530/531	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXVIII 2779.19
209/178	532/533	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LI 3640.5
211/180	534/535	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 142.10; 143.5; XVI 1983.19; XLVII 3355.10 <i>SB</i> XXII 15366.9; 15367.5

⁶This correction is not registered in *BL*.

<i>Era year</i>	<i>Julian</i>	<i>References</i>
220/189	543/544	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1985.21
221/190	544/435	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4397.3
223/192	546/547	<i>P.Bad.</i> VI 172.12
224/193	547/548	<i>P.Mich.</i> XV 733.4
225/194	548/549	<i>P.Mil.</i> I 48.2 (cf. <i>BL</i> 7.103)
226/195	549/550	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 140.10; <i>SB</i> XII 11231.15
227/196	550/551	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 133.19; XVI 2013.4; cf. 2014
228/197	551/552	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 145.6
229/198	552/553	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 776.18 (p. 278)
230/199	553/554	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1965.10; <i>P.Herm.</i> 80.4 (cf. <i>ZPE</i> 132 [2000] 181.4)
232/201	555/556	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 146.4; 147.3 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.233); 148.3; XVI 1915.16; 2015.6; <i>SB</i> XVIII 14061.4; 14062.4; 14063.5
233/202	556/557	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1911.148; 1980.13; <i>SB</i> XVI 12585.26
237/206	560/561	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 125.9 (<i>BL</i> 11.142); XVI 1903.11; <i>P.Wisc.</i> I 8.14
239/208	562/563	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1137.4
240/209	563/564	<i>P.Got.</i> 9.2 (cf. <i>BL</i> 5.36)
242/211	565/566	<i>PSI</i> III 191.4; 192.4; 193.4
248/217	571/572	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 126.3
249/218	572/573	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 149.5; VI 915.4
254/223	577/578	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1043.4
255/224	578/579	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2002.15
256/225	579/580	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2008.3; <i>PSI</i> III 223.8; <i>SB</i> XVI 11617.5
258/227	581/582	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1892.19
260/229	583/584	<i>P.Wisc.</i> II 66.4
261/230	584/585	<i>P.Genova</i> I 32.10
262/231	585/586	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XX 2283.4; <i>P.Hamb.</i> III 216.7
264/233	587/588	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3204.3
267/236	590/591	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 150.3; XVI 2012.4; XIX 2243(a).91; LVIII 3935.5; <i>SB</i> XXII 15368.3
268/237	591/592	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2243(a).95; <i>PSI</i> III 200.6 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.394)
271/240	594/595	<i>PSI</i> I 81.14-15 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.392)
281/250	604/605	<i>PSI</i> I 89.3 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.392)
286/255	609/610	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3949.5; 3952.2; 3953.2?
287/256	610/611	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 138.4,49; LVIII 3954.45
288/257	611/612	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3955.8
289/258	612/613	<i>P.Amh.</i> II 157.4; 158.4; <i>P.Oxy.</i> I 151.4; XVI 2045.14
290/259	613/614	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3958.41
293/262	616/617	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 999
294/263	617/618	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 152.4; 153.6; XVI 1904.4; 2010.4; 2011.4
297/266	620/621	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3960.3
303/272	626/627	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVIII 4704.5
308/277	631/632	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3961.5
321/290	644/645	<i>SB</i> VI 8987.1 (cf. <i>BL</i> 11.204)
345/314	668/669	<i>T.Varie</i> 8.7

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ERA OF DIOCLETIAN AND OF THE MARTYRS

Among the means of dating documents in Byzantine Egypt is an era calculated with year 1 = 284/5, the first year of the reign of the emperor Diocletian. This era is sometimes specifically identified in the texts, i.e. "year xx of (or from) Diocletian" (it is occasionally simply given as "year xx"). Later (see below, pp. 67, 82), one finds the era called "of (or from) the Martyrs." It is the universal statement of handbooks and manuals that a year of this era coincided with the Egyptian civil year, i.e., it began on Thoth 1. Since the use of the era was highly specialized, it seems worthwhile to give a table of the instances of its use known to us and to discuss briefly the indications which can be derived from it. This table is found at the end of this chapter.

The era of Diocletian appears in a number of late antique authors, both ecclesiastical and secular. These include chronographic works like the Index to the *Festal Letters* of Athanasius and Theophanes Confessor's *Chronographia*, as well as theological and philosophical works, letters, and astronomical and astrological texts. In addition, the era appears in documents of three types:

(1) It is the standard means of dating the birth of an individual for purposes of casting a horoscope. It occurs in papyri recording the horoscopes of persons born in years ranging from year 21 of the era (304/5, which was in fact the last actual regnal year of Diocletian and Maximian; see below, p. 228, form. 8) to year 224 (507/8). These are included in the table below. A significant number of dates by the era also appear in horoscopes in literary works. These may be found conveniently in the work of Neugebauer and Van Hoesen,¹ now considerably supplemented by the texts in *P.Oxy.Astr.* Dates between years 97 (380/1) and 214 (497/8) occur in the literary horoscopes. There is no means of determining the first date at which the era was actually in use for this purpose, since horoscopes may be made up at a considerably later time than the birth of the individual. We know, however, that the extensive group of horoscopes in *PSI I* belongs to a dossier which must be dated in the 380s, and this provides at least a *terminus ante quem* for the start of the use of the era in horoscopes.² In the horoscopes, we have the unusual advantage of being able to check the date given by means of the astronomical data provided. The work of Neugebauer and Van Hoesen demonstrates that the date of the era is wrong in only one instance, where it misses by one year.³ Secondly, the calculations show that all horoscopes are consonant with the theory that the era year corresponds to the civil year. Every horoscope dated between Pachon and Mesore falls in the second of the julian years spanned by the era year in question. There can thus be no question that for use in horoscopes, the era of

¹ O. Neugebauer and H. B. Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (MemPhilSoc 18, Philadelphia 1959).

² For the *PSI I* group, see *Horoscopes*, p. 66, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 123, *ZPE* 27 (1977) 161 n. 3.

³ This is *Horoscopes* L475, p. 143.

Diocletian was based on the civil year beginning on Thoth 1 and that the era was accurately calculated on this basis.

(2) The era of Diocletian appears in private inscriptions, that is, graffiti and gravestones, over a very long period. The earliest inscriptions, however, are two Hieratic temple inscriptions from the Boucheion at Armant. The first example mentions year 33 (316/7). The first Greek inscription (a graffito from Thebes) using the era comes from year 59 (342/3), but given the damaged condition of this text, the possibility that it originally read 159 cannot be completely excluded. The series at Philae, where the era was used in both Greek and Demotic graffiti, begins in year 90 (373/4). The last text from Philae to use the era comes in year 173 (456/7), but use in inscriptions of provenances ranging from Alexandria to Nubia is attested well after A.D. 1000. Many of the latest examples come from Nubia, where the era continued in sporadic use under that name until at least the end of the eleventh century (cf. below, pp. 80-81).⁴ As the Era of the Martyrs, it is found in Nubia as late as the mid-thirteenth century.⁵

(3) The era was first used in ordinary papyrus documents, according to our evidence, in year 374 (657/8), or after the Arab conquest. It occurs in documents of the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes exclusively until the eighth century; the latest Greek papyrus to use the era dates to year 436 (719/720). In the following year (720/1), the first published Upper Egyptian Coptic papyrus to use the era was written (*P.Ryl.Copt.* 175). The use of the era may have arisen from the desire of Christian Egyptians for a means of reckoning more continuous than the indiction but other than the Saracene era. Some of the Coptic documents bear dating formulas written in Greek.

The literary texts and these classes of documents are all included in a single list given below. The various groups of texts do not, however, present a uniform picture, and the analysis that follows is intended to help clarify the varied use of the era. The horoscopes, as we have noted, use an era year equated to the traditional Egyptian civil year beginning on Thoth 1, and the same appears to be true of the literary texts. When one comes to examine the use of the era in the other two classes of documents, however, a considerably less clear picture appears than that presented by the horoscopes. For purposes of tabulation, the documents have been divided into those falling in the part of the year when the question of the start of the indiction cannot affect our conclusions (i.e., Thoth 1 to Pharmouthi 30, and including those where the date is lost) and those falling during the summer months; then into inscriptions and papyri; and into texts from (1) Alexandria and the Delta, (2) Middle Egypt, mainly the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes, and (3) Upper Egypt and Nubia. In the table on p. 65, the word "agree" means that the julian pair of years indicated by the indiction and those indicated by the era are the same, disregarding for the moment the question of the start of either year. "Disagree" indicates that they refer to different pairs of years. (This terminology does not in itself, of course, mean that in the case of texts from the summer months no possible reconciliation could be found.) The reason for this procedure will become clear as the argument proceeds.

⁴ A list and discussion by J. F. Oates appear in *JEA* 49 (1963) 161-171.

⁵ We are indebted to Adam Lajtar for information about an epitaph dated to Era of the Martyrs 974 (A.D. 1257) found at Old Dongola and not yet published.

DATES ACCORDING TO ERA OF DIOCLETIAN AND INDICATION

	<i>Inscriptions</i>		<i>Papyri</i>	
	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
<i>Thoth 1 to Pharmouthi 30</i> <i>[or date lost]</i>				
Alexandria and Delta	9 ⁶	2 ⁷	-	-
Middle Egypt	5 ⁸	2 ⁹	9 ¹⁰	3 ¹¹
Upper Egypt and Nubia	37 ¹²	5 ¹³	2 ¹⁴	-
Provenance unknown	1 ¹⁵	-	-	-
	52	9	11	3
<i>Pachon 1 to Epagomenai 5/6</i>				
Alexandria and Delta	4 ¹⁶	2 ¹⁷	-	-
Middle Egypt	1 ¹⁸	3 ¹⁹	5 ²⁰	1 ²¹
Upper Egypt and Nubia	10 ²²	8 ²³	3 ²⁴	-
Provenance unknown	-	1 ²⁵	-	-
	15	14	8	1

⁶ In this and the following notes, the references are given to the year under which the document appears in the table beginning on p. 68: 232, 240, 246, 249, 252, 253, 258, 296, 306.

⁷ 208, 409.

⁸ 412, 469, 492, 502, 523.

⁹ 306, 457.

¹⁰ 376, 379, 385, 388, 391, 394 (2x), 425, 433.

¹¹ 374, 403, 437.

¹² 327, 336, 414, 427, 434, 443, 444 (2x), 445 (3x), 449, 451, 455 (3x), 461, 463, 467, 468, 469, 476, 481, 492, 494, 497, 501, 502, 512 (2x), 514, 518, 524, 528, 535, 594, 601.

¹³ 239, 428, 471, 476, 482.

¹⁴ 473, 549.

¹⁵ 314.

¹⁶ 253, 286, 294, 318.

¹⁷ 253, 384.

¹⁸ 451.

¹⁹ 445, 473, 499.

²⁰ 379, 399, 416, 419, 426.

²¹ 416.

²² 415, 422, 442, 446, 454, 474, 515, 604, 639, 642.

²³ 423 (2x), 443, 449, 457, 466, 469, 502.

²⁴ 451, 466, 472.

²⁵ 438.

It should be emphasized that this table does not include literary texts or horoscopes, because its aim is to help determine whether they and the other documents followed the same practices. It should be noted that the era of Diocletian has not been found in documents (in which we do not include horoscopes) from Oxyrhynchos.

To take the upper table first, it can be observed that in the cases of disagreement here, we are certainly dealing with an error of some sort, as no reconciliation is possible. It is possible that in some cases the editor is to be blamed; we have not been able to examine originals or photographs to verify all of the readings. But those we have examined confirm the readings. Several conclusions can be drawn. (1) The inscriptions as a whole show a high rate of agreement between era year and indiction, with the total sample at 85 per cent correctness and Upper Egypt at 88 per cent. (2) The papyri show overall 78.6 per cent agreement, lower but not significantly different. This is somewhat surprising, given the fact that documents on papyrus were for the most part drawn up by professional scribes, whereas gravestones were probably formulated by private persons and simply executed by them or by a stonecutter, who would not be accustomed to reckoning chronological information in the regular manner that a trained notary would be.

When we come to apply this information to the documents from the summer months, we find that here too the papyri, by an 8-1 margin, show agreement between indiction and era year. The same, although by a narrower margin (4-2), is true of the Alexandrian inscriptions. That is, these documents suggest that the indiction ran precisely concurrently with the years of the era. In other words, unless we disregard the testimony of documentation which we otherwise judge to be reasonably trustworthy, we *must* conclude that the years of the era of Diocletian in these documents did not have a starting date independent from the indiction, but changed when the indiction did. But in the inscriptions from other provenances, those agreeing and those disagreeing are approximately equal in number. We see, in other words, a striking lack of agreement between what we would imagine to be the more professionally drawn texts and the majority of the Middle Egyptian and Upper Egyptian gravestones.

As we have seen in Chapter 4, while the indiction system itself was uniform throughout Egypt, there were local variations in the means of reckoning used in dating documents. The evidence of the papyri tabulated above would strongly suggest that professional scribes in general assimilated the era years to the indiction in use locally. It is, however, by no means evident that the same is true of people commissioning gravestones. Here there is no preponderance in favor of congruity between indiction and era year.

It remains to examine the discrepancy between these findings and the dating of the horoscopes. Since the horoscopes do not all come from one locality, an explanation based on local practice seems to be excluded. Much more likely is an explanation based on chronological considerations. No horoscope for a birth later than year 224 of the era is found in the papyri, nor later than 214 in the literary sources. By contrast, the earliest inscription which points to the use of a year linked to the indiction year comes in year 253, or A.D. 536/7 (*Lef. 7*). And the papyri do not appear for yet another 150 years after that. Even if this observation is not contradicted by later discoveries, however, it does not provide a real explanation, only another phenomenon to be explained.

The explanation, we think, must lie in the fact that the horoscopes come from a period before the indiction had fully acquired the dominant role in reckoning of time which it had in the later Byzantine papyri. Most of the horoscopes on papyrus come from a time before 400, and it may be presumed that once horoscopes began to be reckoned on an era where the years started with Thoth 1, astrologers continued this system in order to provide a continuous and consistent

system of calculation of time. The later inscriptions and then the papyri, on the other hand, had no such motives, and those responsible for them naturally referred to the year which they knew best, the indiction year.

The first and earliest use known to us of the Era of the Martyrs occurs on a Greek gravestone from Old Dongola in Nubia, dated to A.M. 502 (785/6, exactly 5.ix.785). The next instance comes from the same site and is dated A.M. 513 (796/7). We seem to be dealing with the appearance of a new era name in funerary inscriptions from the Nubian capital of the kingdom of Makouria.

The next employment of the Era of the Martyrs known to us appears in a non-epigraphic Coptic dating clause from 861/2. It is in the colophon of the Morgan codex MS. Hamouli H (47556), the Gospel of John in Sahidic, fol. 49v, reading "according to the year of the Martyrs 578." No other era designation is visible. (The numerals, particularly the phi, are clear and verifiable on the plate.) It remains to establish how the notion of reckoning from or according to the Martyrs made its way from Nubia to a monastic scriptorium in the Fayyum in some seventy years. Then we find one more gravestone from Old Dongola with the date of A.M. 600 (883/4). In the late ninth century more elaborate phrases for the Era of the Martyrs seem to have become established in the monastic scriptoria of the Fayyum (Tutun and Sopehes), overlapping in time with the use of "Diocletian" in funerary inscriptions from the Aswan area. It next appears in a colophon in 888/9 in the Wadi Natrun (Monastery of St. Makarios), in the Bohairic gospel catena by Theodore of Abusir.

We now come to the Bohairic area and period of Coptic. The provenance of the two inscriptions *SBKopt.* II 1094 and 1095, clearly dated to the early tenth century, is not known. In the second of these two inscriptions we have the first instance of coordinating the Martyrs date with the Higra year, as had already been done with the Diocletian year in Middle Egypt, the Thebaid, and Nubia.²⁶ By the late tenth to early eleventh century, coordinating a Martyrs date with the Higra date was beginning to become normal practice in monastic scriptoria in Upper Egypt, in particular Esna (Latopolis). Indeed, in the eleventh-century Hermopolite, the literate Coptic-using population was dating by the Higra year alone, not even explicitly designating the era. In these documents, the Teshlot papyri,²⁷ the scribes wrote simply "this year 420" and the like, without specifying the reckoning.

Roughly by the time that Coptic was beginning to yield place to Arabic as the everyday language of the Christian population of Egypt and Christians were beginning to be a slight minority in some regions, dating by the Martyrs was thus becoming the more customary form of chronological reckoning for the Copts. It is not found in eighth-century Jeme (Thebes) or in the documents of the ninth-century Apa Apollon monastery at Bawit; it spreads from Nubia directly to the White Monastery and its Sahidic-using region in the Panopolite and further south, and (via donated MSS?) to the Bohairic-speaking area including the Wadi Natrun. The details of its spread must escape us. The conclusion seems inescapable, however, that the name of the era was changed to express a particular religious self-consciousness on the part of the Coptic community, and that this new designation caught on at the level of local scribes, who were most often the ones who drew up documents and produced religious texts for the needs of Christians. The new

²⁶ Athanasius, *Praxapost.*, headings, also include dates to year 43-44. For these see the edition by A. Brindley and M. Albert, pp. 221-231.

²⁷ See Worp 1985c: not dealing with purely Coptic papyri.

²⁸ M. Green, "A Private Archive of Coptic Documents and Letters from Teshlot," *OMRO* 64 (1983) 61-122; MacCoull 1989; Richter 2001.

designation of the Coptic era as that "of the Martyrs" emphasizes even more strongly than the name of Diocletian the fact that the community, religiously defined by its new non-Christian rulers, saw itself as the heir of the martyrs of the Great Persecution of the early fourth century. Willy Clarysse (1995: 395) has suggested a connection to the growing popularity of hagiography and martyrdoms around the same period.

It is likely enough that the monasteries played a crucial role in the process. Specifically Coptic forms of piety survived mainly in the monasteries. Since the earliest instances of the Era of the Martyrs in Egypt appear in monastic scriptoria, it may be hypothesized that the new era name, whatever its precise origins in Nubia, was introduced to Egypt through monastic communities. At all events, the "Era of Diocletian" that had come from an origin in Egyptian pagan cult to be used in Christian literature and then in documents should be clearly distinguished in citations from the "Era of the Martyrs," a late product of the Coptic church in Nubia.

DOCUMENTS CONTAINING DATES ACCORDING TO THE ERA OF DIOCLETIAN²⁸

The first "= julian" column translates the era year, the second one the indiction year.

* indicates that the pair of julian years indicated by the indiction year is not the same as that indicated by the era year.

indicates that the text is in Coptic; other texts are in Greek or Latin except as indicated.

Texts in which the day of the week is indicated are signalled in footnotes. For these cf. bibliography and discussion in Appendix K.

<i>Era</i>	= julian	Ind.	= julian	Date	Document
23?	306/7				<i>P.Oxy.</i> L 3529.1 (hagiography)
24	307/8		XV.Kal.Ian.=	21 Choiak	<i>BASP</i> 31 (1994) 121-24 (martyrology)
29	312/3			Phaophi	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4266 ii
29	312/3			Epeiph 27	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4265
29	312/3			Mesore 8	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4266a
31	314/5			Hathyr 23	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4266 i
33	316/7			Thoth 28	<i>Horoscopes</i> 316
33	316/7				<i>BIFAO</i> 83 (1983) 198-208 (hieratic)
35	318/9			Hathyr 12	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4267
36	319/20			Mecheir 22	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4269
37	320/1			Tybi 4	<i>P.Iand.</i> 88 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 320
39	322/3				<i>BIFAO</i> 83 (1983) 198-208 (hieratic)
42	325/6			Hathyr 20	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4269a
42	325/6			Mecheir 14	<i>Horoscopes</i> 326

²⁸ The use of the Era of Diocletian is a typically Egyptian phenomenon, although not all of the literary works listed here were actually written in Egypt. We have not included inscriptions from outside Egypt and Nubia; see MacCoull and Worp 1990: 380 n. 7 on inscriptions from Soloi in Cyprus. See also Meimaris 1992: 314-318 on the doubtful use of the era in Palestine.

Era	Year	= julian Ind.	= julian Date	Document
	44	327/8		Athanasius, <i>Fest.Index</i> ²⁹
	45	328/9		Athanasius, <i>Fest.Index</i>
	45	328/9	Epeiph 12 (Eg.) = Pharmouthi	<i>O.Douch</i> IV 433 (horoscope)
			16 (Greek)	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 320
	53	336/7	Pachon 19 ³⁰	<i>ZPE</i> 137 (2001) 212 (horoscope)
	55	338/9	Choiak 28/9	<i>PSI</i> I 23.3 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 338
	57	340/1		<i>BIFAO</i> 83 (1983) 198-208 (hieratic)
	59?	342/3	Mecheir	Baillet 1319 = <i>SB</i> III 6632 (Thebes), cf. <i>BL</i> 7.190
	61	344/5	Epeiph 3	<i>PSI</i> III 312.2 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 345
	64	347/8		Athanasius, <i>Fest.Index</i> [cf. <i>Misc.Pap.</i> II 387]
	65	348/9	Phaophi 29	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4265
	66	349/50	Phamenoth 23	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4270
	67	350/1	Tybi	<i>PSI</i> I 24.4 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 351
	71	354/5	Tybi 5	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4271
	76	359/360	Pharm. 28	Ambrose, <i>Ep. extra coll.</i> 13.21
	77	360/1	Thoth 22	Theon of Alexandria, in Tihon 1978: 205-06, 303-04
	80(81)	363/4	Pauni 22	Theon of Alexandria, in Tihon 1976/7: 35-79 ³¹
	81	364/5	Hathyr 29	Theon of Alexandria, <i>Commentary to</i> Ptolemy, <i>Almagest</i> , 6: 319 f. ³²
	82	365/6	9 365/6 Tybi 11/12	<i>PSI</i> I 22.2 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 366
	85	368/9		Athanasius, <i>Fest.Index</i>
	86	369/370	13 369/370 Tybi 13/14	<i>PSI</i> I 22.30 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 370
	86	369/370	Pauni 22	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4272
	86	369/370		Athanasius, <i>Fest.Index</i>
	89	372/3	Tybi 8/9	<i>PSI</i> I 24.2 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 373
	89	372/3	Phm. 28/Phr. 5	Ambrose, <i>Ep. extra coll.</i> 13.14
	89	372/3		<i>P.Kell.Gr.</i> I 84 (horoscope)
	90	373/4	Hathyr 15	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 371
	90	373/4	Choiak 20	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 370
	90	373/4		<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 369
	90	373/4		<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 372

²⁹ Athanasius, *Festal Letters*, headings, also include dates to years 45-64. For these see the edition by A. Martin and M. Albert, pp. 221-231.

³⁰ Equated to Mesore 19 in Egyptian reckoning.

³¹ Theon equates year 80, Pauni 22 Alexandrian style with year 81, Thoth 24 Egyptian style.

³² Cited from the Basel 1538 ed. See Tihon 1978: 1. Theon equates year 81, Hathyr 29 Alexandrian style with year 81, Phamenoth 6 Egyptian style.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i> = julian	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Date</i> = julian	<i>Document</i>
90	373/4			Epiphanius, <i>Ancoratus & Panarion</i> , I, p. 1.14; 5.5-6; 73.1; 147.28
92	375/6		Phaophi 28	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4272
92	375/6			Epiphanius, <i>Ancoratus & Panarion</i> , I, p. 153.1
93	376/7	6*	377/8 Phaophi 15	<i>PSI</i> I 22.13; 23.34 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 376a-b ³³
93	376/7		Pharm. 14/21	Ambrose, <i>Ep. extra coll.</i> 13.14
93	376/7			Epiphanius, <i>Ancoratus & Panarion</i> , III, p. 48.8
94	377/8		Mecheir 20	Paulus Alex., <i>Isagogica</i> , p. 41
94	377/8		(Phamenoth)	Tihon 1978: 262, 331
97	380/1		Hathyr 30	<i>Horoscopes</i> L380
97	380/1		Mecheir 25	<i>PSI</i> I 22.21; 24.31 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 381a-b
101	384/5		Pharmouthi 14	<i>PSI</i> I 24.21 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 385
108	391/2		Epeiph 16 ³⁴	<i>ZPE</i> 137 (2001) 204 (horoscope)
101-	383/4			P.Golenischeff col. vi recto, verso
109	391/2			Ambrose, <i>Ep. extra coll.</i> 13.14
110	393/4		Hathyr 3	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 159
110	393/4		Epagomenai 1	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 436
111	394/5		Choiak 30	<i>P.Oslo</i> III 165 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 394
115	398/9		Mecheir	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4273
122	405/6			<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 259
124	407/8			<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 364
125	408/9			<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 376
128	411/2			<i>I.Philae</i> II 189 (<i>SB</i> I 3657)
135	418/9		Epeiph 8	<i>Horoscopes</i> L419
145	428/9		Thoth 10/11	<i>Horoscopes</i> L428
147	430/1		Tybi 14/15	<i>Horoscopes</i> L431
148	431/2		Thoth 27	<i>P.Mich.</i> III 153 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 431
151	434/5		Hathyr 9	<i>I.Philae</i> II 190 (<i>SB</i> I 13)
152	435/6		Choiak 1	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 240, 366
155	438/9		Phamenoth 1	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 332
155	438/9		Pharmouthi 9	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 450
164	447/8	1	447/8 Pharmouthi 23	<i>ACO</i> Ii.4, p. 67
165	448/9			<i>I.Philae</i> II 193 (<i>SB</i> I 426); <i>I.Philae</i> II 197 (<i>CIG</i> 4945, <i>Archiv</i> I [1901] 405, <i>SB</i> V 8435)
169	452/3		Choiak 6	<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 365

³³ The indiction is certainly wrong, as the computations of the astronomical positions indicate.

³⁴ Equated to Phaophi 25 by Egyptian reckoning.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>= julian Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
169	452/3			Choiak 15	<i>I.Philae</i> II 196 (<i>CIG</i> 4946, <i>SB</i> I 1170, <i>SB</i> V 8436)
169	452/3	5*		Choiak 23	<i>I.Philae</i> II 197 (<i>CIG</i> 4945, <i>APF</i> 1 [1901] 406, <i>SB</i> V 8435)
16[.]	443-453				<i>Dem. Graff. Ph.</i> 320
171	454/5				<i>I.Philae</i> II 198 (<i>SB</i> I 3656)
173	456/7				<i>I.Philae</i> II 199 (<i>Archiv</i> 1 [1901] 413, <i>SB</i> V 8764)
174	457/8	12*		Epeiph 5	Euthalius diaconus, <i>Editio Epistularum</i> <i>S. Pauli</i> (<i>PG</i> 85, p. 716)
179	462/3	1		Phaophi 12	Mogenet-Tihon 1981: 526f., esp. 530
179	462/3	4		April 25	<i>Horoscopes</i> L463
18[1]	464/5			Mesore 29	<i>PSI</i> I 25 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 465
190	474/5			Epeiph 22	<i>Horoscopes</i> L475; corrected by Neugebauer- Van Hoesen to year 191
191	474/5			October 1	<i>Horoscopes</i> L474
194	477/8			Epeiph 5	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2060 = <i>Horoscopes</i> 478 ³⁵
194	477/8			Thoth 1	Tihon 1973: 49ff., esp. 60 Ch. VII.8, 81ff.
195	478/9			Thoth 1/2	<i>Horoscopes</i> L478
195	478/9			Epeiph 20	<i>Horoscopes</i> L479
197	480/1				<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4274 front
199	482/3			Epeiph [1]4	<i>Horoscopes</i> L483
[200]	483/4			Epeiph 27	<i>Horoscopes</i> L484
202	485/6			Phamenoth 25	<i>Horoscopes</i> L486
204	487/8			Thoth 7	<i>Horoscopes</i> L487
204	487/8				<i>Lef.</i> 43 ³⁵ (Alexandria)
207	490/1	14		490/1	Theophanes Confessor, <i>Chronographia</i> 136.19
208	491/2	1*		Choiak 27	<i>SB</i> III 6250 (Alex.)
214	497/8			Hathyr 1	<i>Horoscopes</i> L497
219	502/3			Pauni 20	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4274 back
224	507/8	17		Mecheir 6	<i>P.Oxy.Astr.</i> 4275
232	515/6	9		Choiak 28	<i>SB</i> III 6255 (Alex.)
233	516/7			Pachon 10	John Philoponus, <i>In Physicor.</i> 4.10
234	517/8	11A		April 9	Theophanes Confessor, <i>Chronographia</i> 164.16
239	522/3	2*		Hathyr 7	<i>Lef.</i> 146 (Upper Egypt)
240	523/4	2		Mecheir 16	<i>Lef.</i> 1 (Alex.)
245	528/9				John Philoponus, <i>De aeternitati</i> <i>mundi</i> xvi
246	529/530	8		Pharmouthi 16	<i>Lef.</i> 2 (Alex.)

³⁵ This instance is doubtful, cf. editor's remarks.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	249	532/3	11	532/3	Phaophi 8	Lef. 3 (Alex.)
	252	535/6	14	535/6	Tybi 20	Lef. 4 (Alex.)
	253	536/7	15	536/7	Pauni 8	Lef. 5 (Alex.)
	253	536/7	15	536/7	Hathyr 8	Lef. 6 (Alex.)
	253	536/7	1*	537/8	Epeiph 25	Lef. 7 (Alex.)
	258	541/2	5	541/2	Tybi 4	Lef. 8 (Alex.)
	281	564/5			Mesore	Olympiodorus, <i>In Meteorolog.</i> I.6
	286	569/570	3	569/570	Mesore 23	Lef. 9 (Alex.)
	294	577/8	11	577/8	Pachon 23	Lef. 10 (Alex.); cf. <i>JJP</i> 26 (1996) 67; <i>Etudes alexandrines</i> 8 (2002) 37ff.
	296	579/580	13	579/580	Thoth 10	Lef. 11 (Alex.)
	306	589/590	8	589/590	Hathyr 9	Lef. 12 (Alex.)
	306	589/590	9*	590/1	Phamenoth 29	<i>SB</i> X 10705 (Arsinoite) = <i>SEG</i> XXIV 1204
	314	597/8	1	597/8	Thoth 20	<i>SEG</i> 46.2114 = <i>SB</i> IV 7318 (prov. unkn.), cf. <i>BL</i> 7.192, <i>JJP</i> 26 (1996) 65-66 (proposes Dekhelah, w. of Alexandria)
	318	601/2	5	601/2	Pachon 27	<i>SB</i> III 6249 (Alex.) ³⁶
	327	610/1	14	610/1	Phaophi 21	<i>BIFAO</i> 94 (1994) 115 no. 8 = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 1098
	333	616/7				R. Kasser et al., <i>Kellia II. Topographie</i> (Geneva 1972) 101 no. 11
	336	619/620	8	619/620	Tybi 5	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 768 (Antin.) ³⁷
	374	657/8	15*	656/7	Tybi 24	<i>BGU</i> I 312 i (Arsin.)
	376	659/660	3	659/660	Thoth 13	<i>SB</i> I 4666 (Arsin.)
	379	662/3	6	662/3	Mecheir 15	<i>SB</i> I 4665 (Arsin.) + <i>BL</i> 8.312
	379	662/3	6	662/3	Epeiph 22	<i>P.Berl.Zill.</i> 8 (Arsin.)
	38[.]	663/673				<i>SB</i> I 4797 (Arsin.) + <i>BL</i> 8.315
	384	667/8	13*	669/70	Pachon 6	<i>SEG</i> XLVII 2134 (El Arish)
	385	668/9	12	668/9	Choiak 2	<i>SB</i> XVI 12481 (Arsin.)
	386	669/670				R. Kasser et al., <i>Kellia II</i> 78 (era name restored)
	387	670/1	[14]	[670/1]	Pharmouthi []	<i>P.Bodl.</i> I 77: see <i>ZPE</i> 141 (2002) 173-176
	388	671/2	15	671/2	Choiak 7	<i>CPR</i> X 134 (Arsin./Herakl.?)
	391	674/5	3	674/5	Phaophi 6	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> III 52 (Arsin.)
	391	674/5	2*	673/4	[] 22	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> III 53 (Arsin.)
	394	677/8	6	677/8	Phaophi 4	<i>SB</i> I 4716 (Arsin.)
	394	677/8	6	677/8	Tybi 24	<i>SB</i> I 4668 (Arsin.)
	399	682/3	11	682/3	Mesore 2	<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 100 (Arsin.)

³⁶ Cf. *BL* 7.189. For a detailed interpretation of this stone within a much wider context see now A. Lajtar-E. Wipszycka in *JJP* 28 (1998) 55-69 (cf. *BL* 11.199).

³⁷ *SBKopt.* I 768 = *ASAE* 15 (1915) 119 = I. Kamel, *Coptic Funerary Stelae* 118 = W. Brunsch, *Orientalia* 60 (1991) 105; see the discussion of the dating formula in *JJP* 29 (1999) 14 no. 1.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	402	685/6				<i>BSAC</i> 3 (1937) 2 (Deir Abu Lifa) ³⁸
	403	686/7	14*	685/6	Mecheir 28	<i>SB</i> I 4667 (Arsin.)
	409	692/3	5*	691/2	Mecheir 18	<i>Lef.</i> 62 (Hermop. Parva)
	412	695/6	9	695/6	Phaophi 4	<i>Excav. Sakkara</i> 1908/10, no. 209 = C. Wietheger, no. 184
	414	697/8	11	697/8	Phaophi 13	<i>BSA Alex</i> 30 (1936) 27 (Thebaid) ³⁹
	415	698/9	12	698/9	Pauni 8	<i>Lef.</i> 661 (Nubia?)
	416	699/700	14*	700/701	Epeiph 5	<i>CPR</i> XIX 17 (Arsin.?)
	416	699/700	13	699/700	Mesore 6	<i>CPR</i> VIII 82 = <i>SB</i> VI 9460 (Arsin.)
	419	702/3			Pharmouthi 6?	<i>Lef.</i> 790 (Arsin.)
	419	702/3	1	702/3	Mesore 21	<i>CPR</i> X 136 (Arsin.)
	422	705/6	4	705/6	Pachon 17	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 791 (Deir el-Barša, near Antin.)
	423	706/7	5	706/7	[]	<i>P. Ross. Georg.</i> III 56 (Herakl.)
	423	706/7	6*	707/8	Pauni 30	<i>SB</i> V 8740 = <i>Lef.</i> 656 (Nubia?) = E. Bernand, <i>I. Louvre</i> 114
	423	706/7	6*	707/8	Epagom. 5	<i>Faras</i> IV 1 (p. 20) (Greek); <i>I. Khartoum</i> <i>Copt.</i> I <i>Faras</i> III, pp. 37-45 (Nubia) ⁴⁰
	423	706/7				R. Kasser e.a., <i>Kellia</i> 1965, 46 text 'b'
	425	708/9	7	708/9	Hathyr	<i>SPP</i> III 448 ⁴¹ (Herakleop.)
	426	709/710	8	709/710	Pauni 15	<i>SPP</i> III 190 (Arsin./Herakl.)
	427	710/1	9	710/1	Choiak 18	<i>Faras</i> IV, p. 18 = <i>SB</i> I 1594 (Nubia)
	428	711/2	9*	710/1	Pharmouthi 5	H. S. Smith, <i>Prelim. Rep. E.E.S. Nubian</i> <i>Survey</i> (Cairo 1962) 8 (Adendan-East, Nubia)
	428	711/2				R. Kasser e.a., <i>Kellia</i> II 42 no. 1 (Kellia)
	429	712/3				Wietheger 115 (Sakkara)
	432	715/6			Mecheir 9	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 551 (Aswan)
	432	715/6			Choiak 29	R. Kasser e.a. <i>Kellia</i> I 105 no. 25 (Kellia)
	433	716/7	15	716/7	Choiak 13	<i>SPP</i> III 338 (Arsin./Herakl.); cf. <i>BL</i> 7.256
	434	717/8	1	717/8	Pharmouthi 4	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 552 (Aswan)
	436	719/20	3?	719/20	Phaophi (?)	<i>P. Rain. Cent.</i> 121 (Herakleop.)
	437	720/1				<i>P. Ryl. Copt.</i> 175 (Upper Eg.)
	438	721/2	6*	722/3	Pauni 12	P. Boeser, <i>Beschrijving RMO</i> no. 33, pl. 18
	442	725/6	9	725/6	Pauni 18	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 553 (Aswan)
	443	726/7	10	726/7	Mecheir 7	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 554 (Aswan)
	443	726/7	11*	727/8	Pauni []	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 555 (Aswan)
		784/5				
		785/6				

³⁸ Monk's graffito; era designation lacking.

³⁹ Adds Saracene year 55, which is not Hijra era reckoning. Ed. assigns to the conquest, which would require 643/4 as year 1.

⁴⁰ These are respectively the Greek and Coptic versions of the foundation inscription of the cathedral of Faras. Only the Greek version includes the date to Epagomenai 5.

⁴¹ Wessely dates this to 709, but Hathyr falls in 708.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	444	727/8	11	727/8	Tybi 7	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 556 (Aswan)
	444	727/8	11	727/8	Mecheir 4	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 557 (Aswan)
	445	728/9	12	728/9	Phaophi 15	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 558 (Aswan)
	445	728/9	12	728/9	Phamenoth	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 559 (Aswan)
	445	728/9	12	728/9	Phamenoth 22	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 560 (Aswan)
	445	728/9	14*	730/1	Pachon 25	Wietheger 58 (Sakkara)
	445	728/9			Mesore 5	R. Kasser e.a. <i>Kellia</i> I 106 no. 26 (Kellia)
	446	729/30	13	729/30	Mesore 2	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 561 (Aswan)
	449	732/3				<i>SBKopt.</i> I 562 (Aswan)
	449	732/3	1	732/3	Choiak 2	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 563 (Aswan)
	449	732/3	2*	733/4	Pachon 15	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 564 (Aswan)
	450	733/4	2	733/4		<i>SBKopt.</i> I 565 (Aswan)
	450	733/4	2	733/4		<i>SBKopt.</i> I 566 (Aswan)
	451	734/5	3	734/5	Phamenoth 5	Clédat, <i>Baouit</i> , p. 84 no. 5 (Bawit)
	451	734/5	3	734/5	Pachon 12	<i>BIFAO</i> 93 (1993) 240 (Old Cairo)
	451	734/5	3	734/5	Pauni 6	<i>P.KRU</i> 106 (Jeme) ⁴²
	452	735/6			Mesore 9	R. Kasser e.a. <i>Kellia</i> I 105-106 no. 25 ⁴³
	453	736/7			Phamenoth 16	Clédat, <i>Baouit</i> , p. 84 no. 9 (Bawit)
					Pharmouthi 4	
	454	737/8	6	737/8	Pauni 16	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 567 (Aswan)
	455	738/9	7	738/9	Choiak 8	<i>DACL</i> III 2882 = <i>Faras</i> III, pp. 65 ff. = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 1061 (Faras) ⁴⁴
	455	738/9	8		Choiak 21	R. Kasser e.a. <i>Kellia</i> I 105-106 no. 25
	455	738/9	7	738/9	Tybi 21	Clédat, <i>Baouit</i> , p. 84 no. 10 (Bawit)
	455	738/9	7	738/9	Tybi []	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 568 (Aswan)
	457	740/1	10*	741/2	Pharmouthi 13	Wietheger 183 (Sakkara)
	457	740/1	10*	741/2	Mesore 28	Kosack no. 102 = Hall, p. 6 no. 1208 (prov.unkn.)
	458	741/2			Mecheir 12	<i>WZKM</i> 84 (1994) 18 no. A 11751 (no indication of era type given)
	461	744/5	13	744/5	Hathyr 3	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 569 (Aswan)
	461	744/5				<i>P.Lond.Copt.</i> I 1226 (Fayyum?)
	463	746/7	15	746/7	Choiak 15	<i>ASAE</i> 15 (1915) 139 (Assiut)
	463?	746/7?				Wietheger 185 (Sakkara) (or 468?)
	466	749/50	7*	753/4	Epeiph 12/15	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 428 (Deir Abu Hennes, nr. Antinoop.)
	466	749/50	3	749/50	Epeiph 10	<i>P.KRU</i> 70 (Jeme) ⁴⁵
	467	750/1	4	750/1	Thoth 4	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 570 (Aswan)
						<i>P.Greenf.</i> II 100 (Aswan)

⁴² Adds Saracene year 114 = 732/3.

⁴³ Cf. *Kellia, II. Topographie* (Geneva 1972) 51 note 14.

⁴⁴ See *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology & Anthropology* 14 (1927) pl. XX.24; ind. 10 in the other editions is a misprint.

⁴⁵ Adds Saracene year 132 = 749/750.

<i>Era</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
<i>Year</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
467	750/1	5			Wietheger 35 (Sakkara)
468	751/2	5	751/2	Thoth 1	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 571 (Aswan)
469	752/3	6	752/3	Choiak 6	Wietheger 80 (Sakkara)
469	752/3	6	752/3	Choiak 21	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 302 (Philae) = <i>Aegyptus</i> 73 (1993) 163 no. 30
469	752/3	5?*	751/2	Pauni 20	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 572 (Aswan)
470-479				Pachon 14	Wietheger 191
471	754/5	1?*	762/3?	Hathyr 25	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 573 (Aswan)
471	754/5				Monneret de Villard, <i>La Nubia</i> <i>medioevale</i> I 166 + pl. 151 (gravestone)
471	754/5				Togo Mina 80 (Nubia)
472	755/6	9	755/6	[] 5	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 574 (Aswan)
472	755/6	9	755/6	Pachon 4	<i>P.KRU</i> 14 (Jeme)
473	756/7	10	756/7	Hathyr 12	<i>P.KRU</i> 15 (Jeme)
473	756/7	14*	760/1	Epeiph 19/29	Wietheger 84 (Sakkara)
474	757/8	11	757/8	Mesore 16	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 575 (Aswan)
476	759/60	14*	760/1	Thoth 15	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 576 (Aswan)
476	759/60	13	759/60	Phaophi 4	<i>OMRO</i> 50 (1969) 4 = Kosack 97a (Antinoop?)
476	759/60			Tybi 10	Wietheger 60 (Sakkara)
481	764/5	3	764/5	Pharmouthi 28	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 780 (Deir Abu Hennes)
482	765/6	2*	763/4	Phamenoth 5	<i>Lef.</i> 668 = Hall, Pl. IX.5 (Nubia); cf. <i>BASP</i> 18 (1981) 53
482	765/6			Pauni 6	<i>Faras</i> III, p. 202 (Faras)
483	766/7			Pauni 2	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 577 (Aswan)
488	771/2				Wietheger 190 (Sakkara)
489	772/3				<i>SBKopt.</i> I 578 (Aswan)
491	774/5			Epeiph 1	<i>Lef.</i> 645 = <i>SB</i> I 5826 (Nubia)
492	775/6	14	775/6	Mecheir 2	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 579 (Aswan)
492	775/6	14	775/6	Phaophi 28	Wietheger 192 (Sakkara)
492	775/6	[14]	775/6	Mecheir 15	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 580 (Aswan)
494	777/8	1	777/8	Thoth 4	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 581 (Aswan)
497	780/1	4	780/1	Tybi 1	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 582 (Aswan)
498	781/2				<i>SBKopt.</i> I 583 (Aswan)
499	782/3	4*	780/1	Mesore 1	Kamel, <i>Coptic Funerary Stelae</i> 243 = Wietheger 189 = <i>SB Kopt.</i> II 1143; cf. <i>JJP</i> 29 (1999) 14-15 ⁴⁶
501	784/5	8	784/5	Hathyr 29	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 599 (Aswan)
502	785/6	9	785/6	Phamenoth 7	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 781 = Kamel, <i>Coptic Funerary</i> <i>Stelae</i> 247 (Old Cairo?)

⁴⁶ Adds Saracene year 164 = 780/1. For the problem of reconciling the dating information in the text, see *JJP*, where the reading 4 for the indiction is suggested and a date of 25.vii.781 is proposed.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	502	785/6	9	785/6	Phamenoth 17	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 600 (Aswan)
	502	785/6	10*	786/7	Pachon 13	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 601 (Aswan)
	503	786/7			Epeiph 23	Wietheger 85 (Sakkara) ⁴⁷
	512	795/6	4	795/6	Pharmouthi 14	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 602 (Aswan)
	512	795/6	4	795/6	Pharmouthi 22	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 782 (Antinoop.?)
	514	797/8	6	797/8	Tybi 12	<i>Archéologie du Nil Moyen</i> 5 (1991) 157ff. no. 1 = <i>I.Khartoum Gr.</i> 23
	515	798/9			Phamenoth []	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 603 (Aswan)
	515	798/9	7	798/9	Pachon 4	<i>SB XX</i> 14177 = <i>Aegyptus</i> 72 (1992) 129f. (Old Dongola) ⁴⁸
	515	798/9	2*		Mecheir 7	Wulff, <i>Altchristlichen u. mittelalterlichen, byzantinischen und italienischen Bildwerke</i> III/1 (Berlin 1909) 92, no. 282 (Akhmim?)
	515	798/9			Mesore 9	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 783 (Qaw, Upper Egypt) ⁴⁹
	516	799/800	8	799/800	Phamenoth 1	Kamel, <i>Coptic Funerary Stelae</i> 242 = <i>Aegyptus</i> 73 (1993) 193 no. 55 = <i>JJP</i> 25 (1995) 88
	518	801/2	10	801/2	Tybi 28	<i>Faras</i> IV 4 (Faras) ⁵⁰
	519	802/3	11	802/3	Thoth 13	<i>La Nubia medioevale</i> I 26 (Nubia)
	519	802/3			Phaophi 10	<i>WZKM</i> 84 (1994) 31 no. A25067 (Fayyum?)
	519	802/3				Zoega, p. 174, no. XI (prov. unkn.)
	52[?]	803/4+				<i>WZKM</i> 14 (1900) 236-238, Text A (Lower Nubia)
	521	804/5			Pachon 14	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 604 (Aswan)
	523	806/7	15?	806/7	Thoth 6?	Wietheger 86 (Sakkara) ⁵¹
	524	807/8	1	807/8	Choiak 2	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 605 (Aswan)
	528	811/2	5	811/2	Choiak 22	<i>Lef.</i> 643 (Nubia) = <i>Or. Chr.</i> 81 (1997) 125 no. 10
	529?	812/3?			Thoth []	<i>P.KRU</i> 100 (Jeme)
	534	817/9			Pharmouthi 9	Wietheger 194 (Sakkara) ⁵²
	535	818/9	12	818/9	Thoth 19	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 606 (Aswan)
	539	822/3	1	822/3		Morgan M579 = v. Lantschoot I (Fayyum)
	549	832/3	11	832/3	Tybi 9	<i>BASP</i> 31 (1994) 142 (Hermop.) ⁵³
<i>Era</i>						

⁴⁷ Wietheger reads the year as 503; cf. *Misc.Pap.* II 392 for an alternative reading of 5[04]. Adds the Saracene era year 171 = 787/8.

⁴⁸ The text in *Aegyptus* (132, line 10; reprinted in *SB*) gives the Diocletian year number as ΦΙΑ, 511; but the translation (132) and commentary (138) speak of 515, and in fact one can see on the plate (p. 114, Tav. 1: the caption is wrong, the two plates having been switched) that the number is ΦΙΕ.

⁴⁹ Adds the Saracene year 189 = 804/5.

⁵⁰ Tybi 28 is said to be a Sunday, which is correct.

⁵¹ Adds the Saracene year 190 = 805/6.

⁵² Adds the Saracene year 202 = 817/8.

⁵³ Adds the Saracene year 217 = 832/3.

Year	= julian	Ind.	= julian Date	Document
55[7]	840/1	4	840/1 Hathyr 7	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 786 (prov.unkn.) ⁵⁴
558	841/2	5	841/2 Phamenoth 12	Morgan M588 = v. Lantschoot III (Fayyum) ⁵⁵
559	842/3	6	842/3 Choiak 9	<i>BASP</i> 31 (1994) 145 (Hermop.) ⁵⁶
561	844/5	8	844/5 Phaophi 12	Morgan M586 = v. Lantschoot IV (Fayyum) ⁵⁷
561	844/5		Pachon 8	<i>BIFAO</i> 70 (1971) 165 no. 2 = <i>Oriens Antiquus</i> 10 (1971) 53 (prov.unkn.) ⁵⁸
564	847/8	11	847/8 Phaophi 3	<i>BASP</i> 31 (1994) 149 (Hermop.) ⁵⁹
564	847/8	11	847/8 Mecheir 13	Morgan M583 = v. Lantschoot V (Fayyum)
566	849/50	14*	850/1 Thoth 15	<i>BASP</i> 31 (1994) 153 (Hermop.)
566	849/50		Pauni 25	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 607 (Aswan)
567	850/1	14	850/1 Mesore 30	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 608 (Aswan)
571	854/5		Pharmouthi 8	Morgan M595 = v. Lantschoot VIII (Fayyum)
572	855/6		Thoth 1	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 609 (Aswan)
572	855/6		Pauni 12	Morgan H47562 = v. Lantschoot X (Hamouli, Fayyum)
573	856/7		Pharmouthi []	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 610.7 (Aswan)
574	857/8		Thoth 12	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 611 (Aswan)
574	857/8		Choiak 10	<i>SB</i> IV 7428 (Nubia) ⁶⁰
574	857/8			<i>BSAC</i> 3 (1937) 4 (Deir Abu Lifa)
575	858/9		Phaophi? 3	Togo Mina 88 (Nubia)
577	860/1		Mecheir 20	Morgan M591 = v. Lantschoot XI (Fayyum)
578	861/2		Epeiph 22	<i>Faras</i> III, pp. 73-80 (Faras)
582	865/6		Mecheir 21	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 610.17 (Aswan)
583	866/7		Epagom. 3	Togo Mina 25 (Nubia)
584?	867/8?			<i>Faras</i> III, pp. 93ff. (or year 594?)
586	869/70		Epeiph 12	<i>ASAE</i> 16 (1916) 253 (Babylon?)
588	871/2		Phamenoth 22	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 612 (Aswan)
588	871/2			Morgan M596 = v. Lantschoot XIII (Fayyum)
590	873/4		Tybi 20	Turaieff, <i>Matériaux</i> 17 no. 35 (prov.unkn.)

⁵⁴ In this edition, the restoration of the last digit of the era year by MacCoull and Worp (*Pap.Flor.* XIX, p. 393) is not incorporated; they saw on the plate of the inscription in *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) Tav. XI that in line 15 at the start one should read the name of the month as AΘ]YΠ ζ.

⁵⁵ Adds the Saracene year 227 = 841/2.

⁵⁶ Adds the Saracene year 227 = 841/2.

⁵⁷ Adds the Saracene year 230 = 844/5.

⁵⁸ Adds the Saracene year 230 = 844/5.

⁵⁹ Adds the Saracene year 233 = 847/8.

⁶⁰ The date is given also as 6345 from the creation of the world and 868 from the coming of Christ. For an attempt to reconcile these discordant data, see V. Grumel, *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 93 ff.

Era	Year = julian	Ind.	Date = julian	Document	Document
	594	877/8	11	877/8	Mecheir 18 <i>SBKopt.</i> I 613 (Aswan) ⁶¹
	601	884/5	3	884/5	Hathyr 17 <i>SBKopt.</i> I 614.a (Aswan) ⁶²
	603	886/7			Pharmouthi 17 <i>SBKopt.</i> I 747 (Delta or Wadi Natrun) ⁶³
	604	887/8	6	887/8	Epeiph 21 <i>SBKopt.</i> I 614.b (Aswan) ⁶⁴
	606	889/90			Pachon 5 <i>Lef.</i> 541 = <i>Livre du Centenaire</i> 251 no. 29 (Esna) ⁶⁵
	608	891/2			Hathyr 18 <i>SBKopt.</i> I 614.c (Aswan) ⁶⁶
	609	892/3			Morgan H47551bis = v. Lantschoot XVI (Hamouli, Fayyum) ⁶⁷
	609	892/3			Morgan M567 = v. Lantschoot XVII (Fayyum)
	609	892/3			Morgan M593 = v. Lantschoot XIX (Fayyum)
	609	892/3			Morgan M590 = v. Lantschoot XX (Fayyum)
	611	894/5			Morgan M607 = v. Lantschoot XXII (Fayyum)
	614?	897/8			Pharmouthi 10 <i>Tamit</i> 1964 p. 72 no. 34 ⁶⁸
	618	901/2			Choiak 12 Morgan M599 = v. Lantschoot VII (Fayyum)
	619	902/3			Morgan M603 = v. Lantschoot XLV (Fayyum)
	622	905/6			Morgan M600 = v. Lantschoot XXXI (Fayyum)
	623	906/7			Epeiph 6 <i>Togo Mina</i> 315 (Nubia) ⁶⁹
	623	906/7			Epeiph 10 <i>Togo Mina</i> 314 (Nubia) = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 1210 ⁷⁰
	629	912/3			Phamenoth 22 <i>SBKopt.</i> I 734 = <i>Lef.</i> 647 ⁷¹ (Nubia)
	630	913/4			Choiak 28 <i>SBKopt.</i> I 744 (prov.unkn.) ⁷²
	630	913/4			Morgan M597 = v. Lantschoot L (Fayyum)

⁶¹ The text prints the indiction number as //a//, thus apparently as 1. In fact, the strokes before alpha should represent an iota, as the correct indiction number is 11.

⁶² Cf. *JJP* 29 (1999) 29-30 no. 60.

⁶³ Adds the [restored!] Saracene year 273 = 886/7. *SBKopt.* gives provenance as Fayyum?, but it is much more likely from the Delta or Wadi Natrun.

⁶⁴ Cf. *JJP* 29 (1999) 29-30 no. 60.

⁶⁵ Adds Saracene year 277 = 890/91.

⁶⁶ Cf. *JJP* 29 (1999) 29-30 no. 60.

⁶⁷ Adds the Saracene year 278 = 891/2.

⁶⁸ For the reading by L.S.B. MacCoull of the year as 614 see *AnalPap* 7 (1995) 158. The edition prints only xi.

⁶⁹ Adds the Saracene year 293 = 905/6.

⁷⁰ Adds the Saracene year 293 = 905/6.

⁷¹ The Saracene year 291 = 903/4 conflicts with the Diocletianic era year. The day is said to be Sunday, which would be correct in 904 but not in 913. Probably the Saracene year is correct.

⁷² Adds the Saracene year 301 = 913/4.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	637	920/1			Hathyr 21	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 460 (Arminna West, Nubia) ⁷³
	639	922/3			Pauni 30?	Togo Mina 320 (Nubia)
	639	922/3	11	922/3	Mesore 20	<i>Faras</i> IV 5 = <i>I. Khartoum Gr.</i> 1 (Faras)
	640+?	923/4+?				Paris copte 129 ¹³ 41 ^v = v. Lantschoot LII (White Monastery)
	641	924/5			Mecheir 13	Paris, Louvre E 25091 (stela, Fayyum) ⁷⁴
	642	925/6	14	925/6	Epeiph 20	<i>Faras</i> IV 6 (Faras) ⁷⁵
	643	926/7			Pauni 23	Paris copte 132 ¹ 67 = v. Lantschoot LI(E) (Fayyum or Akhmim)
	646	929/30			Pharmouthi 28	<i>Faras</i> III, p. 111 (Faras)
	646	929/30				Paris copte 132 ¹ 74 = v. Lantschoot LXXXII (Akhmim)
	648	931/2			Pachon 24	<i>DACL</i> IV 2492 = <i>Anz. Akad. Wien</i> 1955, 171-186 no. 1 = <i>SBKopt.</i> I 746 (Nubia) ⁷⁶
	649	932/2				<i>Faras</i> III 115 = <i>LAAS</i> 14 (1927) pl. 91
	650	933/4			Tybi 21	Cramer, <i>Kopt. Inschr. Kaiser-Friedrich-</i> <i>Museum</i> , p. 38 (prov. unkn.)
	650	933/4			Tybi 24	Morgan Library sycomore box (probably Fayyum)
	651	934/5			Hathyr 19	Stele Leipzig inv. 3621 (cat. 69)
	655	938/9			Phamenoth 2	<i>WZKM</i> 54 (1957) 211 (Abydos)
	655	938/9				<i>Faras</i> III p. 116
	655	938/9			Pauni 1	<i>Meroe</i> (Moscow 1977) 273-77 (Nubia) ⁷⁷
	656	939/40				Paris copte 131 ³ 39 ^v = v. Lantschoot LV (Tutun, Fayyum)
	659	942/3				Cramer, <i>Kopt. Inschr. Kaiser-Friedrich-</i> <i>Museum</i> , p. 42 (Fayyum)
	662	945/6			Phamenoth 17	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 486 (Esna) ⁷⁸
	670	953/4				<i>Faras</i> IV 30 = <i>Faras</i> III, p. 119
	671	954/5			Choiak 20	Togo Mina 318 (Nubia)
	671	954/5			Pachon 11	<i>Faras</i> III, p. 125 (text); IV, p. 54 (transl.) (Faras)
	673	956/7				<i>SBKopt.</i> I 401 (Fayyum?) ⁷⁹

⁷³ Adds the Saracene year 427 = 935/6.

⁷⁴ Adds the Saracene year 457 = 945/6.

⁷⁵ Adds that Pachon 20 = Sunday.

⁷⁶ *SBKopt.* I 401 (Fayyum?)⁷⁹

⁷⁷ There is no indication of the year as by Diocletian or Martyrs.

⁷⁸ Published by A. Boud'hors and F. Calament, *Copt. Congr.* 7, forthcoming.

⁷⁹ Epeiph 20 is said to be a Friday, which is correct.

⁸⁰ Adds the Saracene year 320 = 932/3.

⁸¹ No indication whether year is by era of Diocletian or of Martyrs is preserved.

⁸² Adds Saracene year 334 = 945/6.

⁸³ *SBKopt.* dates wrongly 957/8. The translation in *BIFAO* 78 (1978) 341 gives year 676 (959/960); we do not know if this reflects an alternative reading of the last digit as sti.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	675		958/9			<i>DACL</i> III 2851 = <i>ASAE</i> 10 (1910) 59-60 (Fayyum)
	678		961/2		Choiak 29	<i>Aegyptus</i> 4 (1923) 133 (Esna) ⁸⁰
	678		961/2		Pharmouthi 24	<i>Beiträge zur Sudanforschung</i> 8 (2003) 31-39 (Aswan)
	678		961/2			Golenischeff copte 16.2 ^v = v. Lantschoot LVII
	688		971/2		Epeiph []	<i>ZNTW</i> 37 (1938) 21 no. 9941 (Lower Nubia) ⁸¹
	689		972/3		Choiak 16	<i>Faras</i> III, p. 121/2 (text); IV, p. 55 (transl.) (Faras)
	690		973/4		Phamenoth 4	BL Or. 6780 = v. Lantschoot CVII (Esna) ⁸²
	697		980/1		Pharmouthi 12	BL Or. 7022.59 ^v = v. Lantschoot CVIII (Esna)
	702		985/6			Paris copte 132 ¹ 70 ^f = v. Lantschoot LXXXV (White Monastery)
	703		986/7		Mesore I	Togo Mina 319 (Nubia)
	705		988/9			BL Or. 7028 = v. Lantschoot LIX (Edfu) ⁸³
	706		989/90			BL Or. 6782 = v. Lantschoot LX (Fayyum)
	707		990/1			<i>SBKopt.</i> I 615 (Aswan)
	708		991/2			BL Or. 7029 = v. Lantschoot CXIII (Esna) ⁸⁴
	711		994/5			BL Or. 7030 = v. Lantschoot CXV (Esna)
	715		998/9		Epeiph 26	<i>Faras</i> III, p. 136-37 (text); IV, p. 56 (trans.) (Faras)
	719		1002/3			Naples Copt. 1.B.1.343 = v. Lantschoot LXI (Fayyum)
	719		1002/3			Paris copt. 124 ¹⁴ 95 ^v = v. Lantschoot LXX (Shotep) ⁸⁵
	721?		1004/5?		Tybi 17	Morgan M633 = v. Lantschoot CXIV (Esna) ⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Does not indicate whether year is by era of Diocletian or of Martyrs.

⁸¹ Ed. read year as 698. For the numeral, see *Misc.Pap.* II 397; reading confirmed by J. van der Vliet. The text adds a Saracene year, perhaps 362 = 972/3.

⁸² Adds the Saracene year 363 = 973/4.

⁸³ Adds the Saracene year 378 = 988/9.

⁸⁴ Adds the Saracene year 372? = 982/3.

⁸⁵ Adds the Saracene year 393 = 1002/3.

⁸⁶ Adds the Saracene year 425? = 1033/34.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year = julian</i>	<i>Ind. = julian Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
722	1005/6		BL Or. 1320 = v. Lantschoot LXII (Fayyum)
730	1013/4	Mesore 25	Zoega p. 99 no. LIV = Vat.Copt. 68 (7) (Wadi Natrun)
732	1015/6	Pa-- 13	Vat.Borg.Copt. 109 = v. Lantschoot XCV (Akhmim?)
752	1035/6		<i>P.Lond.Copt.</i> 490 = v. Lantschoot C (Upper Egypt) ⁸⁷
762	1045/6	Tybi 14	Stele Khartoum inv. 18098, cf. descript. in <i>JJP</i> 28 (1998) 38 + n. 15
764	1047/8		Cairo 9296 = v. Lantschoot CI (Upper Egypt) ⁸⁸
770	1053/4	Pachon 20	<i>DACL</i> III 2882 = <i>ZÄS</i> 44 (1907) 71, 133 (Wadi Halfa) ⁸⁹
800?	1083/4?		<i>SBKopt.</i> I 488 (prov.unkn.) ⁹⁰
807	1090/1	Pauni 12	Paris copte 132 ¹ 66 ^v = v. Lantschoot LXXVII.2(G)21 (White Monastery) ⁹¹
809	1092/3	Pachon 26	<i>JJP</i> 32 (2002) 131-136 (Nubia) ⁹²
871?	1154/5	Pauni 6	<i>ASAE</i> 22 (1922) 56 (Qaria bi-Dueir) = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 1082 ⁹³
883	1166/7		Paris copte 129 ¹² = v. Lantschoot CII (Oxyrhynchos?) ⁹⁴
1055	1338/9	Pharmouthi 1	Kosack 191 = <i>DACL</i> III 2878 (betw. Aswan and Kom Ombo) ⁹⁵

The following texts contain a mention of the era of Diocletian but are lacking part or all of the numeral: (1) *SB* X 10517.12, year 4[. . .] between 683/4 and 782/3, cf. *BL* 7.220. (2) *P.Erl.* 68.3, year lost, but in indiction 5. (3) *Lef.* 112. (4) *Lef.* 667. (5) *CPR* X 135 (year 400+?). (6) *SB* I 4659 (+ *BL* 8.311). (7) *SB* I 4763 (?). (8) *SB* I 4778. (9) *SB* V 7801. (10) *ZPE* 137 (2001) 206 no. 2b (horoscope). See also year '3?12' (year not certain and in fact incredibly early; could it be 412, i.e., tau read instead of epsilon?) in the apparently unpublished Vienna papyrus 'C VI' mentioned by C. Wessely, *Prolegomena* 19 (also cited on pp. 12, 23 and 64). For *Lef.* 664, republished by L.

⁸⁷ Adds the Saracene year 427? = 1035/6.

⁸⁸ Adds the Saracene year 437 = 1045/6.

⁸⁹ Adds that Pachon 20 = Sunday.

⁹⁰ See H. Junker, *ZÄS* 60 (1925) 116 n. 3 on Hall, p. 8, BM 607 (not noted in *SBKopt.*).

⁹¹ Adds the Saracene year 486 = 1093/4.

⁹² Pachon 26 is said to be Saturday, which is correct.

⁹³ Most restored and very doubtful, see note in *Misc.Pap.* II 399.

⁹⁴ Adds the Saracene year 560 = 1164/5.

⁹⁵ Adds in the Arabic text (Saracene) year 737 = 1336/7; cf. *Misc.Pap.* II 399. Despite the two-year divergence between the Diocletianic era year and the Saracene year, there is no good reason to doubt this attestation, which (as Kosack notes) is also one of the latest dated Sahidic inscriptions. All the same, its appearance three and a half centuries after the last secure epigraphical attestation of the era of Diocletian in this region is astonishing.

Robert, *Collection Froehner 1, Les inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1936) no. 81, see most recently A. Lajtar, *JJP* 23 (1993) 101-104 and 24 (1994) 11-12.

WB Suppl. lists *SB* V 8942.2 for year 15 of the era, but this text in fact has regnal year 15-14-7. *PSI* VII 765 verso also can be considered a regnal year (year 1), cf. *Horoscopes*, no. 284, with revised readings. For *PSI* VII 783.11 (year 51) see above, p. 58. For *P.Stras.* V 397, see in latest instance *BL* 9.327-328.

DOCUMENTS CONTAINING DATES ACCORDING TO THE ERA OF THE MARTYRS

This table includes attestations of the Era of the Martyrs only down to year 883 (1166/7), the end of the use of the Era of Diocletian apart from the isolated 14th century example listed above.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i> = julian	<i>Ind.</i> = julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
502	785/6	Thoth 8		<i>Kush</i> 15 (1967/8) 133, pl. 25 = <i>Oriens Christ.</i> 81 (1997) 117-118 no. 1 = <i>I.Khartoum Gr.</i> 20 (Old Dongola) ⁹⁶
513	796/7	Pharmouthi 19		<i>SB</i> XX 14176 (Old Dongola) ⁹⁷
570?	853/4			<i>VII Congr.Nub.</i> , pp. 278 ff. ⁹⁸
578	861/2			Morgan Hamouli H = v. Lantschoot XII (Tutun, Fayyum)
597	880/1			<i>Faras</i> III 96ff. = <i>LAAA</i> 14 (1927) ⁹⁹ pl. 93 + 74.2
600	883/4	Choiak 17		<i>Kush</i> 15 (1967/8) 163, pl. 33 = <i>Oriens Christ.</i> 81 (1997) 119-120 no. 3 = <i>I.Khartoum Gr.</i> 21 (Old Dongola)
603	886/7	Pauni 11		<i>I.Khartoum Gr.</i> 18 (Hambukol, near Old Dongola)
605	888/9			<i>BL Or.</i> 8812 (Wadi Natrun)
609	892/3			Morgan M575 = v. Lantschoot XVIII (Fayyum)
611	894/5			Morgan M577 = v. Lantschoot XXI (Fayyum)
611?	894/5?			Morgan M574 = v. Lantschoot XXIII (Fayyum)

⁹⁶ Thoth 8 is stated to be the fifth day of the week; this is a Thursday, but 5.ix.785 fell on a Monday.

⁹⁷ Pharmouthi 19 = 1st day of the week = *Selene* 14; for these data cf. the commentary by A. Lajtar in ed.princ., *Aegyptus* 72 (1992) 126-127 + nn. 36-38; according to him 14.iv.797 fell on a Friday rather than on a Monday.

⁹⁸ The name of the era is not preserved. The year could also be 57[.].

⁹⁹ The reading of the era name is not certain.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>= julian Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	613	896/7			R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> VI 12, cf. E. Zyhlarz, <i>Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik im christlichen Frühmittelalter (Altmubisch)</i> [Leipzig 1928] 191
	620	903/4			Morgan Hamouli B = v. Lantschoot XLVI (Fayyum)
	628	911/2		Pachon 17	Kamel, <i>Coptic Funerary Stelae</i> 66 (prov.unkn.) = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 1094 ¹⁰⁰
	633	916/7		Phamenoth 29	Kamel, <i>Coptic Funerary Stelae</i> 65 (prov.unkn.) = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 1095 ¹⁰¹
	634	917/8			Vat.Copt. 59(4) (Wadi Natrun)
	634	917/8			Vat.Copt. 65(5) = Zoega 27 (Wadi Natrun)
	641	924/5			Vat.Copt. 66(3) = Zoega 19 (Wadi Natrun)
	64[4]?	927/8?			Paris copte 132 ¹ 67 = v. Lantschoot LI(D) (Fayyum or White Monastery?) ¹⁰²
	649	932/3		Epeiph 10	Vat.Copt. 69(5) (Wadi Natrun)
	653	936/7			<i>SPP</i> XV 195 (p. 6) (Tutun, Fayyum)
	656	939/40			Paris copte 129 ¹⁵ 127 ^v = v. Lantschoot LIII(B) (Fayyum or White Monastery?)
	669	952/3			<i>JEA</i> 75 (1989) 205 (Tebtunis)
	669	952/3			v. Lantschoot LVI (Fayyum)
	670	953/4			Altheim-Stiehl I 495 (Faras)
	672	955/6			Vat.Copt. 63(5) (Jefrou?)
	673	956/7		Phamenoth 18	Vat.Copt. 68(7) (Wadi Natrun)
	675	958/9	10	?	<i>P.Lond.Copt.</i> I 1213 (Assiut)
	678	961/2			Vat.Copt. 61(5) (Wadi Natrun)
	684	967/8		Phaophi 11	<i>P.Bad.</i> V 137 (Fayyum?) ¹⁰³
	695	978/9			Vat.Copt. 65(4) = Zoega 16 (Wadi Natrun or Delta)
	696	979/80			v. Lantschoot LVIII = Golenischeff copte 33 (Fayyum)
	698	981/2	10	981/2	Thoth 12
	699	982/3			Mecheir 8
	703	986/7			<i>P.Lond.Copt.</i> I 673 (Fayyum) ¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Pachon 17 = Tuesday.

¹⁰¹ Adds Saracene year 304 = 916/7.

¹⁰² An era designation is lacking.

¹⁰³ An era designation is lacking.

¹⁰⁴ Adds Saracene year 371 = 981/2.

¹⁰⁵ An era designation is lacking; the parchment has only *κατα χρον* in Coptic. The text is reedited in *JJP* 29 (1999) 85-89.

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	70[3]	986/7	15	986/7	Mecheir 16	BL Or. 7024 (Esna) ¹⁰⁶
	703	986/7	15	986/7	Epeiph 19	BL Or. 7021 (Esna) ¹⁰⁷
	711	994/5				Vat.Copt. 61(6) = Zoega 41 (Wadi Natrun)
	712	995/6				Paris copte 129 ¹⁶ , 105 ^v = v. Lantschoot LXXXVI (Upper Egypt / White Monastery)
	715?	998/9				JJP 29 (1999) 89 (Middle Egypt) ¹⁰⁸
	719	1002/3	1	1002/3	Mesore 1	BL Or. 6783 (Esna) ¹⁰⁹
	721	1004/5	3	1004/5	Tybi 3	BL Or. 7027 (Esna) ¹¹⁰
	722	1005/6	4	1005/6	Thoth 10	BL Or. 7026 (Esna) ¹¹¹
	722	1005/6			Thoth 24	<i>Faras</i> IV 7 = <i>I.Khartoum Gr. 2</i> (Faras) ¹¹²
	723	1006/7				<i>SPP</i> XV 238a = v. Lantschoot LXIII (White Monastery)
	723	1006/7			Choiak 29	<i>Lef.</i> 665 (Meinarti, Nubia)
	730	1013/4			Hathyr 9	<i>DACL</i> III 2874 + n. 9 (Kharga)
	730?	1013/4				Godlewski 15 (Deir el-Bahri)
	731	1014/5				Sinai MS.Ar. n.s. paper 34 (Sinai?) ¹¹³
	738	1021/2			Pharmouthi []	<i>Livre du centenaire de l'IFAO</i> (Cairo 1983) 270 no. 80 (Esna) ¹¹⁴
	740+?	1023/4+				<i>Faras</i> III, p. 163
	741	1024/5			Phaophi 25	Vat.Copt. 66(12) = Zoega 17 (Wadi Natrun) ¹¹⁵
	741	1024/5				Vat.Copt. 58(4) = Zoega 58 (prov.unkn.)
	744	1027/8			Thoth 16	BL Or. 7024 (Esna) ¹¹⁶
	745	1028/9			Epeiph 7	Kosack 100 = <i>DACL</i> III 2883 + n. 1 = <i>La Nubia med.</i> I 206 = G.S. Mileham, <i>Churches in Lower Nubia</i> (Philadelphia 1910) 21 and pl. 7 (Deberah, Nubia)
	748	1031/2			Pauni 17	<i>JEA</i> 49 (1963) 165-66 (Armenna, Nubia)
	748	1031/2				BL Or. 6800 (Koptos?) ¹¹⁷
	749	1032/3				BL Or. 7024 (Esna)

¹⁰⁶ Adds the Saracene year 376 = 986/7.

¹⁰⁷ Adds Saracene year [377] = 987/8.

¹⁰⁸ The last digit is very uncertain, cf. pp. 90, 92; 718 would also be possible.

¹⁰⁹ Adds the Saracene year 393 = 1002/3.

¹¹⁰ Adds the Saracene year 395 = 1004/5.

¹¹¹ Adds the Saracene year 395 = 1004/5.

¹¹² Thoth 24 = Friday.

¹¹³ Adds the Saracene year 405 = 1014/5.

¹¹⁴ Adds the Saracene year 412 = 1021/2.

¹¹⁵ Phaophi 25 = Thursday.

¹¹⁶ Adds the Saracene year 414 = 1023/4.

¹¹⁷ Adds the Saracene year 422 = 1030/1.

<i>Era</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>= julian</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
750	1033/4			Pauni 8	BL Or. 7024 (Esna)
750	1033/4			Mesore 5	v. Lantschoot 99 (Upper Egypt) ¹¹⁸
751	1034/5			Phaophi []	<i>CoptCongr6</i> II 302-303 ¹¹⁹
753	1036/7			Hathyr 15	<i>Faras</i> IV 8 (p. 40) (Faras)
754	1037/8			Choiak 15	<i>La Nubia medioevale</i> I 220 (Nubia)
764	1047/8			Pharmouthi 23	<i>P.Lond.Copt.</i> I 465 (Cairo?)
769	1052/3			Pauni 15	BL Or. 6799 (Faras?) ¹²⁰
774	1057/8			Epeiph 5	Paris copte 131 ⁷ = v. Lantschoot CXXIV (White Monastery?)
778	1061/2			Pachon 27	<i>Faras</i> III, pp. 149-50 (text); IV, p. 57 (transl.) (Faras)
781	1064/5				Vat.Copt. 66(8) (Wadi Natrun?)
783	1066/7			Epeiph 29	Vat.Copt. 66(11) = Zoega 25 (prov.unkn.)
786	1069/70			Choiak 8	<i>Kush</i> 12 (1964) 38 (near Fadrus, Nubia) ¹²¹
788	1071/2				<i>Sudan Texts Bulletin</i> 3 (1981) 7 ¹²²
789	1072/3			Pauni (?) 26	Godlewski 11 (Deir el-Bahri)
790	1073/4			Pauni 26	Godlewski 12 (Deir el-Bahri)
799	1082/3			Phamenoth 6	<i>BIFAO</i> 94 (1994) 116-117, Louvre AE AF 6265 = <i>La naissance de l'écriture</i> (Paris 1982) 186 (Esna) ¹²³
800	1083/4			Pachon 6	<i>SB</i> IV 7432 = <i>La Nubia medioevale</i> I 218 = <i>JEA</i> 13 (1927) 230-31, pl. 57 = <i>I.Khartoum Gr.</i> 9 (Nubia)
800	1083/4			Mesore 13	<i>Kush</i> 2 (1954) 29 (cf. A. Łajtar in <i>JJP</i> 23 [1993] 103 and n.12; 28 [1998] 50-51) = <i>I.Khartoum Gr.</i> 7 (year given as 8[00+..])
805	1088/9			Phamenoth 15	Sinai MS.Ar. n.s. paper 56 (Cairo)
808	1091/2				Cairo Patriarchate Arabic Ms. C of the <i>Historia Patriarchorum</i> , ed. J. den Heijer ¹²⁴
809	1092/3			Thoth 19	<i>CoptCongr6</i> II, 298-299
810	1093/4			Thoth 8	<i>I.Khartoum Gr.</i> 19
813	1096/7			Mesore 21	<i>Faras</i> III, p. 155 (text); IV, p. 58 (transl.) (Faras)

¹¹⁸ Adds the Saracene year 423 = 1031/2.

¹¹⁹ The (lost) date fell on a Saturday.

¹²⁰ Adds the Saracene year 448 = 1056/7.

¹²¹ See T. Hägg, "Two Christian Epitaphs in Greek of the Euchologion Mega Type," *The Scandinavian Joint expedition to Sudanese Nubia VI: Late Nubian Cemeteries* (Solna 1982) 56-59. Choiak 8 = Friday.

¹²² Adds Saracene year 464; era name, month and day broken off.

¹²³ Cf. *AnalPap* 7 [1995] 159 s.a. 800, where $\psi\mu\theta$ is a mistake for $\psi\phi\theta$.

¹²⁴ Adds Saracene year 481 (1088/1089).

<i>Era</i>	<i>Year</i>	= julian	<i>Ind.</i>	= julian	<i>Date</i>	<i>Document</i>
	819	1102/3			Phaophi 29	<i>I.Khartoum Gr. 5</i> = JJP 28 (1998) 49 no. 10
	820	1103/4			Mesore 9	<i>Livre du centenaire de l'IFAO</i> (Cairo 1983) 259 no. 57 (Esna)
	829	1112/3			Epeiph 5	Łajtar 2002: 164-165 ¹²⁵ (Nubia)
	834	1117/8			Epeiph 22	Paris copte 129 ¹⁹ 55 ^v = v. Lantschoot LXXXI (White Monastery)
	840	1123/4				JTS 5 (1904) 557 no. A3 = W. de Bock, <i>Matériaux</i> , p. 58, fig. 70 (White Monastery)
	846	1129/30				<i>SBKopt.</i> I 333 (Esna)
	865	1148/9			Pauni 26	Godlewski 16 (Deir el-Bahari)
	865	1148/9				<i>SBKopt.</i> I 340 (Esna)
	871	1154/5			Mesore 29	<i>Sudan Texts Bulletin</i> 3 (1981) 8 = G.M. Browne, <i>Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim III</i> (London 1991) 3 no. 30 ¹²⁶
	872	1155/6				<i>SBKopt.</i> I 299 = <i>DACL</i> III 2866 (Hermopolis/Assiut)
	873	1156/7			Mesore 2	<i>SB</i> V 8763 (Nubia)
	873	1156/7			Tybi 1	<i>Lef.</i> 564 (Aswan)
	874	1157/8			Thoth 20	<i>PBA</i> 14 (1928) 123 (Wadi Natrun) ¹²⁷
	874	1157/8			Choiak 29	<i>SBKopt.</i> I 337 (Esna)
	875	1158/9			Mecheir 23	<i>Kush</i> 12 (1964) 38 = <i>I.Khartoum Gr. 6</i> (Nubia, near Fadrus) ¹²⁸
	875	1158/9			Pauni 3	Kamel, <i>Coptic Funerary Stelae</i> 13 = <i>Orientalia</i> 60 (1991) 92-93 (prov.unkn.)
	877	1160/1				Sinai Ms.Ar. n.s. paper 20 (Sinai?) ¹²⁹
	878	1161/2			Thoth 18	<i>La Nubia medioevale</i> I 219 = <i>I.Khartoum Gr. 8</i> (Wadi Halfa?)
	879	1162/3			Pauni 8	<i>Kush</i> 2 (1954) 31 (Nubia) ¹³⁰

For some texts rejected from the above lists, see MacCoull and Worp 1995: 161-163. For supposed instances of the era in Greek and Coptic papyri coming from the excavations at Akoris, see N. Kruit and K. A. Worp, "Remarks on Some Texts from Akoris," *ZPE* 140 (2002) 155-158.

¹²⁵ Epeiph 5 = Sunday.

¹²⁶ Same text published in *JEA* 61 (1975) pl. II.2 (where ed. reads and dates wrongly: "881 after the Martyrs, i.e. A.D. 1165"; for the text cf. also G.M. Browne, *Chrysostomos Nubianus*, p. 26. Mesore 29 = *Selene* 1.

¹²⁷ This bilingual inscription (Old Nubian and Greek) commemorates a Nubian king who died in Lower Egypt. Thoth 20 = 2nd day of the week.

¹²⁸ Cf. *ZPE* 104 (1994) 203-204; Mecheir 23 = Wednesday.

¹²⁹ Adds the Saracene year 556 = 1160/1.

¹³⁰ To be republished as *I.Khartoum Gr.* 12, with the 9 in 879 dotted. Pauni 8 = *Selene* 10.

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indiction 10. Pharr, *Pharr* 15 (10 iii 457). The consulate of 456 does not appear in the papyri, and the L.S.B. MacCoug, *ZPE* 123 (1998) 204 no. 1 has proposed to read a stele published by W. Brunsch in S. Giverson, M. Krause and P. Nagel, ed., *Coptology: Past, Present, and Future* (Leuven 1994) 5-6 (plate on p. 6), as containing a date by the Era of the Martyrs, year 491. She reads (ἀ)π(ὸ) X (μαρτύρων) υφα. This would be the earliest attestation of the Era of the Martyrs, and her interpretation requires not only omission of two letters out of the three in ἀπό and of the word μαρτύρων but an unexampled abbreviation of χ(ρόνων). On the plate we suggest reading instead ΗΤΙΡΩΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΙΔ.ΥΡΑ, "of this second year" (read δευτέρα: for spellings of this ordinal see Förster, *WB* 167 s.v.; it is not certain if another letter stood between delta and upsilon). For the idiom, see, e.g., *SBKopt.* I 467, 487.

SEG 8.305 has been claimed to contain a date to Diocletian 128, see H. Verreth, *AncSoc* 28 (1997) 116. This is most unlikely. The gravestone in question belongs to a group of which another has a date to Diocletian 384 (667/8), and there is neither ἔτους nor the name of an era in *SEG* 8.305. It is more likely that the ρκη' reported belongs to a month and day; one might suppose, with haplography, Μαρία <A>(θὺ)ρ κη'.

CHAPTER NINE

CONSULATES, POSTCONSULATES
AND POSTCONSULAR ERAS

From the early fourth century until the seventh century, scribes in Egypt used consular dating with great frequency. Until the fourth century, consular dates in the papyri are rather rare, and they tend to come from military or high official contexts, usually involving Roman citizens or Roman law. From the time of Diocletian (precisely, from 293, the year of the establishment of the Tetrarchy), however, the consulate is used very frequently; only the indiction is used more commonly (especially after the middle of the fourth century).¹ Consuls are a remarkably cumbersome form of dating; new names must be learned every year; the names must be disseminated from the imperial court to every village; and the scribe must remember when 1 January falls in his own calendar. When to these problems is added the considerable political turmoil at various times in the history of the later Roman Empire, it is scarcely surprising that some problems arise with consular dates in the papyri.

We have, in collaboration with Alan Cameron and Seth Schwartz, treated many of the issues concerning consular dates in the introduction to *CLRE*. The present chapter is not intended to replace the pages there (67-70) in which we collect a variety of problems posed by the confrontation of the evidence from Egypt with that coming from other types of sources and from other regions of the empire. Here instead we deal with a series of more localized issues.

These problems concern to a large degree the conflict apparent in many instances between the date according to the consulate and the date according to the indiction. These are rarely if ever attributable to a mistake in the indiction number; see the list given below on p. 121. Most commonly, we find that the indiction points to a date one year (or occasionally even more) later than that indicated by the consulate. This phenomenon occurs with such regularity that it is probable that most such occurrences reflect a single cause. Those that have caused the greatest trouble to editors are those in which a postconsulate is indicated, but the indiction points to a date one or more years later than the year after the consulate in question. Editors have not uncommonly felt justified in suggesting that <τὸ β> (etc.) was meant in such texts, considering that a second (or later) postconsulate is meant, and that the scribe ought to have indicated it in this way.

These last will be treated first. The known examples fall between 457 and 535 (cf. below, pp. 89-91), with all but two cases coming in the last quarter of the fifth century and a heavy concentration in the reign of Zeno, when new consuls were not always named each year. For the exact references and dates, the reader is referred to Appendix D under the years in question. The first example is *P.Bodl.* I 52, dated to p.c. Valentinian VIII and Fl. Anthemius (coss. 455) and by

¹ See Worp 1987; above, p. 26, n. 15.

indiction 10, Phamenoth 15 (10.iii.457). The consulate of 456 does not appear in the papyri, and the new consulate of 457 is not attested until September of that year. It seems, therefore, that the scribe was using the p.c. in the second postconsular year. In *P.Oxy.* VI 902, dated to the postconsulate of Vivianus and a consul to be designated, the scribe has placed τὸ β after Vivianus' name. Even though there is substantial evidence in 465 that the p.c. of 464 was known in Egypt, there is also evidence (*P.Prag.* I 37; see Appendix D s.a.) that even in 466 the p.c. of Vivianus was still in use. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the iteration numeral means exactly what it would appear, namely the year after the p.c.

Another clear example of the use of the p.c. over a period longer than a year is found in 474, to the postconsulate of which eight texts are dated. Four of these can be dated in 475 (*APF* 45 [1999] 41, *SB* XX 15027, *P.Rain.Cent.* 106). In *P.Oxy.* XVI 1958, *P.Oxy.* XVI 1899² and *BGU* XII 2151, however, the other information points to 476.³ As it happens, the year 476 was one of political turmoil, and no documents are known dated by any consuls of 475, nor by any of 476 until 28.i.477. There is thus no objection to dating documents in which a postconsulate of Leo Junior appears to 476.

The situation in 481-482 has been difficult to disentangle, particularly because of potential confusion of Basilius cos. 481 with the homonym cos. 541, but a continuing flow of new evidence and investigation has gradually clarified matters. That the consulate of 480 (only Basilius was ever disseminated in Egypt) was not in use in 480 itself and is not attested until late in the postconsulate, 481, was pointed out in the introduction to *BGU* XII 2155. That text, although referring ostensibly to the consulate rather than the postconsulate, must date to October, 481; two other texts that may date later in that year have also been identified. Two texts dating to Basilius have now been assigned with some probability to 482, while dates by the consul of 482 occur only starting in mid-483. (See in App. D our lemmas for these years for full references.)

Dates by Fl. Trocondas, the consul of 482, occur between vi-vii.483 and 4.v.484. The consul of 484, Theodericus, is attested in his consulate from 20.ix.484, and in a postconsulate as late as 16.ix.486. Dates then begin to be found by Fl. Longinus (once, undated, in the consulate), extending as late as 20.v.489, according to the other chronological indices.

Fl. Eusebius was consul for the second time in 493; there are no dates to his consulate, but dates to his postconsulate are found from 494, 495 and 496 (15.i). He is the last in what actually amounts to a series of extended postconsular eras over the 35 years before his consulate. The practice was revived, however, when Orestes and Lampadius, the consuls of 530, appeared not only during their consulate, but as a postconsulate as late as 8.x.533.⁴ And shortly afterward,

² This receipt for part of a waterwheel is dated Pachon 13; the recipient acknowledges that he has received the part for the γεωργία of the 15th indiction (476/7). In the first edition, we supposed that this reference supported a date in 475, when all of the cultivation of the 15th indiction was in the future. (The editors dated *P.Oxy.* 1899 to 476.) Another case of γεωργία . . . ἰνδικτιῶνος has appeared in *P.Rain.Cent.* 123, where John Rea (note to lines 15-16) argues that the γεωργία was still going on in Pachon, and that the editors' date was correct (*BL* 8.250). We have accepted this view, the more so in that because *P.Oxy.* 1899 concerns a vineyard, the cultivation in question certainly was still going on during the months after Pachon and before the grape harvest.

³ *P.Oxy.* XVI 1958 is dated to Mesore 26, indiction 15. As Oxyrhynchite texts normally use an indiction year starting with Thoth 1 in this period, one would be led to put this text in 477; but this is scarcely possible, cf. ll. 8-9, especially since the term of the lease will start "from the first day of the next month Thoth of the coming year 153/122 of the fortunate 15th indiction," and we must suppose that the scribe has changed the number too soon. See Chapter 4, n. 24. The remains of the dating formula in *P.Palau.Rib.* 15 are too fragmentary for attributing this text to either 475 or 476. On the uncertain attribution of *CPR* XIV 8 to 461 or 476, see App. D, s.aa. 461 and 476.

⁴ Although the evidence is too slender and problematic for confidence, it is at least conceivable that *P.Rain.Cent.* 114 (listed s.a. 526), with an indiction pointing to 528/9 (see below, n. 21), refers to a similar attempt at era building

Belisarius (cos. 535) appears in postconsular datings as late as iv-v.538. One of these (*SB XXII* 15597, 12.x.537) notes τὸ β̄ after Belisarius' name.

There are thus now two examples of τὸ β̄, "for the second time," added after a postconsular formula, once for Vivianus and once for Belisarius. These stand against a large number of instances in which the scribe adds no such indication. It would be more convenient for us if the scribes had inserted such numerals more systematically, but that was clearly not the general practice at that time. In other words, μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν in the parlance of Egyptian scribes often means quite simply "after the consulate", and not specifically "in the year after the consulate." A few scribes noticed the problem in using the phrase in more than one year and developed a phrasing to compensate, but most did not.

We arrive, therefore, at the conclusion that a document dated to "after the consulate" or "the (consuls) after the consulate" can be dated by its editor only after considering any indiction number given and whether other consuls are known to have been functioning in the second year after the consulate mentioned. If there is evidence that the postconsulate of a given consul or consuls was used in more than one year, a document dated to that postconsulate can be dated precisely only by use of the indiction or Oxyrhynchite eras, both of which are only rarely to be convicted of inaccuracy, or by consideration of the date during the year compared to the attestations of the succeeding consulate.

When we come to consider the more widespread problem mentioned above, we find that the number of documents in which the indiction points to a year later than that of the consulate is significant. The table below lists all such examples not discussed above in considering postconsular eras, up to the consulate of Basilius (cos. 541), for from this point on the mechanism of consular dating is, from the scribe's point of view, comparable more to the numbering of regnal years than to the consulates of the fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries.

Document	Date by the indiction ⁵	Date by the consulate
<i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 95	12.i.310 ⁶	12.i.309
<i>P.Panop.</i> 22	25.iii.337	25.iii.336 ⁷
<i>P.Panop.</i> 19 iv.a	10.i.339	10.i.338 ⁸
<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> III 28	24.ii.343/358	24.ii.342/357 ⁹
<i>P.Gen.</i> ² I 67	19.i.383	19.i.382 ¹⁰

already under Fl. Philoxenos; on the other hand, the p.c. of Olybrius was in use in Egypt by June, 526, and it is hard to see why Philoxenos would still be referred to.

⁵ Dates are computed according to the conclusions of this book.

⁶ Here it is not the indiction but the regnal year which suggests this date. The editors consider that the consulate is a mistake for postconsulate.

⁷ The editors are surely correct in thinking that the scribe has forgotten that the new indiction has not yet started; its crops are present at the date of writing, standing in the fields, but not yet harvested. They cite F. Uebel's remark in *BO* 28 (1971) 59 on *P.NYU* I 24.7f., where the scribe speaks of indiction 3 (374/5) as "present" already in late 373.

⁸ The editors comment, "Possibly the 11th indiction was intended, but since Jan. 10 is very early in the new consular year, the consuls of 338 may have been retained by error for the consuls of 339. Col. VI (a) 3 suggests that ὑπατείας is an inadvertence for μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν in the present text. The 12th indiction would then be correct, and the receipt would have been issued on 10 Jan. 339." (Col. vi.a has a postconsulate of Ursus and Polemius.)

⁹ The numeral of the consulate is lost, but the editor thinks Constantius III (342) and IX (357) are the only ones possible; he concludes that the scribe made an error in giving consulate instead of postconsulate. Cf. *BL* 9.226.

¹⁰ The first editor dated to 382 without comment; in the second edition, the possibilities are discussed fully. This text and those connected to it are very odd, and one cannot be sure what the correct answer is.

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date by the indiction</i>	<i>Date by the consulate</i>
<i>P.Gen.</i> ² I 12	22.iv.384	22.iv.383 ¹¹
<i>P.Lips.</i> I 62 ii = <i>W.Chr.</i> 188	4.xi.386	4.xi.385
<i>SB XXII</i> 15620	28.vii.424	28.vii.423 ¹²
<i>PSI III</i> 245	16.i.429	17.i.428 ¹³
<i>P.Stras.</i> I 1	20.viii.435	20.viii.434 ¹⁴
<i>BGU II</i> 609	12.xi.442	12.xi.441 ¹⁵
<i>CPR XIV</i> 12	25.ii.450	25.ii.449
<i>P.Würzb.</i> 17	8.i.454	8.i.453 ¹⁶
<i>P.Köln III</i> 152	28.i.477	28.i.476
<i>BGU XII</i> 2155	18.x.481	18.x.480 ¹⁷
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4394.256	15.ii.500	14.ii.499
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4395.130	24.ii.500	23.ii.499
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67328.ix	5-14.vii.522	5-14.vii.521 ¹⁸
<i>SB XVI</i> 13037	24.x.523	23.x.522 ¹⁹
<i>Proc.Congr.XVIII</i> I 92	28.iii.526	28.iii.525
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67300	12.vi.527	12.vi.526 ²⁰
<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 114	527/528	526 ²¹
<i>P.Stras.</i> V 317	13.iii.530	13.iii.529 ²²

If this information is tabulated by the months in which the documents occur and the centuries, the following is the result:

	<i>IV</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	<i>Total</i>
January	3	3	-	6
February	1	3	-	4
March	1	-	2	3
April	1	-	-	1
May	-	-	-	0
June	-	-	1	1

¹¹ The editors suggest that consulate is an error for postconsulate.

¹² See *BL* 11.240.

¹³ The editors think that consulate is an error for postconsulate.

¹⁴ See *BL* 8.413.

¹⁵ See *BL* 8.30.

¹⁶ The editor considers consulate an error for postconsulate.

¹⁷ See *BL* 8.53

¹⁸ See below, p. 121, n. 19.

¹⁹ See *BL* 9.296.

²⁰ Since papyri of mid-526 are dated by the postconsulate of 525, it is probable that consulate here is an error for postconsulate and that the correct date is 527. Cf. Appendix D under those years. The editor takes the indiction to be wrong.

²¹ Cf. n. 4 above.

²² See *BL* 9.327.

	IV	V	VI	Total
July	-	1	1	2
August	-	1	-	1
September	-	-	-	0
October	-	1	1	2
November	1	1	-	2
December	-	-	-	0

In the cases listed in Appendix B.II, where the indiction points to a year earlier than the consulate, one can in most cases state confidently that the indiction is wrong, for it is unlikely that the following year's consulate would already be known and incorrectly used. No such logical rule exists for the cases listed here, however, where the indiction might simply be one wrong, i.e. too high. For the fourth century texts, at least, on the other hand, the above tabulation shows that it is overwhelmingly likely that the error lies in the consulate, since the examples are almost all from the start of the consular year, when the mistake of giving a consular dating in place of a postconsular phrase is inherently most likely. Even with the fifth century texts, those in January and February are as numerous as those in all other months taken together, and the rule is still probably good that in these cases the error is in giving consulate instead of postconsulate. With the examples late in the year, however, one must be more cautious.

A particular difficulty is offered by cases in which the first attestation of a consulate and the last attestation of the preceding one (in the form of postconsulate) overlap. When we examined this problem in *CNBD* VI²³ and subsequently in *CLRE* 29, we concluded that only two years (A.D. 319 and 346) of the nine apparent cases had a demonstrable and necessary overlap, all the others involving questionable restorations or conflicting dating information. Those two were only two and four days in extent, and in both cases the location of the scribe seemed easily sufficient as an explanation. As far as that evidence allowed us to see, therefore, the dissemination of knowledge of consulates was as uniform throughout Egypt as its geography allowed. That conclusion tended to exonerate the bureaucracy within Egypt from the blame for the generally late dissemination of consular formulas that becomes pandemic in the fifth and sixth centuries. The accumulation of new evidence has gradually made it more difficult to maintain that point of view. Even if we leave aside cases in which the overlap is a matter only of a few days, there are significant overlaps in 364 (cos. 26.vii, p.c. 17.x), 381 (cos. 25.ii, p.c. 5.v), 451 (cos. 24.vii, p.c. 7.x), 505 (cos. 17.vii, p.c. 25.viii), 508 (cos. 21.ix, p.c. 27.xi), and 521 (cos. 24.v, p.c. 3.viii). (References can be found under the years in question in App. D.) Time required for dissemination to different locations within Egypt cannot explain these cases, and it looks as if some combination of differing practices in Arcadia and Thebais and general disorganization of dissemination is at stake.

That topic in turn raises the general question of the month-by-month distribution of the last attestations of consulates of previous years. We present here the results in light of the new material published since our two earlier discussions of the subject. The results are given in two forms. First is a list by months of which years present the latest attestations of postconsulates; there follows a tabulation by month and period of the numbers of years represented (we use "a" and "b" after year numbers where multiple postconsulates are attested in the year).

²³ *BASP* 17 (1980) 27-36.

Last month in which postconsulate attested

January:	310, 311, 315, 316, 319, 321, 325, 328, 330, 334?, 342, 355, 359, 371, 373, 374, 392, 479, 480, 496a, 523
February:	314, 339, 340, 345, 350, 360, 377, 442, 450, 453, 463, 477, 492, 497, 500, 507, 518, 522, 534, 538, 539
March:	336, 337, 368, 393, 397, 409, 418, 445, 457, 471, 498, 503, 517, 530, 535
April:	374, 395, 406, 427, 428, 493, 524
May:	346, 358, 380, 387, 389, 403, 410, 475, 484, 489, 509, 521
June:	386, 399, 400, 407, 417, 448, 458, 478, 499
July:	364, 382, 383, 396, 398, 419, 421, 423, 424, 439, 451, 501, 505, 513, 516, 540
August:	402, 411, 415, 422, 432, 449, 454, 456, 483, 487, 506, 527
September:	412, 429, 431, 434, 435, 438, 441, 455, 459, 461, 462, 470, 473, 481a, 486, 488, 508, 510, 541
October:	379, 384, 426, 443, 452, 465, 468, 481b, 482, 491, 504, 514, 533
November:	385, 420, 430, 436, 444, 446, 464, 472, 476, 495, 496b
December:	413, 425, 447, 485, 494, 526

Month	IV	V-VI
January	17	4
February	7	14
March	5	10
April	2	5
May	5	7
June	3	6
July	5	11
August	0	12
September	0	19
October	2	11
November	1	10
December	0	6

The results could hardly be clearer. In the fourth century, consuls' names were usually disseminated either late in the year before they took office or early in their own year. By the fifth century that pattern had broken down entirely, and the distribution through the year of the latest date of the use of the postconsulate is essentially random, with perhaps some weighting in the second half of the year. (It will be noted that the months given here in all cases represent the *terminus post quem* of dissemination.) Indeed, it is difficult to find clear instances in which the new consuls were disseminated early in the year. From the whole of the fifth century, we know of only one apparent example of a consulate known before June (445),²⁴ followed by two in June (440, 492), three in July (451, 466, 499) and two in August (458, 497). It is, of course, possible that additional examples before September will come to light, but equally it is not impossible that some of those mentioned here might be vulnerable to challenge. From an examination of dates in

²⁴ One could suppose that cos. in this papyrus (*P.Ant.* II 102) is an error for p.c., but this seems gratuitous and circular, as there is no direct evidence to suggest that this is the case. Cf. *BL* 8.9 on this papyrus.

the imperial laws preserved in the codes, we conclude further that the delay in dissemination was in many cases a problem of getting the information from Constantinople to the Egyptian administration, not late proclamation in the capital. The combination of late dissemination, occasional discrepancies in the formulas in use inside Egypt, and the often unmarked use of postconsular eras all point to the extensive breakdown in the system by which the bureaucracy transmitted and disseminated the proclamation of new consuls.

The last person other than an emperor to hold the consulate was Basilius, cos. 541. After that year, for the remainder of Justinian's reign, the consular date was given as the postconsulate of Basilius. Because there was not again a new consul until the emperor Justinus took the title in 566, his first full julian year in power, a span of 25 years stood between consuls. In this situation, the type of confusion we have discussed above in cases where postconsular reckoning continued for longer than the single year following a consulate could have been enormously exacerbated. To avoid such confusion and keep the usefulness of the consulate as a chronological indication—even in a period in which regnal dating was now mandated (see Chapter 6)—scribes began to add year numbers to Basilius' postconsulate. Under this system, 543 became p.c. of Basilius, year 2, and so on. We do not know, of course, at what point scribes realized that the absence of a new consul was a permanent rather than temporary phenomenon, and there are scribes who do not, in the early years after 542, add such numerals to dates after Basilius.

Of the 116 papyri dated with the consulate or postconsulate of Basilius (listed in Appendix D, years 541 to 566) which are sufficiently well preserved to allow secure assignment to a year, most follow the pattern sketched above and cope reasonably well with the complexities introduced by having to balance several systems of reckoning simultaneously. A minority, however, do not. We have found 12 instances in which the scribe failed to advance the postconsular count appropriately.²⁵ These errors correspond to the pattern described above, with the majority of the cases, but by no means all, dating to the early months of the year. They amount to 10 per cent of the total figure. In addition, there are 7 instances in which the reverse phenomenon is found, namely that the number of the postconsular year is one higher than would be expected.²⁶ In the first edition of this book (*CSBE* 88 n. 1), we interpreted these as evidence for the existence already under Justinian of the "new style" reckoning that E. Stein (1934) described for (post)consular reckoning under Justinus II and later emperors. The small number of such cases against the larger body of evidence available now leads us to think that this was an unwarranted speculation. The number of cases simply does not seem to us sufficient to support the idea of a separate mode of reckoning. The examples of both classes of deviations from the norm are spread through the 25-year period, not chronologically limited or concentrated, and in both cases instances do not come from one part of Egypt. These are, therefore, not regional or local habits of the kind observable at times under later reigns.

The consular reckoning of the reign of the emperor Justinus II is complicated by the fact that he took the consulate twice, in 566 and 568. There are some formulas referring to his second consulate (Appendix D, Justinus II, formula 4), but most count from the consulate of 566. Here again in the first edition we treated some of the dates in the papyri as referring to "new style"

²⁵ These are *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397 (545); *P.Princ.* III 154 (546); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67095 (548); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2238 (551); *SB* XIV 12131 (553); *SB* XVI 12585 (557); *P.Heid.* V 352 (558); *P.Lond.* V 1766 (559); *P.Stras.* IV 248 (561); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67171 and *P.Lond.* V 1686 (565); and *CPR* IX 33 (566).

²⁶ *P.Oxy.* LI 3641 (544); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67108 (547); *P.Stras.* V 484 (548); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67332 (552); *P.Herm.* 65 (553); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67093 (553); *P.Lond.* III 1006 (555).

counting, which certainly did exist in one chronicler (Victor Tonnonensis) and which Stein (1934: 873-876) argued could be found in inscriptions and papyri of this reign.²⁷ Once again, we do not find this persuasive. We count now 56 dated papyri referring to the count from the consulate of 566, of which only 4 show a year that is one higher than expected.²⁸ Three of these come from 578, the year of Justinus' death, but we have not been able to identify any significance in that fact. The percentage is about the same as for the too-high numerals with the p.c. of Basilius, and we believe that once again it is not justifiable to suppose a separate and parallel system of counting.

During the reign of Tiberius II, scribes at Oxyrhynchos counted his regnal years inaccurately until about the middle of 581 (see below, p. 152, n. 39), but there is no indication of any systematic discrepancy in the counting of postconsular years. Of the 4 documents in which the count is one too high, all from Oxyrhynchos, 3 are posthumous; again, the significance of this fact, if any, escapes us.²⁹ Whether it is another local particularism is also unclear.

The use of the consulate begins to decline under the next emperor, Mauricius, whose consular year is 583. The interplay of regnal and consular dating under this emperor is discussed in Chapter 6 (pp. 50-51). The high proportion of the evidence for this reign coming from Oxyrhynchos gives particular prominence to the phenomenon discerned by J. R. Rea in the documents from that city, with a unification of the dates from which the various years are reckoned (see above, p. 51). There is one instance with a count higher by one than it should be, which cannot be explained by the Oxyrhynchite simplified system because it was written in Antinoopolis, namely *P.Lond.* V 1897 (588), in which the p.c. number would be correct if it referred to the consular year instead. This document is, once again, insufficient basis for erecting a system.

In sum, the relatively few and scattered instances of the use of consular counting after the phrase *μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν* do not in our view suffice to support a claim that a "new style" or "Modus Victorianus" was in use in Egypt as a kind of alternative counting system. It is clear, however, that some scribes did conflate consular and postconsular counting, hardly surprising in a world in which the consulate was no longer an annual magistracy but another form of imperial year reckoning.

After just two examples of consular datings under Phocas (leaving aside the "anonymous" group), *BGU* I 3 and *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3948, during the reign of Heraclius one finds references to consular or postconsular datings in the following documents (listed in chronological order; for the subject see K.A. Worp, *JJP* 23 [1993] 217-232; C. Zuckerman, *JJP* 25 [1995] 187-201; and B. Palme, *JJP* 26 [1996] 117-126):

(1) *CPR* XXIV 28 (Arsin., 4.ix.611): Regnal Heraclius form. 3 or 4, year [1], ὑπατεία τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας, Θῶθ 6, ivδ. 15.

(2) *CPR* X 130 (Arsin., 6.x.611; cf. *JJP* 26 [1996] 119): Regnal Heraclius form. 3, year [2], ὑπατεία τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας, Φαῶφι 8, ivδ. 15.

(3) *CPR* X 131 (Arsin., 5.ii.612; cf. *BL* 10.51, *JJP* 26 [1996] 120-124): Regnal Heraclius form. 5, year [2], [μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας, Μεχειρ 10, ivδ. [1]5.

(4) *P.Lond.* II 483 (Apollonop. Heptakomias [cf. *BL* 8.179], 5.viii.615/616): Regnal Heraclius form. 7, year 6, ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους 5 (should be year 6), Μεσορή 12, ivδ. 5. Cf. below, p. 97.

²⁷ We also discuss this subject in Bagnall-Worp, *CNBD* VIII: 33-34.

²⁸ *P.Michael.* 47 (570); *BGU* III 838 (578); *P.Oxy.* VII 1042 (578); *PSI* III 243 (578).

²⁹ *P.Oxy.* I 144 (580), XVI 1976 (582), I 136 (583), I 137 (584).

- (5) *SB XIV 11543* (prov. unknown: Arsin., 616/7): Regnal Heraclius form. 10 (μ)εγίστου εὐεργέτου | ----- έτους) 7, ὑπατείας τῆς | [αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας . . . iv]δ. 5, cf. *BL 10.209*.
- (6) *CPR X 132* (Arsin., 5.x.617-30.vi.618): Regnal Heraclius form. 2, year 8, [ὑπατείας] τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας έτους . . . , Month -]7, ivδ. 6.
- (7) *P.Edfou I 3* (Apollonop., 13/23.vi.618; cf. *BL 7.45, 8.118 and 10.65*): Regnal Heraclius form. 6, year [8], ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτοῦ [εὐ]σεβείας έτους 8, Παῦνι [-, ivδ. -].³⁰
- (8) *SB I 5112* (Apollonop., 3.i.618): Regnal Heraclius form. 10, year [], Postconsulate [restored] of Fl. Heraclius year [].
- (9) *P.Rain.Cent. 119* (Arsin., 610-619, perhaps vii-viii.611, cf. *Chiron 27 [1997] 122-123 n. 80 and BL 11.185* [print line separator after μετὰ τὴν rather than before these words]): Regnal Heraclius form. 4, year [-], [μετὰ τὴν | ὑπατείαν τῆς] αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας έ[τους . . . month, day, ind. -].
- (10) *P.Ross.Georg. III 55* (Arsin., 24.iv.630; cf. *BL 10.168*³¹): Regnal Heraclius form. 4, year 20, ὑπατείας τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς [αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ έτους 19 or 20?], Φαρμουθι 29, ivδ. 3.
- (11) *CPR III 370 = P.Rain.Unterricht 108* (Arsin., 26.vii.631; cf. *BL 9.169 and JJP 23 (1993) 228, JJP 25 [1995] 199*): Regnal Heraclius form. 4, year 21, ὑπατείας τῆς [αὐ]τῶ[ν εὐσεβ]είας έτους 20, καὶ Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ έτους 19, Μεσορῆ 2, ἀρχῆ ivδ. 5. The cos. number should be 21.
- (12) *P.Oxy. LVIII 3961* (Oxy., 631/32; cf. *BL 10.156*): Regnal Heraclius form. 1, year 20+? [καὶ ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας έτους . . . , καὶ] Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ έτους . . . Month day,] ivδ. 5, + Oxy. era year 308 [-277].
- (13) *SB I 4662* (Arsin., 11.vii.632; cf. *BL 8.312 and 10.179, and JJP 23 [1993] 228-29*): Regnal Heraclius form. 2, year 22, ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν | [εὐσεβείας έτους . . . , καὶ] Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐσεβ[ε]στάτου έτους 20, Ἐπειφ 17, ivδ. 6. The cos. number should be 22.
- (14) *SB I 4319 + p. 668 = P.KRU 77* (Hermonthis, 4.xii.634; cf. *BL 10.177*): Regnal Heraclius form. 13, year 2[5], [ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ] εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης έτους 24, καὶ Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστε[φοῦς] αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ έτους 23, Χοιάκ 8, ivδ. 8. The regnal year of Heraclius Novus Constantinus should be 22; his 23rd year began only on 22.i.635.
- (15) *SB XVIII 14006* (Oxy., 22.i-1.ix.635; cf. *BL 10.224*): Regnal Heraclius form. 11, year 25, ὑπατείας τῆς [αὐτῶν (ed. αὐτοῦ) εὐσεβείας έτους . . . ,] καὶ Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ έτους 23, [Month, day,] ivδ. 8. The cos. number should be 25.
- (16) *P.Prag. I 43* (Arsin., 5.x.639; cf. *BL 9.214 and 10.163*): Regnal Heraclius form. 2, year 29, ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης έτους 29, καὶ τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ

³⁰ C. Zuckerman, *JJP 25 (1995) 200 n. 35*, proposes to restore the year number as 9, following the editor, and to date to 13/23.vi.619. This date contradicts the clear testimony of *P.Edfou I 2* that already in Pharamouthi of indiction 7, or March-April, 619, regnal dating had been abandoned at Apollonopolis Magna, a clear sign that Byzantine rule was no longer effective there. It is therefore improbable that in Pauni (June) a full regnal formula by Heraclius would have been produced by the same notary. The fact that Byzantine rule persisted for a few months later in some other places (see B. Palme, *Chiron 27 [1997] 104 n. 19*) does not show that Apollonopolis had not fallen earlier. There is no evidence that the Persians subjugated each part of Egypt fully before moving further south.

³¹ This comment rejects the restoration proposed in *JJP 23 (1993) 220* on the grounds that it is too long. But Worp simply suggested restorations based on what is a more or less normal regnal formula. It seems possible that the scribe of the document actually omitted parts of the text in question via haplography or some other slip.

Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους [27], Φαῶφι 7, ἰνδ. 13. The regnal year should be 30 (5.x is the *dies imperii*).

(17) *P.Lond.* I 113 (10) (p. 222) = *W.Chrest.* 8 (Arsin., 639/40; cf. *BL* 10.97): Regnal Heraclius form. 13, formula very fragmentarily preserved (only τῶν θειοτάτων, τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς), no years available.

(18) *SB* I 5318 (Arsin.; very fragmentarily preserved; cf. *BL* 7.187, 8.321 and 10.184; in the meantime KAW has seen a photo): Regnal Heraclius form. 13, year 30 (= 639/640), καὶ ὑπατί[ας τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , καὶ Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ ἔτους . . .] | [καὶ] μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπατείαν ἔτους ἐνάτ[ου (= 640 or 641?) | [θεο]-φυλάκτων αὐτοῦ τέκνων τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐ[γούστων (the τέκνα must be Fl. Heraclius, David and Mar(t)inus, for whom see *JJP* 25 [1995] 190-193 and below).

(19) *BGU* I 319 (Arsin., 630-641; cf. *BL* 10.13-14): Regnal Heraclius form. 13, formulas most fragmentarily preserved; no year numerals available.

(20) *SB* VI 8986 (Apollonop., i-ii.641; cf. *BL* 7.200, 8.337 and 10.194-195): Regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus and Heraclius/Heraclonas, year [29], μετὰ τ]ὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν αὐτῶν [ἔτους δεκάτου], regnal Heraclius II and David, year not preserved.

(21) *CPR* XXIV 35 (Alexandria, 10.x.641): Regnal Heraclius II year 10, μ[ετὰ τὴν ὑπατ]ε[ίαν αὐτοῦ] ἔτους τετάρτ[ου], regnal David year 4, regnal Mar(t)inus year 3, Φαῶφι 13, ἰνδ. 15.

Zuckerman holds the view that in consular formulas in the papyri under Heraclius the formulas ὑπατείας . . . ἔτους . . . and μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν . . . ἔτους . . . are used synonymously, both year counts starting from the year 612 = p.c. Heraclii year 1. This view rests essentially on two papyri. *P.Lond.* II 483 (no. 4 above) is dated to 5.viii.616 by the regnal year and the indiction. The consular year is given as 5. In *P.Rain.Unterricht* 108 = *CPR* III 370 (no. 11 above), we find the two regnal years and indiction yielding a date to 26.vi.631. The consular year is given as 20. In both cases, a year 1 of 612 is supposed for the consular reckoning.

On the other side of the ledger we may adduce one document and the neutrality of a second. *SB* I 4319 (no. 14 above), ignored in Zuckerman's discussion, is dated by indiction to 4.xii.634. It contains a consular date to year 24. *P.Prag.* I 43 (no. 16 above) is dated by the indiction to 5.x.639. Its consular year has a clearly preserved kappa, followed by a fragmentary letter (Zuckerman 1995: 200 is mistaken to say that nothing is preserved of this letter; the traces are clearly visible on pl. 46). The traces could reasonably be interpreted as part either of theta or of eta, and are thus consistent with either method of reckoning.

Zuckerman's theory has another cost that he does not seem to recognize. He argues (1995: 200 n. 35) that *P.Edfou* I 3 (above, no. 7) should be attributed to the year 619, rather than to the year 618 that we have adopted. This, however, creates a problem with respect to *P.Edfou* I 2, because it would require a text lacking a regnal formula, and thus (we believe) evidence for the Persian occupation, to be dated before one with a full regnal formula by Heraclius. (See above, p. 96, n. 30.) Unless one wishes to invent a narrative in which the Persians occupied Edfu, only to be dislodged and then retake the city, or simply to disregard the absence of a regnal formula, this is an uneconomical hypothesis.

In sum, it appears to us that the evidence from the reign of Heraclius, heavily burdened by the poor preservation of most of the dating formulas, does not give a consistent answer to the question of the year used as the basis of consular reckoning. Under these circumstances it is most prudent to assume that scribes in Egypt maintained the traditional system of reckoning, as indeed

CHAPTER TEN

INVOCATION FORMULAS

The Byzantine documentary style was decisively affected by two imperial enactments. The first of these was Justinian's *Novel 47*, whereby in 537 the emperor ordered the inclusion of the imperial regnal formula and year at the beginning of all legal acts. The effects of this order are discussed in Chapter 6. The second was an edict of the emperor Mauricius requiring that these regnal formulas be prefixed by an invocation of Christ. This legislation does not survive, but it is mentioned in the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiou, who describes the formula accurately.¹ In an appendix to his discussion of the inscriptions from the factions at Alexandria, Zbigniew Borkowski called attention to this passage and to its significance for the papyri. Borkowski noted that although John of Nikiou says that Mauricius took this act at the start of his reign (582), no papyrus before 591 has such an invocation.² Like regnal dating, however, the invocation becomes virtually universal within a short time, and legal acts without it become extinct after 594/5.

The formula chosen by Mauricius was only one of the possible Christian invocations, and it did not hold the field unchallenged for long. Under Phocas, a trinitarian formula replaced it in almost all documents; subsequently, under Heraclius, Egyptian regionalism is visible in the use of the Christ formula in Middle Egypt and Arcadia while the trinitarian one remained in use in Upper Egypt.

The details of this history will be traced in the following pages. In addition, we take up the problems posed by the large number of documents bearing invocations at their head that cannot be dated exactly on the basis of the information the documents provide. We consider in particular the problems of documents dating to the Persian domination of Egypt and to the period after the Arab conquest.

The order and numbering of the invocation formulas printed below is the same as that adopted in our original discussion of the subject appearing in *CdÉ* 56 (1981) 113-115, 364-365. This typology, in the case of the Trinitarian formulas, separates what are in some cases relatively minor variants like the presence or absence of particular epithets of the Trinity. We have avoided any general restructuring of these variants, because the typology as presented in 1981 has been widely cited in publications of the last two decades.

We do not include Greek renderings of the Arabic *Bismillah*, the Muslim invocation ("In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate") commonly appearing in letters or other communications from offices of the Arab government, cf. *P.Apoll.* 4.1n. and *CPR* III.1 86, III.2 xxviiff. Our formula 2I, however, has clearly been influenced by the *Bismillah*. Furthermore, we

¹ *Chronicle*, ch. 99 (Bibliothèque Nationale, *Notices et Extraits*, t. 24).

² *Alexandrie II: Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1981) 128-133.

encounter a similar but shorter formula, i.e. ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος, in the following papyri:

Aphrodito	712	<i>PSI Congr. XI</i> 14
Hermonthite (Jeme)	post 748/9	<i>P.KRU</i> 90; Till 34
	767/782	<i>P.KRU</i> 118; Till 41
	775	<i>P.KRU</i> 96 (<i>SB</i> I 5606); Till 36
	776	<i>P.KRU</i> 80 (<i>SB</i> I 5593); Till 29; adds πατρός after θεοῦ

INVOCATION FORMULAS

The Formulas

1. Christ

1) ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν

2. The Holy Trinity

2A) ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

2B) ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

2C) ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

2D) ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας ἀχράντου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

2E) ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

2F) ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ ὁμοουσίου ἐν μονάδι τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

2G) ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος τῆς ἁγίας (καὶ) ζωοποιοῦ καὶ ὁμοουσίου ἐν μονάδι τριάδος

2H) ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος

2I) ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος

2J) ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος

ἐμπραν μπειωτ μπηω ρε μπηνα ετογαδδ

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."

- 2K)** ε̅μ̅π̅ρ̅α̅ν̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ρ̅ε̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῖ̅να̅ ἑ̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅ τε̅τρ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ ἑ̅τ̅η̅νο̅υ̅μ̅ῖ̅του̅α̅ ἡ̅α̅τ̅ῶ̅ν̅
 α̅τ̅ῶ̅ ἡ̅α̅τ̅ῶ̅α̅ξε̅ ε̅ρ̅ος̅
 “In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Trinity in Unity, indivisible and ineffable”
- 2L)** ε̅μ̅π̅ρ̅α̅ν̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ρ̅ε̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῖ̅να̅ ἑ̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅ τε̅τρ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ ἡ̅ὁ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅σ̅ι̅ου̅
 “In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the consubstantial Trinity”
- 2M)** ε̅μ̅π̅ρ̅α̅ν̅ τ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ τ̅ρ̅ι̅α̅δος̅ π̅ε̅ῶ̅τ̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ρ̅ε̅ ἡ̅μ̅ε̅π̅νε̅υ̅μα̅ ἑ̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅ ἡ̅μ̅τ̅πα̅ρο̅ε̅νος̅
 τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ο̅(ος̅) τ̅α̅μ̅ε̅ο̅υ̅ ἑ̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅
 “In the Name of the Holy Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the Virgin our protector, my holy mother”
- 2N)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ ἐ̅ν̅ μ̅ο̅νά̅δι̅ τ̅ρ̅ι̅ά̅δος̅ πα̅τ̅ρ̅ος̅ κα̅ὶ̅ υ̅ι̅ο̅ῦ̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ου̅ π̅νε̅ύ̅μα̅τος̅
- 2O)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ το̅ῦ̅ θε̅ο̅ῦ̅ κα̅ὶ̅ το̅ῦ̅ υ̅ι̅ο̅ῦ̅ κα̅ὶ̅ το̅ῦ̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ου̅ π̅νε̅ύ̅μα̅τος̅
- 2P)** ε̅μ̅π̅ρ̅α̅ν̅ ἡ̅τ̅ι̅τ̅ρι̅α̅ς̅ ἑ̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅ ἡ̅ρ̅ε̅τ̅α̅μ̅ῖ̅ως̅ ἁ̅μ̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ρ̅ε̅ ἡ̅μ̅ε̅π̅ῆ̅μ̅α̅τ̅ ἑ̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅
 ἡ̅μ̅τ̅ε̅ν̅χ̅α̅ε̅ι̅ς̅ ἑ̅το̅υ̅α̅α̅β̅ ἡ̅μ̅α̅ρ̅ι̅α̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ π̅α̅ρ̅ο̅ε̅νος̅
 “In the Name of the Holy uncreated Trinity, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and our Lady, the holy Mary the Virgin”.

3. *The Holy Trinity, Mary (and Saints)*

- 3A)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ὁ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅σ̅ι̅ου̅ τ̅ρ̅ι̅ά̅δος̅ κα̅ὶ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ δε̅σ̅πο̅ί̅νης̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ θε̅ο̅τό̅κου̅
- 3B)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ὁ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅σ̅ι̅ου̅ τ̅ρ̅ι̅ά̅δος̅ κα̅ὶ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ δε̅σ̅πο̅ί̅νης̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ θε̅ο̅τό̅κου̅ κα̅ὶ̅ πάν̅των̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ων̅
- 3C)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ὁ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅υ̅σ̅ι̅ου̅ τ̅ρ̅ι̅ά̅δος̅ πα̅τ̅ρ̅ος̅ κα̅ὶ̅ υ̅ι̅ο̅ῦ̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ου̅ π̅νε̅ύ̅μα̅τος̅ κα̅ὶ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ δε̅σ̅πο̅ί̅νης̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ θε̅ο̅τό̅κου̅ κα̅ὶ̅ πάν̅των̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ων̅
- 3D)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ἐ̅ν̅δο̅ξ̅ο̅τ̅ά̅τ̅η̅ς̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ζ̅ω̅ο̅ποι̅ο̅ῦ̅ τ̅ρ̅ι̅ά̅δος̅ πα̅τ̅ρ̅ος̅ κα̅ὶ̅ υ̅ι̅ο̅ῦ̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ου̅ π̅νε̅ύ̅μα̅τος̅ κα̅ὶ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἐ̅ν̅δο̅ξ̅ο̅τ̅ά̅τ̅η̅ς̅ δε̅σ̅πο̅ί̅νης̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ θε̅ο̅τό̅κου̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ἀ̅ει̅πα̅ρ̅θ̅έν̅ου̅ Μ̅α̅ρ̅ί̅α̅ς̅ κα̅ὶ̅ το̅ῦ̅ [χο̅ρο̅ῦ̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ων̅ μα̅ρ̅τύ̅ρ̅ω̅]ν̅

4. *Christ, Mary and the Saints*

- 4A)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ το̅ῦ̅ κυ̅ρι̅ου̅ κα̅ὶ̅ δε̅σ̅πό̅του̅ Ἰ̅η̅σο̅ῦ̅ Χ̅ρ̅ι̅στο̅ῦ̅ το̅ῦ̅ θε̅ο̅ῦ̅ κα̅ὶ̅ σω̅τ̅ῆ̅ρο̅ς̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ κα̅ὶ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ δε̅σ̅πο̅ί̅νης̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ θε̅ο̅τό̅κου̅ κα̅ὶ̅ πάν̅των̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ων̅
- 4B)** ἐ̅ν̅ ὀ̅νό̅μα̅τι̅ το̅ῦ̅ κυ̅ρι̅ου̅ κα̅ὶ̅ δε̅σ̅πό̅του̅ Ἰ̅η̅σο̅ῦ̅ Χ̅ρ̅ι̅στο̅ῦ̅ το̅ῦ̅ θε̅ο̅ῦ̅ κα̅ὶ̅ σω̅τ̅ῆ̅ρο̅ς̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ κα̅ὶ̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ δε̅σ̅πο̅ί̅νης̅ ἡ̅μ̅ῶ̅ν̅ τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅α̅ς̅ θε̅ο̅τό̅κου̅ κα̅ὶ̅ ἀ̅ει̅πα̅ρ̅θ̅έν̅ου̅ Μ̅α̅ρ̅ί̅α̅ς̅ κα̅ὶ̅ πάν̅των̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ ἁ̅γ̅ι̅ων̅

4C) ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν βασιλέων καὶ αἰωνίου παντοκράτορος καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων

4D) ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν βασιλέων καὶ αἰωνίου παντοκράτορος καὶ τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων

Discussion

Mauricius:

The earliest instance of an invocation in *Middle* Egyptian papyri comes in *P.Erl.* 67 (17.ix.591, Herakleop.), soon followed by *CPR* XIX 33 (21.x.591, Arsinoe) or possibly *BGU* I 295 (18-27.xi.591, Arsinoe); the earliest *Upper* Egyptian invocation is found in *P.Stras.* IV 190 (27.vii.592, Hermop.). Earlier texts from both Middle and Upper Egypt, as far as completely preserved, still lack the invocation, cf. *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935 (6.iii.591, Oxyrhynchos in Middle Egypt) and *BGU* XII 2205 (v-vi.590, Hermopolis in Upper Egypt). In view of the relatively short lapse of time it is reasonable to assume that the introduction of the invocation as an element of document headings fell simultaneously in Middle and Upper Egypt somewhere not too long before 17.ix.591. The date of Mauricius' order is not known, but it could have been the occasion of his *decennalia* (his tenth regnal year began on 13.viii.591). The invocation is thenceforth usual in legal documents of Mauricius' reign. The form is always 1. No other form is found in this reign³ and except as noted below all known legal documents of this reign dated after September 591 have this invocation. The list in Appendix F contains all of these documents known to us classified by regnal formula and provenance.

Only a few documents firmly dated after 17.ix.591⁴ apparently lack an invocation, to judge by the edition:

<i>P.Paris</i> 21 bis	14.vi.592 Thinite complete at top
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVIII 2202	27.iii.593 Oxy. incomplete at top (probably lost)
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1898	594/5 Hermop. complete at top

In the case of *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2202 one may argue that originally there was an invocation written at the start of the document⁵; this would leave us with two documents (both from Upper Egypt) still lacking an invocation after this was used for the first time.

³ Various aberrations in the invocation formulas appearing in *BGU* I 255, 309, II 402, *P.Alex.* 33, *SB* I 4801 and 4858, VI 9153 and *P.Ness.* 30 were corrected in our discussion in *CdÉ* 56 (1981) 117-118; *SB* I 4858 is now *SB* XVI 12701, expanded with *SB* I 4718 and 4671, cf. Appendix F, s.n. Mauricius, form. 8.

⁴ See *BL* 8.357 for *SB* VIII 9932 = *P.Lond.* III 1005 (598/9 or 544?).

⁵ The tops are certainly lost in *P.Amh.* II 150 (592), *P.Münch.* III 98 (593/4), *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2478 (595) and *P.Ross.Georg.* V 42 (602?). For *P.Stras.* V 318 (594) see our discussion in *CdÉ* 56 (1981) 116; for *P.Lond.* III 1315a (584), discussed *loc.cit.* 117, see the edition in *SB* XVI 12867.

Phocas:

Formula 1 occurs during the reign of Phocas in 7 documents, viz:

<i>P.Laur.</i> III 77	603	Hermop.; see <i>BL</i> 8.166
<i>P.Thomas</i> 30	603	Hermop.
<i>P.Bodl.</i> I 41	604	Hermop.
<i>SB</i> I 4503	605/607	Thinite
<i>SB</i> I 4505	606/608	Thinite
<i>CPR</i> IV 23	608	Panopolite
<i>SB</i> I 4876	602-610	Prov. uncertain (Arsin. ⁶)

Most of these texts come from Upper Egypt; from Middle Egypt (Oxyrhynchos) there is as yet no attestation of formula 1 under Phocas.⁷

A new development under Phocas is the Holy Trinity invocation 2 found in Middle and Upper Egypt. The attestations may be found in Appendix H. The following are represented:

2A	Hermopolite (1 instance)
2B	Hermopolite (3)
2C	Oxyrhynchite (15)
2J	Panopolite (2)
2P	Hermonthite (1)

It can be seen that the usage is highly localized. Next to these one finds a combination of the Holy Trinity with Mary (and Saints) in formula 3 in Middle Egypt as well as in Palestine. These attestations are again in Appendix H, summarized as follows:

3A	Arsinoite (3)
3B	Arsinoite (4)
3C	Arsinoite (9), Herakleopolite (1)
3B/3C	Arsinoite (2)
3D	Palestine (1)

Formulas invoking the Holy Trinity come from every part of Egypt, but in those from Upper Egypt and the Oxyrhynchite the Trinity stands alone, while in the Arsinoite and (one) Herakleopolite documents the scribes add Mary or Mary and the Saints. This is a striking regional variation which still needs to be explained.⁸

Heraclius:

Under Heraclius a major division takes place in which the Upper Egyptian nomes use the Trinitarian formula introduced under Phocas (or a variation thereof; formula 2 has by far the

⁶ The "Fayyumic" provenance of this Louvre papyrus is not certain; cf. our remarks in Bagnall-Worp, *CNBD* III: 243 n. 4.

⁷ The date of another text from Oxyrhynchos, *P.Laur.* IV 179 (*ed.princ.* 602-610?), is moved by J.R. Rea in *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 60 sub no. 4, to 591-602 (cf. *BL* 10.94); for *SB* I 4876, see above, n. 6.

⁸ On this, cf. our remarks in *CdÉ* 56 (1981) 119 n. 4 and below, p. 109, n. 14..

most local variants), while the Middle Egyptian nomes revert to the formula in use under Mauricius, i.e. formula 1. References are given in Appendix H, with summary information here by region and nome.

Upper Egypt:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| 2B | Hermopolite (4), Apollonopolite Heptakomias (1), Thinite (2),
Apollonopolite (1) |
| 2D | Hermopolite (1) |
| 2E | Hermopolite (9), Apollonopolite (3) |

Middle Egypt:

All documents from the Middle and Middle Egyptian nomes (Oxyrhynchite, Arsinoite, Herakleopolite) from Heraclius' reign in which the start of the text is preserved have the Christ formula 1. Exceptions and aberrations are discussed in Appendix H; there also is given a list of papyri missing their opening lines.

Dated documents from after the Arab conquest:

For the purposes of this section, we include documents in which a date at least as precise as a quarter-century can be found, counting those in which prosopography is the basis for the date. Many of these have more exact indications of date, but some do not. *SB VI 8987* is lacking its invocation.

Middle Egypt (all attestations from the Fayyum or Herakleopolis, except *T. Varie 8* [Oxy.], form 1):

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | 6 instances |
| 2? | 1 instance |
| 4A | 8 instances |
| 4B | 13 instances |
| 4C | 1 instance |
| 4D | 1 instance (+ 1 possible) |
| 1 or 4A? | 1 instance |

Upper Egypt:

- | | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | Hermop. (1) |
| 2E | Apollonop. (2)
Hermonthite (33) |
| 2F | Hermop. (1) |
| 2G | Antaiop. (17)
Hermop. (3) |
| 2J | Hermonthite (15)
Nubia (1) |
| 2K | Hermonthite (1) |
| 2L | Hermonthite (4) |

Documents not absolutely datable:

These are listed in Appendix H. They include the following provenances:

- | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Arsinoite |
| | Oxyrhynchite |
| | Hermopolite |
| | Herakleopolite |
| 2B | Apollonopolite |
| | Hermopolite |
| 2E | Antaiopolite |
| | Hermopolite |
| | Hermonthite |
| 2G | Antaiopolite |
| | Babylon ? |
| 2H | Hermopolite |
| 2I | Apollonop. Heptakomias (Balaizah) |
| | Hermonthite |
| 2J | Hermopolite |
| | Hermonthite |
| | Panopolite |
| | Hibite |
| | Syene |
| | Nubia |
| 2L | Hermonthite |
| 2M | Arsinoite ? |
| 2N | Great Oasis (Hibite) ? |
| 2O | Hermonthite |
| 2? | Hermopolite |
| 4A | Arsinoite |
| 4B | Arsinoite |

The list contains a considerable number of documents, clearly of the seventh or eighth century, in which we find an invocation but no regnal or consular date; generally, only an indication is given. The evidence for assigning that indiction to any particular cycle is often lacking or equivocal. There are three logical possibilities to explain these documents:

(a) They come from the period of Byzantine rule after 591 and leave the regnal date out by scribal error, haste, or laziness. Since the regnal formula was legally required on *συμβόλαια* by Justinian in *Novel 47* (cf. Worp 1985: 357ff.) such an omission would be illegal. As we saw in Chapter 6, Justinian's legislation took some time to be fully effective, and there are some documents using only consular formulas. But it must be emphasized that these papyri do employ a dating formula that identifies the year uniquely by an officially-sanctioned system of names proclaimed in Constantinople, mainly the postconsular reckoning of Fl. Basilius (cos. 541); they do not begin documents solely with an indiction number, month and day. In the post-Basilian era, complete absence of dating formulas referring to the emperor is difficult to identify. Even where an emperor's name is not mentioned, as in the anomalous and antecedentless *ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ*

εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης formulas under Tiberius, Mauricius and Phocas, the scribes provide at least some mention of the emperor. This choice is thus unattractive.

(b) They come from the period of Byzantine rule but were written during a period of political upheaval or transition between reigns, when scribes may have felt unsure who the ruler was or when no imperial authority in Constantinople was recognized in a particular part of Egypt. This option is logically unassailable but presumably limited in its applicability to short periods.

(c) They can come from a period when there was no Byzantine government recognized in Egypt because it was under some other rule. There are two such periods relevant to our period, i.e., 618-629, the Persian occupation of Egypt, and 640 and after, the Arab rule of Egypt. The precise dates of these dominations in particular places in Egypt are not fully documented. No regnal formula can be expected in these periods and there is thus a natural temptation to date to these periods all texts lacking a regnal formula unless there is some reason to assign them to the transitional periods mentioned in (b). Sometimes such dates can be secured by prosopographical information, as is the case with *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4703, with a Christ invocation, no regnal formula, datable to 22.v.622.

The question is thus difficult, and we must expect that the results of considering it will not be entirely tidy. We begin with *P.Mich.* XIII 662, from Aphrodite, which opens with an invocation by the Holy Trinity. It is dated only to Hathyr 3, 4th indiction. The invocations by the Trinity were, as we have seen, introduced by the emperor Phocas, and the first 4th indiction after his accession is 615/6, which would yield a date of 31.x.615.⁹ Unlike scribes in Middle Egypt, the Upper Egyptian scribes continued to use Trinitarian formulas after Phocas' replacement by Heraclius. The reasons for this regional divide are unknown. The beginning of this papyrus is fully preserved, and it does not have a regnal date. Temporary political disturbance cannot be accepted as an explanation if the date were in the fall of 615, a time by which Heraclius' rule was firmly established throughout Egypt, and it is not clear that even 30.x.630, shortly after the end of Persian rule, is acceptable. We may therefore be led to prefer a date to 645, after the Arab conquest.¹⁰

There is an important cluster of documents from the Fayyum that bears on this problem. These have recently been discussed by N. Gonis;¹¹ we give here a table including not only the documents he treats but the others with fairly secure chronological information that come from the period of transition from Phocas to Heraclius:

⁹ MacCoull 2002: 201, gives an entirely confused discussion of the invocation of this papyrus, which she describes as "Type 2b, Justinian" (what "Justinian" means here is obscure). At first she says that as a Trinitarian invocation "it cannot be earlier than the reign of Maurice," which is wrong (it cannot be earlier than Phocas). She goes on, however, to state that her results "contradict" the chronology of invocations put forward by Bagnall and Worp, who did not have this Aphrodite material available to them, in providing an example of a Trinitarian invocation in 585. Methodologically, of course, papyri dated insecurely by prosopography are hardly the material one would use to upset a well documented system, and MacCoull offers no reason to do so.

¹⁰ It could be objected that *P.Mich.* XIII 662 contains an oath by the *basilike soteria*, which would hardly be applicable once there was no longer a *basileus* in power. But this argument is not compelling, as one of the three exactly datable examples using this phrase can be assigned securely to 647, under Arab rule: *SB* VI 8988.79. (The other two are *P.Lond.* I 113(10).10, from 639/640, and *BGU* I 255.5, from 599. There are several others, lacking exact dates; these are listed below, Appendix G.)

¹¹ *ZPE* 141 (2002) 165-168, where he recredits *P.Bodl.* I 141.

Reference	Ind.	Date	Julian	Invocation	Regnal?	Notary
CPR XXIV 27	13	Tybi 13	8.i.610	3C	yes-Ph.	?
SPP XX 209	13	Pham. 3	27.ii.610	3C	no	Kosmas
CPR XXIV 28	[15]	Thoth 6	4.ix.611	lost	yes-Her.	?
CPR X 130	15	Phaophi 8	6.x.611	1	yes	?
CPR X 131	[15]	Mech. 10	5.ii.612	1	yes	?
P.Lond. I 113.6a	15	Pharm. 7	2.iv.612	3C	no	Kosmas
P.Bodl. 141	1	Ep. 13	7.vii.612	3C	no	?
P.Rain.Cent. 120	1	Thoth 14	11.ix.612	1	yes	?
P.Heid. V 350	1	Choi. 23	19.xii.612	1	yes	John
P.Heid. V 361	1	[Pau.] 14	8.vi.613	1	yes	George
P.Lond. I 113.6c	9	Phao. 5	2.x.620	1	no (Persian occupation)	George
CPR XXIV 30	10	Pachon 2	27.iv.622	1	no (Pers.)	?
CPR XIX 32	11	Tybi 3	29.xii.622	1	no (Pers.)	Kalomenas
BGU I 315	1	Ep. 28	22.vii.627	4A	no	George

The key documents in this table are obviously those with "no" in the column indicating whether a regnal date is present. Because the Trinity invocations were replaced in Middle Egypt by renewed use of the Christ invocations (our type 1) under Heraclius, it is virtually impossible to date the three documents with invocation type 3C after Heraclius is fully established. The crucial point, then, concerns the documents in the group with no regnal date and a Christ (type 1) invocation.

There are 3 documents listed above that meet these criteria: *P.Lond. I 113.6c*, *CPR XXIV 30*, and *CPR XIX 32*. Of these, *CPR XXIV 30* has been securely dated by Palme to the Persian period, because one cycle earlier Menas was not yet pagarch and a cycle later the unified pagarchy of the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite no longer existed. The same arguments secure *CPR XIX 32* in the following year. *P.Lond. I 113.6c* is more difficult. The absence of regnal dating and the presence of the notary George speak for 620, but the fact that the document is addressed to a representative of Theodosios "the most glorious *stratelates* from the city of the Arsinoites" has been taken (Worp, *CPR VII*, p. 154) to indicate instead a date in 635, in proximity to *P.Prag. I 64*, securely dated to 636, in which Theodosios appears as *stratelates* and as *dux* and Augustalis of Arcadia. The absence of regnal dating in this document remains troubling, however, and as Theodosios is not described as pagarch, it does not seem that the argument for 635 is compelling.

BGU I 315, by contrast, has an invocation 4A, which never appears in any text securely datable under Byzantine rule. All securely datable examples can be assigned to the period after the Arab conquest, but there are good prosopographical and institutional grounds for dating several documents with invocations of the larger group 4 to the period of Persian rule.

We must, therefore, accept the high probability that at least one Arsinoite scribe, and perhaps others, continued to use the Trinitarian invocation and to avoid dating by Heraclius at least until the summer of 612. That this transitional uncertainty was not limited to the Arsinoite is suggested by *P.Oxy. LVIII 3949-3953*, a group of documents dating between 4.vi.610 and 23.ix.610, between the end of Phocas' control of Egypt and the official proclamation of Heraclius. None of these includes a regnal formula. In three of the five, their dates are secured by the presence of Oxyrhynchite era years as well as indictions. *P.Oxy. LVIII 3949* begins with invocation formula 1; the others all start with invocation 2C. Heraclius first appears in an Oxyrhynchite regnal formula on 12.ii.611 (*P.Oxy. LVIII 3954*, with invocation 1). It is striking that invocation 1 was used in one document, the earliest of the interregnum, with the scribes then reverting to invocation 2C until the proclamation of Heraclius.

These findings, however, do not provide any basis for imagining that similar omission of regnal formulas can have continued after the transitional period, nor is there any example in

which a scribe switched to invocation 1 but avoided dating by Heraclius. We can thus legitimately allow zones at the beginning and end of major disturbances, as well as the periods of disturbance themselves, in which scribe may have expressed caution by avoiding regnal formulas, but this evidence does give us any broader dispensation to suppose long periods of confusion, nor is there any evidence for omission of sanctioned dating formulas during periods of established imperial rule. With this in mind, we take up the particular groups to see how far secure criteria for dating can be established in the case of those lacking exact dates given by regnal or consular formulas (these are listed in Appendix H).

Formula 1 (Christ)

There are 20 documents in this group, 1 from Hermopolis, 1 from Herakleopolis, 2 with an unknown provenance, 8 from Oxyrhynchos and 8 from the Arsinoite. With a simple Christ invocation, one expects a date either under Mauricius or under Heraclius. The total absence of Christ invocations in Middle Egypt under Phocas except for the Oxyrhynchite (cf. above, p. 103) makes a date under that emperor for such non-Oxyrhynchite documents unlikely.¹² The indications represented include 2, 4, 6, 9-13. Of these, no indications 4 and 6 fell during the Persian rule of Egypt; thus the Persian period cannot explain all of the evidence. We have three instances of a Christ invocation in Middle Egypt securely datable after 641 (*T.Varie* 8, *CPR* X 135 and *P.Ross.Georg.* III 56) and a few such instances from Upper Egypt (*BL Or.* 6201 and 6202, both from 835; cf. also *CPR* IV 112d, which the editor assigned to the eighth century). The Christ formula normally found after 641 is the Christ, Mary and Saints formula (4A and 4B), rather than 1.

Formula 2 (Trinity)

It was established above that various versions of formula 2 were in use in all of Egypt under Phocas, and that under Heraclius and then under Arab rule as long as Greek and Coptic invocations were written, the purely Trinitarian formula persisted only in Upper Egypt. There are, however, a few remarkable exceptions to this rule, viz. *SPP* X 169; *P.Ryl.Copt.* 121 (2) (Babylon, 2G; could also be 2F, but less likely), and possibly also *Riv.Stud.Orientali* 58 (1987) 49-54 (Arsin., 2M). *SPP* X 169 can be dated precisely to A.D. 761 (cf. *CPR* XXII 17.11n.), while the two other texts are not datable.

The task of assigning dates to the Upper Egyptian documents is formidable. Their indiction numbers include 1-4, 7-11, and 13-15; of these 4 and 7 could not fall under Persian rule, and so once again we may exclude the hypothesis that all of them fell in the Persian period. On the other hand, the Arab period cannot be excluded at all. It is worth observing that dated Greek documents from the Hermopolite Nome are relatively scanty after the Persian period (i.e., from 630 onward; cf. pp. 267-271), and that a date late in the 7th century seems unlikely. But that is all we can say in this respect.

The variation of epithets of the Holy Trinity or the order of elements of the invocations is locally based, but similar in character to variations in the phrasing of regnal formulas; e.g. ζωοποιός is largely limited to Upper Egypt.

¹² It may be noted that our Oxyrhynchite datable documentation becomes very scanty after ca. 620 (for exactly dated documents, cf. *SB* XVIII 14006 [635]; *SB* VI 8987 (644/5); *T.Varie* 8 [669]).

Formula 3 (Trinity, Mary and Saints)

This formula is, within Egypt, limited to the Arsinoite Nome. There are no examples of this formula which are not datable to the reign of Phocas, except for those listed above from the very start of Heraclius' reign (*supra*, p. 107). It is striking that the Arsinoite additions to the Upper Egyptian basic Trinity formula are the same as the Arsinoite additions to the Christ formula after 641, except that formula 3A (represented by three texts, *BGU* II 365, *CPR* XIV 9, and *SB* XIV 12195) omits the saints.

Formula 4 (Christ, Mary and Saints)

Our argument above has assigned one document with formula 4A during the Persian occupation, and it is possible that other documents with a 4A or 4B invocation also belong to this period.¹³ The entire class of formulas, with their devotion to the cult of Mary and the saints, is characteristic of Middle Egypt, particularly the Fayyum, and apparently burst out when not officially curtailed (*cf.* *CdÉ* 56 [1981] 119 n. 4).¹⁴ The rare formulas 4C and 4D, adding "king of kings" to Christ's titlature, are of special interest. It has been argued (Gascou and Worp 1984) that *SB* I 4483 (4C) is to be dated to A.D. 621, as had been proposed by Chrysos 1975 for different reasons; *P.Rain.Cent.* 35 (*cf.* *BL* 8.286), which has a formula 4D, is of the seventh century but no exact date. Gonis and Worp (2002) have now demonstrated that *P.Bodl.* I 77 contains an example of formula 4D (an almost certain restoration; 4C seems definitely too short for the lacuna) datable to 671. It appears, in other words, that these formulas appear both under the Persian occupation and after the Arab conquest, but never under Byzantine rule. The case for dating some of the documents with formulas 4A and 4B to the Persian period is strengthened by the solid evidence concerning 4C.

It is thus evident that only to a limited degree can the invocations help pin down documents which do not have intrinsically useful dating criteria. Further prosopographical research may help to define ranges more closely.

¹³ B. Palme, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 171-174, proposes dating *SB* I 4805 (now XXIV 16287) (featuring invocation 4A) to 619-629, and perhaps more precisely ca. A.D. 622) on the basis of the presence of a single pagarch in the Arsinoite.

¹⁴ It remains unclear why the invocation formulas from the Fayyum show this particular devotion to Mary. Papaconstantinou 2000 shows no special concentration of her cult in this region.

APPENDIX A

OCCURRENCES OF APXH AND TEAEI

I. Documents (papyri, ostraka, inscriptions) in which ἀρχῆ occurs

This table includes only those texts in which the month is preserved or securely restored.¹ Documents are arranged in order of the calendar, starting with Pachon 1, not by the year in which they are dated.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document
Pachon 1	13	26.iv.550	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 140 ²
Pachon 5	11	30.iv.547	Hermopolite	<i>SB XVIII</i> 13583
Pachon 5	11	VI-VII	Hermopolite	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1083 (p. 249)
Pachon 6	7			<i>BKU III</i> 400
Pachon 6(?)	14	1.v.565	Hermopolite	<i>BGU XII</i> 2202 ³
Pachon 6	14	VIII	Hermopolite?	<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 146
Pachon 8	4	3.v.555	Hermopolite	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1692 (a). ⁴
Pachon 10	3	VIII	Hermopolite?	<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 214
Pachon 11	5	VII/VIII?	Antaiopolite	<i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1475
Pachon 11	10 ⁵	VII/VIII	Hermopolite?	<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 194
Pachon 11	[]	early VIII	Hermonthite	<i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 93
Pachon 12	2	7.v.568	Antinoopolite	<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67153/67253

hand, the Antinoopolite documents are excluded at all. It is worth observing that dated Greek documents from the Hermopolite Nome are relatively scanty after the Ptolemaic period (i.e. from

¹ Specifically excluded is *P.Stras.* V 316 (cf. p. 21 n. 16), in which the editors venture suggestions for restorations which in our opinion rest on no foundation. Similarly *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67158, III 67332 and *P.Lond.* V 1772, where [Pachon] has been restored, while Pauni is also conceivable; cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* III 40 (with *BL* 8.291). The editor of *SB VIII* 9769 prints in his text an ἀρχῆ in Tybi, but from a photograph supplied by our colleagues in Vienna we consider the passage too damaged to allow any reading. For *BKU III* 427 cf. below, n. 20. *P.KRU* 37 (ind. 7 = 723/4?) mentions ἀρχῆ in line 11, but lacks a month date with that reference. Another such monthless reference occurs in *P.KRU* 42.5 (725/6). The supposed ἀρχῆ on Phaophi 27 in *SB I* 4484 has now disappeared in the re-edition of the text as *CPR XIX* 33.

² Cf. *BL* 7.128. The inclusion of καρπῶν is probably the result of scribal sloppiness, since it has no pertinence in this contract for hire of a substitute in a liturgy.

³ Cf. editor's note to lines 1-2.

⁴ *BL* 3.98 reports Comfort's suggestion of a date in 554, but Comfort nowhere gave any reason for this date. The text has ἀρξο[μέν]ης, but cf. *infra*, n. 12.

⁵ The editor reads 18, but on the basis of a photograph kindly provided by the John Rylands Library we think that the numeral of the indiction is just an iota followed by a numeral marking, not iota eta.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document
Pachon	13	7	8.v.558	Antaiopolite <i>P.Lond.</i> III 1007c (p. 264)
Pachon	14	12	9.v.473	Oxyrhynchite <i>P.Oxy.</i> LIX 3985 ⁶
Pachon	14	2	9.v.568	Antinoopolite <i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67305 ⁷
Pachon	15	2	10.v.523 (?)	Antaiopolite <i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67050 + II 67137 ⁸
Pachon	16	15	VI-VII	Arsinoite <i>SPP</i> III 239
Pachon	16	[]		<i>SBKopt.</i> I 465
Pachon	17	13		Antinoopolite <i>SB</i> III 6191
Pachon	18	6		Panopolite <i>Lef.</i> 280 ⁹
Pachon	18	8		Antinoopolite <i>SB</i> III 6187
Pachon	20	3	15.v.569	Antinoopolite <i>P.Coll.Youtie</i> II 92 (= <i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67023)
Pachon	20	5	VI	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 136 (above, p. 26 n. 13)
Pachon	23 ¹⁰	6	early VIII	Hermonthite <i>O.Crum</i> 415 ¹¹
Pachon	27	2	22.v.568	Antinoopolite <i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67162 ¹²
Pachon	27	5	12.v.601	Alexandria <i>SB</i> III 6249 ¹³
Pachon	28	1	VII/VIII	Hermopolite? <i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 319
Pachon	28	6	VI/VII	<i>P.Sijp.</i> 35 verso i.1
Pachon	28	6	23.v.602	Hermopolite <i>P.Grenf.</i> II 87
Pachon	28	10	?	Aswan <i>SBKopt.</i> I 522, cf. <i>JJP</i> 29 (1999) 20-21
Pachon	29	15	24.v.521	Hermopolite <i>P.Stras.</i> VI 579
Pachon		6		<i>P.Hermitage Copt.</i> 74
Pachon		12	Late IV	Oxyrhynchite <i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1280 ¹⁴
Pachon		12	487/8?	Hermopolite <i>P.Athen.Xyla</i> 18
Pauni	1	3		Antinoopolite <i>Lef.</i> 183
Pauni	1	11	VII	Hermopolite <i>P.Stras.</i> V 310 ¹⁵
Pauni	1	14	24.v.505	Oxyrhynchite <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1966 ¹⁶
Pauni	4	6	early VIII	Hermonthite <i>O.Crum</i> 414 ¹⁷

⁶ Pachon 14 is 11th indiction, ἀρχὴ 12th.

⁷ In line 9 of this document the 2nd indiction is called ἐσομένης, but the confrontation of this text with others from the same collection shows that this is an error for παρούσης.

⁸ See re-edition by Mitthof 2001: 546 with discussion of date on 543-544.

⁹ Cf. *JJP* 26 (1996) 55 s.n. 'A 11719'.

¹⁰ This seems to be the most likely reading (alternative: Pauni 3?); cf. Crum's remarks on the text and cf. n. 11 below.

¹¹ Same hand as *O.Crum* 414 (Pauni 4).

¹² The indiction is called ἀρξομένης (cf. supra, n. 4), which we regard as an error for ἀρξαμένης, by comparison with *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67332. In lines 20ff. the indiction is called παρούσης.

¹³ Cf. *BL* 7.189, 11.199.

¹⁴ The editors assigned the text only to the fourth century. The 1,000 myriads of denarii (not drachmas, as edd.) as rent for a share of a camel shed point to the last quarter of the century as the date; cf. also above, p. 26.

¹⁵ Fourth century, ed. pr.; see *BL* 7.248.

¹⁶ Pauni 1 is indiction 13, ἀρχὴ 14th.

¹⁷ Same hand as *O.Crum* 415 (supra n. 11).

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document	
Pauni	6	3	31.v.734	Hermonthite	SB I 5609 = P.KRU 106 ¹⁸
Pauni	8	8		Antinoopolite	SB III 6199
Pauni	10	7	5.v.723	Hermonthite	SB I 5572 = P.KRU 36 ¹⁹
Pauni	10	11		Hermopolite?	BKU III 427 ²⁰
Pauni	15	1	VI-VII	Arsinoite	BGU III 751 = SB I 5335 ²¹
Pauni	17	15		Arsinoite?	SB I 4898
Pauni	20	11	14.vi.592	Thinite	P.Par. 21 bis ²²
Pauni		3		Arsinoite?	SB I 4691
Pauni		4	v-vi.420	Oxyrhynchite	P.Oxy. XVI 1973 ²³
Pauni		5	V-VI	Arsinoite	P.Prag. I 44 ²⁴
Pauni		8	VI/VII	Hakoris, Hermop.	SB XX 14692
Pauni		10	VII-VIII	Arsinoite	BGU I 323 ²⁵
Epeiph	1	3	vi-vii.569?	Antinoopolite	P.Ross.Georg. III 38 ²⁶
Epeiph	2	13	VI-VII	Arsinoite	SB V 7668 ²⁷
Epeiph	4	15	ca. 450-500		SB XII 10766 ²⁸
Epeiph	5	9	29.vi.455?	Upper Theodosiopolite	P.Sijp. 34 ²⁹
Epeiph	6	3	V-VI	Arsinoite?	CPR XXIV 20
Epeiph	8	5	VII	Oxyrhynchite	P.Wisc. I 11 ³⁰
Epeiph	8	9	VII	Arsinoite	Stele of Tamianos ³¹

¹⁸ The Saracene era and the indiction point to different years (cf. *Aegyptus* 65 [1985] 113 no. 28). We follow the indiction, which is supported by the era of Diocletian. The numerals are all correctly read.

¹⁹ Till 1962: 23 dates to 724.

²⁰ The reading of the name of the month is, however, insecure.

²¹ Cf. *BL* 7.187 for the identification of these documents, confirmed by H. Maehler. On the date we follow *ByzNot* 47 no. 16.7.1 rather than *BL* 8.33.

²² C. Wessely, *MPER* I, p. 27, attributes to Wilcken the suggestion that the correct year numeral is 11; *BL* 1.339 lists the same suggestion as Preisigke's. N. Lewis, *AJP* 60 (1939) 418 seems to be confused when he suggests that if the regnal year is 12 the indiction ought to be 13 rather than 11; this suggestion is recorded in *BL* 3.142. But the papyrus does not have regnal year 12.

²³ This text has εἰς ἀρχήν, and the date given above is prospective. The document dates to 15.ii.420.

²⁴ Cf. *BL* 9.214. In *Gesamtverzeichnis*, F. Reiter proposes 466; his argumentation is not yet published.

²⁵ The 10th indiction is specifically called παρούσης in line 10. See *BL* 8.23 and *ZPE* 90 (1992) 258.

²⁶ The text reads (lines 20-22) ἀπό νεομηνιαίας το(ῦ) εἰσιόντος μηνός Ἐπειφ ἀρξομ(ένης) τρίτης ἰνδ(ι)κ(τιόνος). We take it that the aorist is meant, cf. *supra* n. 12. Neither the *ed.princ.* nor the editor of *C.Pap.Jud.* III 511 (a re-edition) discuss the indiction, but the date was originally put ca 570 on the basis of palaeography, and the editor may have had the indiction in mind when he settled on so precise a date. Cf. *BL* 9.226, giving a date to the coming Epeiph I rather than the date of writing in Pauni.

²⁷ For the provenance of the text cf. J.M. Diethart - K.A. Worp, *ByzNot* 47 no. 16.7.2 (*BL* 8.332).

²⁸ This date appears on the verso, probably a docket of the recipient. The editor reads: ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτιόνος) ἀρχῆ Ἐπειφ δ ἰε ἰνδ(ικτιόνος), which is a puzzling word order. The pay described on the recto covers Epeiph 3, ind. 13, to Epeiph 2, ind. 14, while the receipt is dated to Choiak 15.

²⁹ Previously mentioned by M. Drew-Bear, *REA* 83 (1981) 28 n. 35.

³⁰ Cf. *BL* 7.100 and 8.201 ad *P.L.Bat.* XVI 11. Epeiph 8 is 4th indiction, ἀρχῆ 5th.

³¹ Unpublished; Greek stele from Psineuris, with photographs in F. Khourshid, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Fayyum* (Cairo 1998; in Arabic) fig. 54-56; information courtesy of J. van der Vliet.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document
Epeiph	12	8	6.vii.574	SB IV 7319
Epeiph	13	7	7.vii.633/648	Arsinoite SPP XX 243 = SB I 5278 ³²
Epeiph	15	7	9.vii.513	Arsinoite SB XX 14690
Epeiph	16	7	VI/VII	Oxyrhynchite (?) P.Wash.Univ. II 104.2
Epeiph	17	6	VII-VIII	Arsinoite SPP VIII 941 ³³
Epeiph	17	6	?	Aswan SBKopt. I 510
Epeiph	17	7	11.vii.483	Oxyrhynchite SB XX 15134
Epeiph	19	13	13.vii.639	Arsinoite SB XXII 15729
Epeiph	20	4		Arsinoite SB I 4884
Epeiph	20	14		Arsinoite? SB I 4918
Epeiph	23	7	VI	Arsinoite SPP VIII 776
Epeiph	23	14	17.vii.505	Oxyrhynchite P.Oxy. XVI 1994 = SB XXIV 15924 ³⁴
Epeiph	25	11	19.vii.577	Oxyrhynchite SB XII 10934 ³⁵
Epeiph	26	15	VI	Hermopolite? SPP III 377 = SPP XX 171 ³⁶
Epeiph	27	1	VI-VII	Arsinoite SPP III 92 ³⁷
Epeiph	27	7	21.vii.618	Arsinoite BGU III 725 ³⁸
Epeiph	27	7	VII	Arsinoite SB I 4763
Epeiph	28	1	22.vii.627	Arsinoite BGU I 315 ³⁹
Epeiph	28	9	22.vii.560	Oxyrhynchite P.Oxy. XVI 1972 ⁴⁰
Epeiph	30	7	24.vii.423	Kynopolite P.Köln III 151
Epeiph		1	vi-vii.417	Hermopolite P.Berl.Zill. 5 ⁴¹
Epeiph		1	VI	Hermopolite? SPP III 446
Epeiph		1	vi-vii.627	Apollinopolite P.Edfou I 4 ⁴²
Epeiph		5	vi-vii.556	Syene P.Lond. V 1719 ⁴³
Epeiph		6	?	Syene SBKopt. I 511
Epeiph		7-9	VII	Arsinoite SB VIII 9769
Epeiph		8	499	Oxyrhynchite P.Mich. XV 731 ⁴⁴
Epeiph		10	29.vii.621	Arsinoite SB I 4483 ⁴⁵

³² Cf. BL 8.474, 9.349. CPR XXII, p. 283, dates the text after the Arab conquest, thus 648.

³³ See BL 11.260-261. The dating in this papyrus has a remarkable word order.

³⁴ We are following the reedition in SB rather than BL 7.143 for the date, but we suppose that after the day numeral $\kappa\gamma$ the scribe omitted the indiction number $\tau\gamma$ in its entirety by haplography.

³⁵ Epeiph 25 is 10th indiction, ἀρχὴ 11th. Cf. S. Daris, *StudPap* 9 (1970) 87; for the provenance see BL 8. 364.

³⁶ The 15th indiction is stated (line 1) to be παρούσης.

³⁷ The 15th indiction is described as past in line 4. It is not now possible to establish with certainty the identity of this text and that of MPER I 27, PER 682. For the date see BL 11.258 and *AnalPap* 12 (2000) 232.

³⁸ Mesore is ascribed (line 22) to "the present 7th indiction."

³⁹ See above, p. 107.

⁴⁰ Epeiph 28 is the 8th indiction, ἀρχὴ of the 9th.

⁴¹ The text reads (lines 10ff.) ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξῆς μ[ηνός] Ἐπειφ τῆς εὐτυχούς ἀρχῆς πρώτης ἐπινημήσεως.

⁴² For the date cf. BL 3.47; we do not accept the date proposed in BL 9.78.

⁴³ Cf. BL 8.192 for the date of the document.

⁴⁴ Epeiph is 7th indiction, ἀρχὴ 8th.

⁴⁵ The papyrus is dated Pauni 4, ind. 9 (= 29.v.621). For the date to A.D. 621 cf. BL 7.184 and 8.309.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document
Epeiph	13	VI	Arsinoite?	<i>SPP</i> III 87 ⁴⁶
Epeiph		VI	Arsinoite?	<i>SPP</i> III 403
Mesore	1 3	25.vii.584/99?	Arsinoite?	<i>CPR</i> VI 10
Mesore	1 14	VI/VII	Arsinoite	<i>P.Prag.</i> II 189
Mesore (1)	14	vii-viii.400	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3203 ⁴⁷
Mesore	1 11	VI	Arsinoite	<i>SPP</i> III 123 ⁴⁸
Mesore	2 5	VI	Arsinoite?	<i>SPP</i> III 137
Mesore	2 5	26.vii.631	Arsinoite	<i>P.Rain.Unterricht</i> 108
Mesore	4 2	28.vii.568	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 778 (p. 279) ⁴⁹
Mesore	4 5			<i>SB</i> XXII 15749
Mesore	5 13	29.vii.579	Arsinoite	<i>SB</i> VI 9596
Mesore	6		Arsinoite	<i>BGU</i> II 693 = <i>SPP</i> VIII 1150
Mesore	7 14	VI	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1997 ⁵⁰
Mesore	11 9	V	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 995
Mesore	13 13	VI-VII	Arsinoite	<i>BGU</i> II 371
Mesore	14 6	VII-VIII	Arsinoite	<i>BGU</i> I 29 = <i>SPP</i> III 117
Mesore	14 15	7.viii.551	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2238 ⁵¹
Mesore	16 6	V/VI	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1954 = <i>SB</i> XXII 15528, ⁵² <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXVII 4621
Mesore	16 7	bef. 565/566	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2244.83 ⁵³
Mesore	16 15		Arsinoite	<i>SB</i> I 1449
Mesore	18 14			<i>SB</i> XXII 15740
Mesore	20 10	VII	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Mich.</i> XV 748 ⁵⁴
Mesore	24 5	17.viii.511	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1960 ⁵⁵
Mesore	26 11	19.viii.487	Arsinoite	<i>P.Amh.</i> II 148
Mesore	27 13	20.viii.504	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXII 4349
Mesore	28 14	21.viii.610	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3951 ⁵⁶
Mesore	28 14	VII	Arsinoite	<i>BGU</i> III 750 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.33)
Mesore	30 15	23.viii.581	Arsinoite	<i>SPP</i> XX 217 ⁵⁷

⁴⁶ Pauni 14 is called ind. 12, τέλει.

⁴⁷ Prospective reference: από νεομηνιαίας του ἐξῆς μηνός Μεσορή του ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ὅς με ἀρχῆ της τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα[άτης] ἰνδικ[τ]ίουος. Year 76 = 45 is 399/400, while ind. 14 is 400/401. Cf. above, pp. 26 and 32.

⁴⁸ Prospective reference; the text dates to Epeiph; cf. *BL* 9.333.

⁴⁹ We conclude from the editor's note to l. 3 that the best reading is ἰνδ(κτιόνος) α ἀρχῆ β, to which there are now a number of parallels.

⁵⁰ Cf. *BL* 8.253. Mesore 7 is 13th ind., ἀρχῆ 14th.

⁵¹ Mesore 14 is 14th indiction, ἀρχῆ 15th.

⁵² *SB* XXII 15528 prints "Mesore 10" instead of "Mesore 16"; cf. also *P.Oxy.* XVI 1955 and 1956 = *SB* XXII 15529-15530; Mesore 16th is 5th indiction, ἀρχῆ 6th.

⁵³ Mesore 16 is 6th indiction, ἀρχῆ 7th; cf. *BL* 9.194.

⁵⁴ Mesore 20 is 9th indiction, ἀρχῆ 10th.

⁵⁵ Mesore 24 is 4th indiction, ἀρχῆ 5th.

⁵⁶ Mesore 28 is 13th indiction, ἀρχῆ(ῆ) 14th.

⁵⁷ Future reference. The papyrus reads (lines 15-16) μηνῶν δ τῶν ἀπό Παχῶν ᾱ ἰδ ἰνδ(κτιόνος) ἑω[ς M]εσορή τριακάδι ἀρχῆ της εἰσιούσης πεντεκαίδεκάτης ἰνδ(κτιόνος). The date of the document, in line 2, is Pachon 10 (5.v); cf. *BL* 9.348.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document
Mesore	30	2	IV	Arsinoite <i>SPP XX 108</i> ⁵⁸
Mesore			VI	Arsinoite <i>SPP III 110</i>
Mesore	5	vii-viii.511	Arsinoite	<i>SPP XX 135 = SB XVIII 13860</i>
Mesore	13	13.xi.443	Herakleopolite	<i>CPR X 39</i>
Epagomenai	4	4	27.viii, VI	Oxyrhynchite <i>SB I 1969</i> ⁵⁹
Epagomenai	5	2	28.viii.598	Oxyrhynchite <i>SB XXII 15487</i> ⁶⁰
Thoth	1	9	Koptos	<i>O.CrumVC 30</i>
Thoth	1	12(?)	Apollon. Heptak.	<i>O.Sarga 173.7</i> ⁶¹
Thoth	1		VI	Herakleopolite <i>CPR XIX 51.3</i>
Thoth	2	2	VI-VII	Arsinoite <i>BGU I 311</i> ⁶²
Thoth	6	8	3/4.ix.544/559	Herakleopolite <i>P.Rain.Cent. 118</i>
Thoth	15		IV-V	Arsinoite? <i>SPP VIII 1320 = SB I 5279</i> ⁶³
Thoth	19	10	17.ix.591	Herakleopolite <i>P.Erl.67</i>
Thoth	21	7	bef. 565/566	Oxyrhynchite <i>P.Oxy. XIX 2244.68</i> ⁶⁴
Thoth 17/27	15		14/24.ix.596	Herakleopolite <i>SB VI 9153</i> ⁶⁵
Thoth	22	15	19.ix.596	Herakleopolite <i>P.Stras. V 318</i> ⁶⁶
Phaophi	8	3	6.x.719	Hermonthite <i>P.KRU 35.80</i>
Phaophi	8		ix-x.484	Oxyrhynchite <i>P.Oxy. VIII 1130</i> ⁶⁷
Hathyr	3	?	30.x.530?	Herakleopolite? <i>P.Rain.Cent. 116</i>
Tybi	9	9		<i>ASAE 23 (1925) 57</i>
Pharm.	28	10		<i>SBKopt. I 686</i>

⁵⁸ Wages are paid from Thoth of ind. 2 to Mesore 30, ἀρχὴ ind. 3. See above, p. 26.

⁵⁹ The ostrakon reads Μ(εσορ)ῆ ἐπαγομ(ένων) δ οἴνου τρίτης ἀρχῆς δ. The wine is to be from the ρύσις of the 4th ind.

⁶⁰ Epagomene 5 = 1st indiction, ἀρχὴ 2nd.

⁶¹ The interpretation of this document, i.e. Thoth 1 is ἀρχὴ 12th indiction, is not certain.

⁶² Cf. *BL* 8.22. The text begins with cross, month, day and indiction, but no invocation, regnal date, consulate, or indication of place of writing. Autopsy shows that there is no sign of any loss at top, where the edge is straight and there are no descending strokes. The absence of other formal elements is exceptional; we cannot say if it reflects absence of Byzantine rule (so Waszynski in *BL*) or informality in drafting. For the use of ἀρχὴ at this date cf. *BASP* 16 (1979) 243.

⁶³ Cf. *BL* 8.320, 453.

⁶⁴ Thoth 21 is 6th indiction, ἀρχὴ 7th. Since the same day is tagged simply ind. 6 in line 66, this is probably an error. Cf. *BL* 9.194.

⁶⁵ For the date of the papyrus cf. *BL* 8.340.

⁶⁶ For the date of the document cf. *BL* 8.418.

⁶⁷ We take the post-consulate to mean a second postconsular year, cf. above, pp. 88-90, *BL* 7.135, 8.241.

II. Documents (papyri, inscriptions) in which τέλει occurs

This table follows the same principles as for ἀρχή, see p. 110.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document	
Pachon	1	2,3	VI	Arsinoite	SPP VIII 859 ⁶⁸
Pachon	28	7	VI	Arsinoite	SPP VIII 861 (cf. 863?)
Pachon	28	7	VI	Arsinoite	SPP VIII 862 + 848
Pachon	28	7	VI	Arsinoite	SPP VIII 809 + 849
Pachon	28	10	23.v.487	Arsinoite	SPP XX 128 = SB I 5273
Pauni	1	9	VI	Arsinoite	SB VIII 9771
Pauni	3	9	28.v.636	Arsinoite	P.Prag. I 64
Pauni	3	9	VI	Arsinoite	SPP III 262
Pauni	4	12	29.v.609	Arsinoite	BGU III 837
Pauni	7	1	V	Arsinoite	SPP VIII 804
Pauni	8	3	2.vi.600	Arsinoite	SB I 4858 = SB XVI 12701 ⁶⁹
Pauni	13	3	VI	Arsinoite	SB XXII 15745
Pauni	13	8	7.vi.605	Arsinoite	BGU I 3
Pauni	14	12	8.vi.654/669	Arsinoite	SB I 5681 ⁷⁰
Pauni	14	12	VI	Arsinoite?	SPP III 87 ⁷¹
Pauni	14	13	8.vi.595	Arsinoite	P.Lond. I 113 (4) (p. 209) ⁷²
Pauni	14	1	8.vi.613	Arsinoite	P.Heid. V 361
Pauni	15	6	9.vi.618	Arsinoite	SPP XX 220 = SB I 5269 ⁷³
Pauni	16	3	VI	Arsinoite	BGU II 367 (cf. ByzNot 41)
Pauni	19	4	13.vi.556	Arsinoite	BGU I 305
Pauni	20	8	14.vi.605	Arsinoite	SB I 4748
Pauni	26	9	20.vi.531	Arsinoite	SPP XX 139 ⁷⁴
Pauni	27	3	VII	Arsinoite	SPP VIII 866
Pauni	27	14	21.vi.536	Arsinoite	P.Grenf. II 85 ⁷⁵
Pauni	27		611-641?	Arsinoite	AnalPap 12 (2000) 194 no. 6.1
Pauni	28	4	VI-VII	Arsinoite	SPP III 84 ⁷⁶

⁶⁸ The papyrus speaks of a period from Pachon 1 at the end of the 2nd to the same day at the end of the 3rd indiction.

⁶⁹ SB XVI 12701 joins SB I 4671 and 4718. For this combination and the correct reading of the indiction numeral cf. B. Palme, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 175-179; there is a conflict with the date by the regnal year. Cf. below, pp. 124-125.

⁷⁰ For a new reading of the indiction numeral and the dating, see D. Hagedorn and K. A. Worp in *ZPE* 134 (2001) 176.

⁷¹ Pauni 14 is called at the τέλει of the 12th indiction, but the next following month is described as Epeiph, ἀρχή 13th ind.

⁷² The lease is to start with the crops of the coming 15th indiction. Since the crops are always designated by the indiction beginning during a year, it is the correct term for the crops of 596.

⁷³ The 6th indiction is called 'present' in line 26.

⁷⁴ Cf. *BL* 7.263.

⁷⁵ Belisarius' consulate was in 535, his postconsulate (here) in 536 (not 535 as ed.).

⁷⁶ See *BL* 11.258; *AnalPap* 12 (2000) 232.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document
Pauni	28	4	22.vi.586	Arsinoite <i>BGU I 303</i> ⁷⁷
Pauni	30	9	V	Arsinoite <i>SPP XX 195 = VIII 970</i>
Pauni	30	9	V-VI	Arsinoite? <i>SPP VIII 1223</i>
Pauni	[.]4	11	v-vi.653	Arsinoite <i>CPR XXIV 33</i>
Pauni		5	VI	Arsinoite <i>SPP III 410</i>
Pauni		6	v-vi.633	Arsinoite <i>P.Lond. I 113 (6b) (p. 214)</i> ⁷⁸
Epeiph	1	3	25.vi.615	Arsinoite <i>BGU II 368</i> ⁷⁹
Epeiph	3	2	7.vii.584	Arsinoite <i>P.Ross.Georg. III 39</i> ⁸⁰
Epeiph	22	12	16.vii.534	Herakleopolite <i>SB VIII 9876</i> ⁸¹
Epagom.	3	11	VI	Herakleopolite <i>SPP III 86</i> ⁸²
Thoth		9	VI	Arsinoite <i>SPP XX 112</i> ⁸³
Choiak	1	10		Arsinoite <i>SB I 4810</i> ⁸⁴
Mecheir	23	2	VII-VIII	Arsinoite <i>P.Ross.Georg. III 57</i> ⁸⁵
Pharm.	30	8	V/VI	? <i>P.Prag. II 178</i> ⁸⁶

⁷⁷ Lines 14-16 say that the lease is reckoned from the crops of the approaching 6th indiction (587/8), which is correct; cf. *supra*, n. 72.

⁷⁸ The papyrus reads [ἀρ]ὸ τοῦ παρελθόν[τος μην]ὸς Παῦνι τέλει τῆς π[αρελθού]σης ἕκτης ἰνδ[ικτίονος].

⁷⁹ The receipt is for jars for the wine of the 4th indiction.

⁸⁰ In *P.Ross.Georg. III 39*, where part of the month name is lost, instead of the editor's Epeiph 13 we prefer to read Ἐρ[ε]ίφι γ, making the date before 1 July (suggestion reported in *BL 7.171*, where there is reference to a published plate showing a small space between iota and gamma).

⁸¹ Line 12 speaks of the σπόρος of the 14th indiction; what is meant is the crop of that indiction, see the remarks in *Mnemosyne 31 (1978) 287-293*. This may be the papyrus referred to by Wessely, *MPPER I 27*. Cf. also *BASP 16 (1979) 239*.

⁸² Cf. *BASP 16 (1979) 240-241*.

⁸³ This text was written on Pauni 26, ind. 8, by a sitometres for the 9th indiction. He promises repayment of a loan in Thoth at the end of the approaching 9th indiction. This must be an error, but we cannot say whether the coming Thoth or the one next following was meant, and what the error was. Cf. *BASP 16 (1979) 243*.

⁸⁴ Cf. *BASP 16 (1979) 243*.

⁸⁵ The reading was kindly verified by I. F. Fikhman at our request. The drafting of the document, however, seems to be defective, for the scribe speaks of repayment in Pharmouthi τῆς παρούσης τρίτης ἰνδ[ικτίονος], whereas in the dating clause it is said to be now in the *second* indiction. The confusion may have come about because the document deals with hay, and the crop from which repayment was to be made in Pharmouthi would be called that of the third indiction, even though that indiction had not yet started in a chronological sense, by assimilation to wheat reckoning. From here it is only a short step to considering the indiction present, as its crops are already standing in the field, and to regard Mecheir as the end of the indiction becomes more comprehensible. Cf. *P.Panop. 22* and the editors' note to line 11 there for a comparable error.

⁸⁶ This appearance of a τέλει date on Pharmouthi 30 is unparalleled, but we believe the reading to be sound. It may be conceivable that the document, for which there is no provenance, reflects the Upper Egyptian beginning of the indiction on Pachon 1 and that in effect τέλει has been used here where other documents would use λήξεως. See below.

III. Documents (papyri, inscriptions) in which λήξεως / ληγούσης occur

This table follows the same principles as for ἀρχῆ, see p. 110.

Day	Ind.	Date	Provenance	Document	
Pachon	1	1	26.iv.583	Hermopolite	SB XVI 12866 ⁸⁷
Pachon	2	1	27.iv.553	Antaiopolite	P.Cair.Masp. III 67303 ⁸⁸
Pachon	4	4			ZPE 97 (1993) 231 no. 41 =
Pachon	28	7			Orientalia 60 (1991) 99 =
Pachon	28	III 397			I. Kamel, <i>Cat.Gén.Mus.Copt.</i>
					41 = SEG 41.1675
Pauni	2	12	Esna?		ZPE 97 (1993) 229 no. 25 =
	3	9			I. Kamel, <i>Cat.Gén.Mus.Copt.</i> 25
	3	9			= <i>Livre du Centenaire de l'IFAO</i>
	4	12			(Cairo 1980) 259 no. 54
	7	III 27			= <i>Orientalia</i> 60 (1991) 96
	8	3			= SEG 41.1672
Pauni	19	14	VI/VII	Omboi (?)	SEG 44.1505 ⁸⁹
Pauni	27	11	21.vi.488	Hermopolis	P.Lond. V 1794 ⁹⁰

For λήγω, λήξις and the start of the indiction in general see *BASP* 16 (1979) 244-245, *Livre du Centenaire de l'IFAO* (Cairo 1981) 229-277 at 259 no. 54 and the remarks made by J. Gascou, *Travaux & Mémoires* 12 (1994) 328 n. 20.

⁸⁷ Cf. *BASP* 16 (1979) 244.

⁸⁸ The document gives the 26th regnal year of Justinian, but the 27th had in fact begun 27 days before. The 1st indiction is called in the dating formula ληγούσης, but indiction 2 is said in line 12 to be present. We take this as indicating the May indiction.

⁸⁹ Previous editions include *SB* IV 7475, *Lef.* 562, *I.Theb.Syen.* 196, *T&M* 12 (1994) 331. We suppose that ἡδ (ινδικτιωνος) ληγ(ούσης) Παῦνι ἡδ, refers to the 1 July indiction start.

⁹⁰ Cf. *BL* 8.193.

APPENDIX B

INDICTION STARTING DATES AFTER 1 MAY AND
IRRECONCILABLE DATES

I. Indiction starting dates after 1 May and before 29/30 August

Texts with ἀρχή or τέλει, listed in Appendix A, are excluded from this list, as are those in which an absolute date provided by the era of Diocletian is in question (treated *supra*, pp. 65-66). Only those texts are included in which *only* the assumption of an end to the indiction year later than 1 May allows all the data to be reconciled. Inclusion here does not mean that we conclude that a given instance refers to any particular indiction year. For a discussion of the non-Oxyrhynchite items in the list, see above, pp. 34-35.

<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Julian</i>	<i>Date</i>	= <i>julian</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Document</i>
7	483/4	Pachon 9	484	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VIII 1130 ¹
8	409/10	Pachon 10	410	Hermopolite	<i>P.Herm.</i> 69 ²
12	608/9	Pachon 13	609	Oxyrhynchite	<i>PSI</i> I 61
5	571/2	Pachon 15	572	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 126
7	573/4	Pachon 15	574	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1894
11	577/8	Pachon 15	578	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1042
7	438/9	Pachon 20	439	Arsinoite	<i>P.Haun.</i> III 58
10	576/7	Pachon 22	577	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1896
6	617/8	Pachon 25	618	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 153
12	443/4	Pachon 26	444	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Harr.</i> I 149 ³
3	629/30	Pachon 28	630	Herakleopolite	<i>BGU</i> I 314
1	582/3	Pachon 29	583	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 136
15	431/2	Pachon	432	Hermopolite	<i>BGU</i> XII 2139 (cf. p. 35)
6	497/8	Pachon	498	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2237
15	581/2	Pauni 4	582	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Iand.</i> III 48
9	620/1	Pauni 13	621	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1921 ⁴
2	553/4	Pauni 14	554	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1970

¹ Cf. *BL* 7.135, 8.241.

² For the correct date, see *BL* 7.68.

³ The editor gives 443 incorrectly, see *BL* 7.67.

⁴ This Pauni is in the same indiction as a date in Pharmouthi, and Epeiph is stated still to be in the same indiction. See lines i.1, ii.13, 16, and cf. *BL* 10.145.

<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Julian</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>=julian</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Document</i>
14	505/6	Pauni 14	505	Herakleopolite	<i>SPP</i> XX 130 ⁵
9	380/1	Pauni 15	381	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1041
2	568/9	Pauni 15	569	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 134
15	596/7	Pauni 18	597	Oxyrhynchite	<i>PSI</i> III 244
1	477/8	Pauni 20+?	478	Herakleopolite	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 123
15	491/2	Pauni 23	492	Herakleopolite	<i>SB XVIII</i> 13953 = VI 9152
4	555/6	Pauni 25	556	Oxyrhynchite	<i>SB XVIII</i> 14063
14	550/1	Pauni	551	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 133
10	?	Pauni	VI-VII	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Michael.</i> 35 ⁶
7	513/4	Epeiph 3	514	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Mich.</i> XI 612
14	610/11	Epeiph 11	611	Oxyrhynchite	<i>PSI</i> VII 773 ⁷
13	534/5	Epeiph 24	535	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1893
12	563/4	Epeiph	564	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Got.</i> 9 ⁸
14	550/1	Mesore 1	551	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2013
1	567/8	Mesore 2	568	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1038
13	534/5	Mesore 4	535	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1983
8	574/5	Mesore 5	575	Herakleopolite	<i>CPR</i> VIII 62
14	550/1	Mesore 7	551	Oxyrhynchite	<i>PSI</i> I 77 ⁹
7	573/4	Mesore 12 ¹⁰	574	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Berl.Zill.</i> 7
4	570/1	Mesore	571	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Flor.</i> I 65 ¹¹
12	578/9	Mesore	579	Oxyrhynchite	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 2002 ¹²

II. Irreconcilable Dates

In this table, which is not necessarily exhaustive, are given those documents that we have noticed in which the date given by regnal year, era of Oxyrhynchos, or consulate cannot be reconciled with that of the indiction on any theory of the indiction (see particularly Chapter 6 for the locally distinctive scribal habits of Oxyrhynchos), as well as those in which an indiction agrees with one or more criteria but disagrees with a further one. Dates of the Era of Diocletian are treated *supra*, pp. 65-66. Those with an indiction date later than a consular and dated before 542 are treated *supra*, pp. 90-92. In cases where we are confident that one of the dates is the correct one, that is indicated with a #. The criteria providing a given date are indicated by letters in parentheses as follows: C = consuls; R = regnal year; E = Oxyrhynchite eras.

⁵ See above, p. 33.

⁶ This loan is dated to Pharmouthi 7 of indiction 10; repayment is to come in Pauni of the same 10th indiction from crops of the 11th indiction.

⁷ Formula, use of Thoth indiction, and remnants of place name together indicate Oxyrhynchite provenance.

⁸ The date of the document is 14.ii.564, as remarked by Rémondon, *CdÉ* 41 (1966) 174. *BL* 5.36 wrongly quotes him as placing it on the 13th, whereas he explicitly rejects that date.

⁹ Cf. *BL* 7.232.

¹⁰ Reading on original by G. Poethke.

¹¹ Cf. *BL* 7.50.

¹² We have not included in this chart the numerous examples of direct equation of the Oxyrhynchite era years and the indiction, cf. above, pp. 30-31.

Studies both by us and by others have shown that conflicting dates in the 6th and 7th centuries have distinctive problems and characteristics in different reigns, and the instances below are organized with brief comments according to these reigns. Close study indicates that in most cases it is possible to establish principles for deciding which date is likely to be correct. These discussions are in part based on our remarks in *BASP* 17 (1980) 19-25.

<i>Before Justinian</i>		
<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i> ¹³	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>P.Lips.</i> I 20 (Hermop.)	future ind. 9 = 380/1	2.iv.381 (C)# ¹⁴
<i>P.Lips.</i> I 21 (Hermop.)	future ind. 9 = 380/1	382 (C)# ¹⁵
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1793 (Hermop.)	2.xii.471	1.xii.472 (C) ¹⁶
<i>CPR XXIV</i> 10 (Hermop.)	13.vi.474	13.vi.475 (C)#
<i>P.Oxy.</i> VI 994 (Oxy.)	viii-ix.500	viii-ix.499 (E)
<i>Emerita</i> 64 (1996) 291 no. 2 (Oxy.)	501/2	502/3 (E)
<i>BGU XII</i> 2181 (Hermop.)	4?.v.508	4?.v.509 (C)# ¹⁷
<i>SB I</i> 5941 (prov.unkn.)	21.ix.509	21.ix.510 (C)# ¹⁸
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67328 ix (Antaiop.)	5-14.vii.522	5-14.vii.521 (C)# ¹⁹

Justinian

(1) Indiction and consulate conflict, other criteria are lacking

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>P.Princ.</i> III 154 (Oxy.)	7.ix.546#	7.ix.545 (C) ²⁰
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67095 (Antaiop.)	1.iv.548# ²¹	1.iv.547 (C)
<i>P.Stras.</i> I 4 (Hermop.)	13.ii.551#	13.ii.550 (C) ²²
<i>SB XIV</i> 12131 (Hermop.)	11.ii.553#	12.ii.552 (C)
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67130 (Antaiop.)	25.ii.557#	26.ii.556 (C)
<i>P.Heid.</i> V 352 (Hermop.)	10.i.558#	10.i.557 (C)

¹³ Dates are computed according to the conclusions of this book. But dates in the range Pachon-Thoth have to a large extent been avoided in order to avoid circular argument; only those where the answer to the question of the starting date of the indiction is not relevant are used here.

¹⁴ The date in 381 conflicts with a reference to the future crops of the 9th indiction, the crops of which came in 380. The indiction number is probably wrong as in *P.Lips.* I 21 (infra, n. 15).

¹⁵ The papyrus is dated to 382, but refers to the future crops of indiction 9, which came in 380. The indiction is probably wrong; cf. preceding note. The reading is certain, see *BL* 11.108.

¹⁶ The editor considers that the indiction is wrong. See *BL* 8.193 and now *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4729.

¹⁷ See *BL* 8.53.

¹⁸ See *BL* 7.189.

¹⁹ All texts in this roll are dated to Epeiph of the 15th indiction, which is 521; here only the scribe has written 1st indiction, evidently by inadvertence (cf. col. ix.1-2).

²⁰ Cf. *BL* 7.169.

²¹ The editor takes 548 as the date.

²² Cf. *P.Stras.* V 338 introd., *BL* 5.128.

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1766 (Hermop.)	14?.i.559#	14?.i.558 (C)
<i>P.Stras.</i> IV 248 (Hermop.)	5.i.561#	6.i.560 (C) ²³
<i>PSI</i> XIV 1427 (Oxy.)	26.vi.565#	26.vi.564 (C) ²⁴
<i>CPR</i> IX 33 (Hermop.)	i-ii.566#	i-ii.565 (C)

The concentration of these dates (seven of ten in January-February), which is characteristic in general of indiction/consulate conflicts (cf. *supra*, p. 92) suggests strongly that the scribe has in these cases failed to advance the consulate. In the cases listed above, only the numeral of the postconsular era of Fl. Basilius is at stake, and the direction of the conflict is always the same, with the consulate pointing to an earlier year. It is unlikely that in these instances the scribe had advanced the indiction year too soon. Whether the explanation for the more serious discrepancies later in the year (April, June and even September) is the same is not easy to be sure. Note that the last item above has only a p.c. Basillii date, with no regnal year; if the indiction is correct, it would belong under Justinus rather than under Justinian, but in pattern it fits more closely with the Justinianic documents listed above.

(2) Indiction and consular agree against regnal date

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4396 (Oxy.)	18.ii.542 (+ C)#	18.ii.541 (R)
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> III 67303 (Antaiop.)	27.iv.553 (+ C)#	27.iv.552 (R)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1970 (Oxy.)	8.vi.554 (+ C)#	8.vi.553 (R)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1972 (Oxy.)	22.vii.560 (+ C)#	22.vii.559 (R)

In each case, the regnal year points to a lower year, the indiction and the consulate to a later one. With Justinian having a *dies imperii* of I.iv, three of these dates fall in the first part of the regnal year, only *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4396 coming toward its end. With the regnal year disconnected from other reckoning systems, failure to change it on the right date seems like the most probable outcome in the three early cases, especially *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303.

(3) Indiction, Oxyrhynchite era, and regnal dates agree against consulate

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXIII 4397 (Oxy.)	17.iii.545 (+ E, R)#	17.iii.544 (C)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 140 (Oxy.)	26.iv.550 (+ E, R)#	26.iv.549 (C)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> I 133 (Oxy.)	19.x.550 (+ E, R)#	19.x.549 (C)
<i>SB</i> XVI 12585 (Oxy.)	27.i.557 (+ E, R)#	28.i.556 (C) ²⁵

The weight of three indicators against the consulate in these four instances is decisive.

²³ Cf. *BL* 5.140, 8.416.

²⁴ Cf. *BL* 8.411.

²⁵ Cf. *BL* 9.287.

(4) Indiction and regnal years agree against consulate

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>CPR</i> X 122 (Memphite)	17.ix.545 (+ R)#	17.ix.544 (C)
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> I 67128 (Antaiop.)	27.viii.547 (+ R)#	27.viii.546 (C)
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2238 (Oxy.)	7.viii.551 (+ R)#	7.viii.550 (C)
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1692a (Antaiop.)	3.v.555 (+ R)#	3.v.554 (C)
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1686 (Antaiop.?)	7.xi.565 (+ R)#	7.xi.564 (C)

This case is somewhat less obvious than (3), but the fact that in all five cases the consulate lags behind the other indicators suggests that again the consulate is wrong. Whether the number of cases is an indication of a different reckoning of Basilius' years in some circles, we cannot say.

(5) Miscellaneous

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>SB</i> XX 15090 (Arcadia; Oxy.?)	11.vii.543	11.vii.542 (R, C)# ²⁶
<i>SB</i> XII 11231 (Oxy.)	29.x.548	29.x.549 (E)# ²⁷
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67171 (Panop.)	16.iv.565#	16.iv.564 (R, C) ²⁸

We are not certain which criterion to pick in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67171. The regnal year had changed just 15 days before the date of the document, and the indiction may thus be correct, despite standing against two criteria. *SB* XII 11231 is a remarkable case in which the indiction is certainly wrong, being contradicted not only by the Oxyrhynchite era years but by the indiction given for the coming crop. In *SB* XX 15090, it is also possible that the indiction is wrong (cf. n. 26). Overall, the era year is not shown to be wrong in any case. Consular dates are never right against other criteria except in supporting the indiction against the regnal year, and regnal years in isolation are also frequently wrong in documents from later reigns.

Justinus II

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>PSI</i> VI 709 (Oxy.)	19.xi.566 (+ C)#	19.xi.565 (R)
<i>P.Stras.</i> I 40 (Antinoop.)	27.ix.568	27.ix.569 (R)# ²⁹
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> II 67159 (Antinoop.)	16.xii.568 (+ R)#	16.xii.569 (C)
<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1327 descr. (prov.unkn.)	19.xii.571 (+ R)#	18.xii.572 (C)

²⁶ If the text comes from Oxyrhynchos, one would expect a date in the 5th indiction, perhaps adding ἀρχὴ 6th. But it is possible that it comes from another nome in the province of Arcadia, with an earlier indiction starting date; in this case there would not be a conflict.

²⁷ The editors correct the indiction from 12 to 13 on the basis of the Oxyrhynchite era years. This is now confirmed by the corrected reading of indiction 13 in line 24, see *BL* 8.368.

²⁸ Comfort, *Aegyptus* 13 (1933) 604 n. 1, prefers 565 (*BL* 3.35).

²⁹ See editor's note to line 4 and Goodrich 1937: 27-28; *BL* 1.406, to line 36.

Except for *P.Stras.* I 40, all of these texts are examples of regnal formula (3) for Justinus II, in which the formula βασιλείας και ύπατείας is followed by a single number (see above, p. 51). As these two counts were technically out of phase by one between 15.xi and 31.xii, documents of this period readily show divergences. It is thus apparent that in *PSI* VI 709 the regnal year has failed to be advanced, while in the other two cases the year has been advanced before the consulate changed.

Tiberius II

Document	Date according to the indiction	Date according to other criteria
<i>P.Ant.</i> II 103 (Oxy.)	26.viii.581	26.viii.580# (C)

A number of Oxyrhynchite documents from the reign of Tiberius II apparently used an incorrect regnal year count until 581; see below, p. 152, n. 39 for discussion and bibliography. The situation in *P.Ant.* II 103 seems to point to a scribe's premature use of the new indiction by just three days, cf. above, p. 32, n. 26.

Mauricius

For the changes in the way that Oxyrhynchite scribes treated consular years under Mauricius and following emperors, and the impact of these changes on the dating of documents using multiple forms of dating, see Chapter 6. Here only texts with contradictions not resolved by the hypothesis described there are included.

Document	Date according to the indiction	Date according to other criteria
<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1728 (Syene)	8.iii.584	8.iii.585 (R)
<i>P.Münch.</i> I 9 (Syene)	30.v.584	30.v.585 (R)
<i>CPR</i> X 127 (Arsin.)	28.viii.584 (+ C)#	28.viii.583 (R)
<i>PSI</i> XIII 1367 (Antinoop.)	2.ix.585	2.ix.584 (R)
<i>P.Münch.</i> I 10 (Syene)	28.i.586 (+ R)#	28.i.585 (C)
<i>SB</i> VI 9085, inv. 16055 (Hermop.)	12.ix.589	12.ix.588 (R)
<i>P.Münch.</i> I 13 (Syene)	18.i.594 (+ R)#	18.i.593 (C)
<i>SB</i> VI 9456 (Arsin.)	20.ix.594	20.ix.593 (R) ³⁰
<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 86 (Hermop.)	15.xii.596	16.xii.595 (R) ³¹
<i>P.Vat.Aphrod.</i> I (Antaiop.)	23.iv.599	23.iv.598 (R, C) ³²
<i>P.Paris</i> 20 (Panop.)	14.vii.599	14.vii.600 (R)
<i>SB</i> I 4671 + 4718 + XVI 12701 (Arsin.)	2.vi.600	2.vi.601 (R) ³³

³⁰ Cf. *BL* 6.154.

³¹ Not 15.xii, as ed. pr. (it is a leap year).

³² See *BASP* 18 (1981) 178.

³³ See p. 116, n. 69.

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>BGU II 395 (Arsin.)</i>	7.ix.600	8.ix.599 (R)

P.Münch. 10 and 13 are discussed by J. R. Rea, *P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 55-56. In both cases the consular number is one less than it should be, while in *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 1 the consular and the regnal year numbers are one less than the corresponding indiction would suggest. Rea (p. 53) thinks that the indiction is probably in error. In the case of *CPR X 127* (Rea's category C, not discussed by him), the date by the regnal year betrays the scribe's failure to advance the year number some 14 days after the start of the new regnal year.

Nine texts contain no consular year and thus avoid the complications of that count under Mauricius. In five of them, the date indicated by the indiction is one year later than that of the regnal year, which should have changed on 13.viii, Mauricius' *dies imperii*. Four of these documents fall in September and one in December, making it likely that there has been a failure to advance the regnal numeral at the proper time. In *P.Lond. V 1728*, *P.Münch. I 9*, *P.Paris 20* and *SB I 4671 + 4718 + XVI 12701*, however, the regnal year points to a later year than the indiction; in the first of these, the date in March is not near the changeover in regnal date; in the latter, the date comes shortly after the beginning of the new indiction. There does not appear to be any clear basis for deciding the question.

Phocas

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>SB I 4503 (Thinite)</i>	10.i.607	10.i.605 (R) ³⁴
<i>SB I 4505 (Thinite)</i>	11.x.608	11.x.606 (R) ³⁵
<i>SB XII 10798 (Oxy.)</i>	11.vi.609	11.vi.608 (C) ³⁶

For Oxyrhynchite unification of regnal and indictional dating under Phocas, as under Mauricius, see above, p. 52. We see no obvious explanation of the two-year gap between indiction and regnal dates in the first two texts. Phocas' accession date, 23.xi, does not offer any help, nor does any supposition that regnal and consular years were confused.

Heraclius

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date according to the indiction</i>	<i>Date according to other criteria</i>
<i>P.Oxy. LVIII 3955</i>	23.ix.611	22.ix.612 (R)
<i>BGU XII 2208 (Hermop.)</i>	8.x.614	8.x.613 (R)
<i>BGU XII 2209 (Hermop.)</i>	8.xi.614	8.xi.613 (R)

³⁴ See *P.Grenf.* II 86.5n.

³⁵ See *P.Grenf.* II 86.5n.

³⁶ See *BL 10.205* (preferring 609).

APPENDIX C

SYNOPTIC CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, 284–641

The following table aims, for the convenience of those who use or edit Byzantine documents, to bring together into one table those chronological indices which they are most likely to encounter in the papyri. Users are asked to read the following remarks about the limitations and principles of the table.

1. The list of consuls is based essentially on the list of *CLRE*. It has been brought up to date on the basis of our collection of papyrological references to consulates, presented in Appendix D. Consuls who were *certainly* not recognized in Egypt are put inside brackets. Postconsular dating is much more common than this table suggests, but these instances can be found collected in Appendix D. We give the consuls in the order they appear in the papyri and other eastern sources, not in the traditional western-oriented order.

2. The list of regnal years, up through the end of the fourth century, is based on papyrological documentation (Chapter 6 and Appendix F). Since regnal years have not to the present occurred in papyri of the fifth century or the early sixth century (an exception was eliminated in *ZPE* 28 [1978] 227–229), the numbers given are hypothetical, computed in the traditional Egyptian fashion and based on dates of accession and death given in Appendix F. Those western emperors recognized in Egypt either in oath formulas or as consuls have been included, the others not. Regnal years before Justinian are to be regarded as reckoned from Thoth 1 in the manner prevalent in Roman Egypt; after 537, regnal years are reckoned from the *dies imperii* except as discussed in Chapter 6. For each emperor after this date, we have indicated this date in the table. The regnal year listed opposite a julian year is the regnal year which *began* during that julian year on the date indicated, or which is reckoned as if it had done so (i.e. an accession on 1.i.364 would be entered as year 1 under 363).

3. The indiction listed is that which *began* during the julian year opposite which it is given. According to the conclusions proposed in this book, the following starting dates should be used for the indiction-year:

*Thebaid (Hermopolite and south), perhaps also the Memphite*¹

312–327: Thoth 1

327 and later: Pachon 1 or 1 May (apparently roughly equated)

Oxyrhynchite Nome and (probably) the Herakleopolite Nome

312–327: Thoth 1

327–ca 380: Pachon 1; but the indiction is not used for *dating* documents during this period in the Oxyrhynchite (there is insufficient evidence from the Herakleopolite).

¹ See *BASP* 16 (1979) 243–244.

ca. 380 and later: Thoth 1 for chronological purposes; Pachon 1/1 May for fiscal purposes; in Oxyrhynchos, occasionally (with ἀρχή) Pachon 1/1 May or Epeiph 1/1 July in chronological reckoning, but only in conjunction with a reckoning by Thoth 1, see pp. 30-33.

Arsinoite Nome

312-327: Thoth 1

327-late fourth century: Pachon 1

late fourth century on: 1 July (or Epeiph 1) for chronological purposes, Pachon 1 (or 1 May) for fiscal purposes.

4. See Chapter 7 for an explanation of the eras used in Oxyrhynchos. From 337/8 until 354/5, the number given is that of the continuation of the regnal years of Constantinus I. The other numbers found with it in documents of that period are regnal years. The years paired later, always with a difference of 31, are the continued regnal years of Constantius II and then Iulianus. These regnal and era years always start with Thoth 1.

5. The era of Diocletian, used in horoscopes and possibly in early inscriptions, refers to a year beginning Thoth 1. In documentary papyri, the year is probably to be taken as equated to the indiction year, as we argue in Chapter 8. It is not clear if this is true for the inscriptions, particularly after the Arab conquest. See above for the beginning dates of the indiction-year in various times and places.

6. The years in which there were 6 epagomenal days are printed in bold type. From Mesore epagomenal day 6 of this year (29.viii) until Phamenoth 4 (29.ii) of the following year julian equivalents are one day later than in normal years (see Table of Days).

Julian	Consuls	Regnal	Ind.	Oxy.	Diocl.	Julian
284	Carinus Aug. II Numerianus Aug. (b) Diocletianus Aug. I Bassus	3 Carinus Numerianus 1 Diocletianus (20.xi)	—	—	(1)	284
285	Diocletianus Aug. II T.Cl.Aur. Aristobulus	2 Diocletianus 1 Maximianus ²	—	—	(2)	285
286	M. Iunius Maximus II Vettius Aquilinus	3 Diocletianus 2 Maximianus	—	—	(3)	286
287	Diocletianus Aug. III Maximianus Aug. (I)	4 Diocletianus 3 Maximianus	1	—	(4)	287
288	Maximianus Aug. II Pomponius Ianuarius	5 Diocletianus 4 Maximianus	2	—	(5)	288
289	M. Magrius Bassus L. Ragonius Quintianus	6 Diocletianus 5 Maximianus	3	—	(6)	289
290	Diocletianus Aug. IV Maximianus Aug. III	7 Diocletianus 6 Maximianus	4	—	(7)	290
291	C. Iunius Tiberianus II Cassius Dio	8 Diocletianus 7 Maximianus	5	—	(8)	291
292	Afranius Hannibalianus Iulius Asclepiodotus	9 Diocletianus 8 Maximianus 1 Constantius ³ 1 Galerius	1	—	(9)	292
293	Diocletianus Aug. V Maximianus Aug. IV	10 Diocletianus 9 Maximianus 2 Constantius 2 Galerius	2	—	(10)	293
294	C. Flavius Valerius Constantius Caesar I C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus Caesar I	11 Diocletianus 10 Maximianus 3 Constantius 3 Galerius	3	—	(11)	294
295	Nummius Tuscus Annius Anullinus	12 Diocletianus 11 Maximianus 4 Constantius 4 Galerius	4	—	(12)	295

¹ Severus and Maximianus only from 1.v.305 onwards.

² From 1.iii onwards; cf. ZPE 61 (1985) 99 n. 2.

³ Constantius and Galerius only from 1.iii.293 onwards.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
296	Diocletianus Aug. VI Constantius Caesar II	13 Diocletianus 12 Maximianus 5 Constantius 5 Galerius	5	—	(13)	296
297	Maximianus V Maximianus Caesar II	14 Diocletianus 13 Maximianus 6 Constantius 6 Galerius	1	—	(14)	297
298	Anicius Faustus II Virus Gallus	15 Diocletianus 14 Maximianus 7 Constantius 7 Galerius	2	—	(15)	298
299	Diocletianus Aug. VII Maximianus Aug. VI	16 Diocletianus 15 Maximianus 8 Constantius 8 Galerius	3	—	(16)	299
300	Constantius Caesar III Maximianus Caesar III	17 Diocletianus 16 Maximianus 9 Constantius 9 Galerius	4	—	(17)	300
301	T. Flavius Postumius Titianus II Virus Nepotianus	18 Diocletianus 17 Maximianus 10 Constantius 10 Galerius	5	—	(18)	301
302	Constantius Caesar IV Maximianus Caesar IV	19 Diocletianus 18 Maximianus 11 Constantius 11 Galerius	—	—	(19)	302
303	Diocletianus Aug. VIII Maximianus Aug. VIII	20 Diocletianus 19/20 Maximianus ⁴ 12 Constantius 12 Galerius	—	—	(20)	303

⁴ For the change in the reckoning of Maximianus' years which equated them with those of Diocletian, see the articles of A. Chastagnol, *Rev. num.* 9 (1967) 54-81, and J. D. Thomas, *CdÉ* 46 (1971) 173-179. The change took place during 303/4, evidently on the occasion of Diocletian's *vicennalia*.

Julian	Consuls	Regnal	Ind.	Oxy.	Diocl.	Julian
304	Diocletianus Aug. IX Maximianus Aug. VIII	21 Diocletianus 21 Maximianus 13 Constantius 13 Galerius	—	—	(21)	304
324	Em of Licini IV Crispus Caesar III	1 Severus ⁵ 1 Maximinus	—	—	14	324
305	Constantius Caesar V Maximianus Caesar V	14 Constantius 14 Galerius 2 Severus	—	—	(22)	305
325	Valerius Proculus ¹⁷ Sex. Aricius Paulinus	2 Maximinus	—	—	—	325
306	Constantius Aug. VI Maximianus Aug. VI	15 Galerius 3 Severus 3 Maximinus	—	—	(23)	306
326	Constantius Aug. VII Constantius Caesar I	21 Constantinus ⁶	—	—	—	326
307	Flavius Valerius Severus Augustus ⁷	16 Galerius 4 Maximinus	—	—	(24)	307
327	C. Valerius Galerius Maximianus Caesar I	2 Constantinus	—	—	—	327
308	Diocletianus Aug. X Maximianus Aug. VII	17 Galerius 5 Maximinus 3 Constantinus 1 Licinius ⁸	—	—	(25)	308
328	—	—	—	—	—	328
309	Licinius Licinianus Aug. I Constantinus Aug. I	18 Galerius 6 Maximinus 4 Constantinus 2 Licinius	—	—	(26)	309
330	—	—	—	—	—	330
310	(S)tatius Andronicus Pompeius Probus	19 Galerius 7 Maximinus 5 Constantinus 3 Licinius 1 Candidianus (?)	—	—	(27)	310
331	—	—	—	—	—	331
311	Maximianus Aug. VIII ⁹ Maximinus Aug. II	20 Galerius 8 Maximinus 6 Constantinus 4 Licinius 2 Candidianus (?)	—	—	(28)	311
332	—	—	—	—	—	332

⁵ Severus and Maximinus only from 1.v.305 onwards.⁶ From 25.vii.306 onwards.⁷ Until late September.⁸ From 11.xi onwards.⁹ Until May.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
312	Constantinus Aug. II Licinius Aug. II	21 Galerius 9 Maximinus 7 Constantinus 5 Licinius	1	—	(29)	312
313	Maximinus Aug. III ¹⁰ Constantinus Aug. III Licinius Aug. III ¹¹	22 Galerius 8 Constantinus 6 Licinius	2	—	(30)	313
314	C. Ceionius Rufius Volusianus Petronius Annianus	23 Galerius 9 Constantinus 7 Licinius	3	—	(31)	314
315	Constantinus Aug. IV Licinius Aug. IV	10 Constantinus 8 Licinius	4	—	(32)	315
316	Antonius Caecinius Sabinus Vettius Rufinus	11 Constantinus 9 Licinius 1 3 Caesars ¹²	5	—	33	316
317	Ovinus Gallicanus Caesonius Bassus	12 Constantinus 10 Licinius 2 3 Caesars	6	—	34	317
318	Licinius Aug. V Iulius Crispus Caesar I	13 Constantinus 11 Licinius 3 3 Caesars	7	—	35	318
319	Constantinus Aug. V Licinius Caesar I	14 Constantinus 12 Licinius 4 3 Caesars	8	—	36	319
320	Constantinus Aug. VI Constantinus Caesar I	15 Constantinus 13 Licinius 5 3 Caesars	9	—	37	320
321	Licinius Aug. VI Licinius Caesar II	16 Constantinus 14 Licinius 6 3 Caesars	10	—	38	321
322	Era of Licinii II	17 Constantinus 15 Licinius 7 3 Caesars	11	—	39	322

¹⁰Until May.¹¹From August?¹²From 1.iii.317 onwards.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
323	Era of Licinii III Fl. Romulus	18 Constantinus 16 Licinius 8 3 Caesars	12	—	40	323
344	Domitius Lenothus	21 Constantinus			16	344
324	Era of Licinii IV	19 Constantinus 17 Licinius ¹³	13	—	41	324
345	Crispus Caesar III Constantinus Caesar III	9 Crispus 9 Constantinus II 1 Constantius II ¹⁴				
346	Constantinus Aug. IV	23 Constantinus II			14	346
325	Valerius Proculus ¹⁵ Sex. Anicius Paulinus Sex. Anicius Paulinus Ionus Iulianus	20 Constantinus 10 Crispus 10 Constantinus II 2 Constantius II	14	—	42	325
347						
326	Constantinus Aug. VII Constantius Caesar I	21 Constantinus 11 Constantinus II 3 Constantius II	15	—	43	326
349	Ulpianus Iulianus	26 Constantinus II			13	349
327	Fl. Constantius Valerius Maximus Fl. Scripius	22 Constantinus 12 Constantinus II 4 Constantius II	1	—	44	327
350						
328	Fl. Iulianus Vettius Iustus	23 Constantinus 13 Constantinus II 5 Constantius II	2	—	45	328
351						
329	Constantinus Aug. VIII Constantinus Caesar IV	24 Constantinus 14 Constantinus II 6 Constantius II	3	—	46	329
353	Constantinus Aug. VI	30 Constantinus II			24	353
330	Fl. Gallicanus Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus	25 Constantinus 15 Constantinus II 7 Constantius II	4	—	47	330
354						
331	Iunius Bassus Fl. Ablabius Q. Fl. Maesius Egnatius	26 Constantinus 16 Constantinus II 8 Constantius II	5	—	48	331
355						
332	L. Papius Pacatianus Maecilius Hilarianus	27 Constantinus 17 Constantinus II 9 Constantius II	6	—	49	332
356						
357	Constantinus Aug. IX Iulianus Caesar II	34 Constantinus II 3 Iulianus		—		357

¹³ Until end of September.¹⁴ From 8.xi.324 onwards.¹⁵ Proculus and Paulinus were in office January-April, Paulinus then with Iulianus May-December.

Julian	Consuls	Regnal	Ind.	Oxy.	Diocl.	Julian
333	Fl. Dalmatius Domitius Zenophilus	28 Constantinus 18 Constantinus II 10 Constantius II 1 Constans ¹⁶	7	—	50	333
334	Fl. Optatus Anicius Paulinus	29 Constantinus 19 Constantinus II 11 Constantius II 2 Constans	8	—	51	334
335	Julius Constantius Ceionius Rufius Albinus	30 Constantinus 20 Constantinus II 12 Constantius II 3 Constans 1 Dalmatius ¹⁷	9	—	52	335
336	Virius Nepotianus Tettius Facundus	31 Constantinus 21 Constantinus II 13 Constantius II 4 Constans	10	—	53	336
337	Fl. Felicianus Fabius Titianus	22 Constantinus II 14 Constantius II 5 Constans	11	32	54	337
338	Fl. Ursus Fl. Polemius	23 Constantinus II 15 Constantius II 6 Constans	12	33	55	338
339	Constantius Aug. II Constans Aug. I	24 Constantinus II 16 Constantius II 7 Constans	13	34	56	339
340	Septimius Acyndinus L. Aradius Val. Pro- culus, <i>signo</i> Populonium	17 Constantius II 8 Constans	14	35	57	340
341	Antonius Marcellinus Petronius Probinus	18 Constantius II 9 Constans	15	36	58	341
342	Constantius Aug. III Constans Aug. II	19 Constantius II 10 Constans	16	37	59	342

¹⁶ From 25.xii onwards.¹⁷ From 18.ix on.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
343	Furius Placidus Fl. Romulus	20 Constantius II 11 Constans	2	38	60	343
344	Domitius Leontius Iulius Sallustius	21 Constantius II 12 Constans	3	39	61	344
345	Fl. Amantius M. Nummius Albinus	22 Constantius II 13 Constans	4	40	62	345
346	Constantius Aug. IV Constans Aug. III	23 Constantius II 14 Constans	5	41	63	346
347	Volcacius Rufinus Fl. Eusebius	24 Constantius II 15 Constans	6	42	64	347
348	Fl. Philippus Fl. Salia	25 Constantius II 16 Constans	7	43	65	348
349	Ulpus Limenius Aconius Catullinus	26 Constantius II 17 Constans	8	44	66	349
350	Fl. Sergius Fl. Nigrinianus	27 Constantius II	9	45	67	350
351	p.c. 350	28 Constantius II 1 Gallus ¹⁸	10	46	68	351
352	Constantius Aug. V Constantius Caesar I	29 Constantius II 2 Gallus	11	47	69	352
353	Constantius Aug. VI Constantius Caesar II	30 Constantius II 3 Gallus	12	48	70	353
354	Constantius Aug. VII Constantius Caesar III	31 Constantius II	13	49	71	354
355	Fl. Arbitio Q. Fl. Maesius Egnatius Lollianus	32 Constantius II 1 Iulianus ¹⁹	14	—	72	355
356	Constantius Aug. VIII Iulianus Caesar I	33 Constantius II 2 Iulianus	15	—	73	356
357	Constantius Aug. IX Iulianus Caesar II	34 Constantius II 3 Iulianus	1	—	74	357

¹⁸ From 22.ii onwards.¹⁹ From 19.i onwards. During the period when Theodosius I was the sole junior emperor (379-392) the regnal years were numbered from 1 to 17, and were added to the consular years.¹⁸ From 15.iii onwards. See p. 137 n. 25.¹⁹ From 6.xi.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
358	Censorius Datianus Neratius Cerialis	35 Constantius II 4 Iulianus	2	—	75	358
359	Fl. Eusebius Fl. Hypatius	36 Constantius II 5 Iulianus	3	—	76	359
360	Constantius Aug. X Iulianus Caesar III	37 Constantius II 6 Iulianus	4	—	77	360
361	Fl. Taurus Fl. Florentius	38 Constantius II 7 Iulianus	5	—	78	361
362	Claudius Mamertinus Fl. Nevitta	8 Iulianus 1 Iovianus ²⁰	6	39	79	362
363	Iulianus Aug. IV Fl. Sallustius	2 Iovianus 1 Valentinianus I ²¹ 1 Valens ²²	7	40=9	80	363
364	Iovianus Aug. Fl. Varronianus	2 Valentinianus I 2 Valens	8	41=10	81	364
365	Valentinianus Aug. (I) Valens Aug. (I)	3 Valentinianus I 3 Valens	9	42=11	82	365
366	Gratianus nob. puer (I) Fl. Dagalaiphus	4 Valentinianus I 4 Valens	10	43=12	83	366
367	Fl. Lupicinus Fl. Iovinus	5 Valentinianus I 5 Valens 1 Gratianus ²³	11	44=13	84	367
368	Valentinianus Aug. II Valens Aug. II	6 Valentinianus I 6 Valens 2 Gratianus	12	45=14	85	368
369	Valentinianus nob. puer Fl. Victor	7 Valentinianus I 7 Valens 3 Gratianus	13	46=15	86	369
370	Valentinianus Aug. III Valens Aug. III	8 Valentinianus I 8 Valens 4 Gratianus	14	47=16	87	370

²⁰ From 27.vi.363 onwards.²¹ From 25.ii.364 onwards.²² From 28.iii.364 onwards.²³ From 24.viii onwards.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
371	Gratianus Aug. II Sex. Cl. Petronius Probus	9 Valentinianus I 9 Valens 5 Gratianus	15	48=17	88	371
372	Domitius Modestus Fl. Arintheus Fl. Nosterius	10 Valentinianus I 10 Valens 6 Gratianus	1	49=18	89	372
373	Valentinianus Aug. IV Valens Aug. IV Fl. Eutolmius Tavianus Q. Aurelius Sym-	11 Valentinianus I 11 Valens 7 Gratianus	2	50=19	90	373
374	Gratianus Aug. III Fl. Equitius	12 Valentinianus I 12 Valens 8 Gratianus	3	51=20	91	374
375	p.c. 374 Theodosius Aug. III Fl. Abundantius	13 Valentinianus I 13 Valens 9 Gratianus 1 Valentinianus II ²⁴	4	52=21	92	375
376	Valens Aug. V Valentinianus Iun. Aug. I	14 Valens 10 Gratianus 2 Valentinianus II	5	53=22	93	376
377	Gratianus Aug. IV Fl. Merobaudes (I)	15 Valens 11 Gratianus 3 Valentinianus II	6	54=23	94	377
378	Valens Aug. VI Valentinianus Iun. Aug. II	(16 Valens) 12 Gratianus 4 Valentinianus II	7	55=24	95	378
379	D. Magnus Ausonius Q. Clodius Hermo- genianus Olybrius	13 Gratianus 5 Valentinianus II 1(2) Theodosius II ²⁵	8	56=25	96	379
380	Gratianus Aug. V Theodosius Aug. I Fl. Mallius Theodorus	14 Gratianus 6 Valentinianus II 2(3) Theodosius I	9	57=26	97	380

²⁴ From 22.xi onwards.²⁵ From 19.i onwards. During the period when Theodosius I was the most junior of the three emperors, his partial first year, from 19.i.379 to 30.viii.379, was ignored. It was added to the count only when Arcadius was added as junior member and Theodosius advanced to being number two. See *ZPE* 28 (1978) 239-43. Seemingly the same thing happened with Gallus from 15.iii.351 until 30.viii.351, see p. 243 of the article cited.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
381	Fl. Eucherius Fl. Syagrius	15 Gratianus 7 Valentinianus II 3(4) Theodosius I	10	58=27	98	381
382	Fl. Claudius Antonius Afranius Syagrius	16 Gratianus 8 Valentinianus II 4(5) Theodosius I	11	59=28	99	382
383	Fl. Merobaudes II Fl. Saturninus Fl. Florentinus	9 Valentinianus II 6 Theodosius I 1(2) Arcadius ²⁶	12	60=29	100	383
384	Fl. Ricomer(us) Fl. Clearchus	10 Valentinianus II 7 Theodosius I 2(3) Arcadius 1 Honorius ²⁷	13	61=30	101	384
385	Arcadius Aug. (I) Fl. Bauto	11 Valentinianus II 8 Theodosius I 3(4) Arcadius 2(1) Honorius	14	62=31	102	385
386	Fl. Honorius nob. puer (I) Fl. Euodius	12 Valentinianus II 9 Theodosius I 4(5) Arcadius 3(2) Honorius	15	63=32	103	386
387	Valentinianus Aug. III Eutropius	13 Valentinianus II 10 Theodosius I 5(6) Arcadius 4(3) Honorius	16	64=33	104	387
388	Theodosius Aug. II Fl. Cynegius	14 Valentinianus II 11 Theodosius I 6(7) Arcadius 5(4) Honorius	17	65=34	105	388
389	Valentinianus Aug. III Valens Aug. III	18 Valentinianus II 12 Theodosius I 7 Valens 3 Gratianus	18	66=35	106	389

²⁶ From 19.i onwards. During the period when Arcadius was junior emperor, scribes ignored his first partial year, from 19.i.383 to 30.viii.383. We have no document from Egypt giving his regnal years after year 2(3); the figures given in the table are thus an extrapolation. See *ZPE* 28 (1978) 239-43.

²⁷ Honorius, in common with other emperors of this era, never appears in dating formulas. He does, however, appear in oaths by the emperors, even while he was still a Caesar (*W.Chr.* 434). The date at which he became Caesar is not known (cf. *PLRE* I, s.n.), but he evidently already held that rank during his first consulate, 386. The numbers given here are reckoned in the first instance on the assumption that he received the title during his first year of life; on the second, that he became Caesar only when he became consul (in parentheses).

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
389	Fl. Timasius Fl. Promotus Palladius	15 Valentinianus II 12 Theodosius I 7(8) Arcadius 6(5) Honorius	3	66=35	106	389
390	Valentinianus Aug. IV Fl. Neoterius Honorius Aug. XII Theodosius I Aug. VIII	16 Valentinianus II 13 Theodosius I 8(9) Arcadius 7(6) Honorius	4	67=36	107	390
391	Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus Q. Aurelius Symmachus Theodosius Aug. IX	17 Valentinianus II 14 Theodosius I 9(10) Arcadius 8(7) Honorius	5	68=37	108	391
392	Arcadius Aug. II Fl. Rufinus Fl. Eustathius Fl. Agricola	15 Theodosius I 10(11) Arcadius 9(8) Honorius	6	69=38	109	392
393	Theodosius Aug. III Fl. Abundantius Theodosius X	16 Theodosius I 11(12) Arcadius 10(9) Honorius	7	70=39	110	393
394	Arcadius Aug. III Honorius II Fl. Victor	17 Theodosius I 12(13) Arcadius 11(10) Honorius	8	71=40	111	394
395	Anicius Hermogenianus Olybrius Anicius Probinus Valentinianus Caesar I	13(14) Arcadius 12(11) Honorius	9	72=41	112	395
396	Arcadius Aug. IV Honorius Aug. III Valentinianus Aug. II	14(15) Arcadius 13(12) Honorius	10	73=42	113	396
397	Fl. Caesarius Nonius Atticus Fl. Ardabur	15(16) Arcadius 14(13) Honorius	11	74=43	114	397
398	Honorius Aug. IV Eutychianus Fl. Taurus	16(17) Arcadius 15(14) Honorius	12	75=44	115	398
399	Eutropius Fl. Mallius Theodorus Fl. Dionysius	17(18) Arcadius 16(15) Honorius	13	76=45	116	399
400	Fl. Stilicho Fl. Aurelianus	18(19) Arcadius 17(16) Honorius	14	77=46	117	400
401	Fl. Vincentius Fl. Fravitta	19(20) Arcadius 1 Theodosius II 18(17) Honorius	15	78=47	118	401

* Valentinianus III became a ruler a year later. We give 424 as his first year, but of course the numbers are hypothetical as no documents from his reign use that as a regnal formula.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
402	Arcadius Aug. V Honorius Aug. V	20(21) Arcadius 2 Theodosius II 19(18) Honorius	1	79=48	119	402
403	Theodosius (I) Fl. Rumoridus	21(22) Arcadius 3 Theodosius II 20(19) Honorius	2	80=49	120	403
404	Honorius VI Aristaenetus	22(23) Arcadius 4 Theodosius II 21(20) Honorius	3	81=50	121	404
405	Fl. Stilicho II Fl. Anthemius	23(24) Arcadius 5 Theodosius II 22(21) Honorius	4	82=51	122	405
406	Arcadius Aug. VI Anicius Petronius Probus	24(25) Arcadius 6 Theodosius II 23(22) Honorius	5	83=52	123	406
407	Honorius Aug. VII Theodosius Aug. II	25(26) Arcadius 7 Theodosius II 24(23) Honorius	6	84=53	124	407
408	Anicius Auchenius Bassus Fl. Philippus	8 Theodosius II 25(24) Honorius	7	85=54	125	408
409	Honorius Aug. VIII Theodosius Aug. III	9 Theodosius II 26(25) Honorius	8	86=55	126	409
410	Varanes Fl. Cynegius	10 Theodosius II 27(26) Honorius	9	87=56	127	410
411	Honorius Aug. IX Theodosius Aug. IV	11 Theodosius II 28(27) Honorius	10	88=57	128	411
412	Honorius Aug. IX Theodosius Aug. V	12 Theodosius II 29(28) Honorius	11	89=58	129	412
413	Lucius [Heraclianus]	13 Theodosius II 30(29) Honorius	12	90=59	130	413
414	Fl. Constantius (I) Fl. Constans	14 Theodosius II 31(30) Honorius	13	91=60	131	414
415	Honorius Aug. X Theodosius Aug. VI	15 Theodosius II 32(31) Honorius	14	92=61	132	415

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
416	Theodosius Aug. VII Iunius Quartus Palladius	16 Theodosius II 33(32) Honorius	15	93=62	133	416
417	Honorius Aug. XI Fl. Constantius II Fl. Ardabur	17 Theodosius II 34(33) Honorius	1	94=63	134	417
418	Honorius Aug. XII Theodosius Aug. VIII	18 Theodosius II 35(34) Honorius	2	95=64	135	418
419	Fl. Monaxius Fl. Plinta	19 Theodosius II 36(35) Honorius	3	96=65	136	419
420	Theodosius Aug. IX Fl. Constantius III	20 Theodosius II 37(36) Honorius	4	97=66	137	420
421	Fl. Eustathius Fl. Agricola	21 Theodosius II 38(37) Honorius	5	98=67	138	421
422	Honorius Aug. XIII Theodosius X	22 Theodosius II 39(38) Honorius	6	99=68	139	422
423	Fl. Asclepiodotus Fl. Avitus Marinianus	23 Theodosius II	7	100=69	140	423
424	Fl. Victor [Fl. Castinus]	24 Theodosius II 1 Valentinianus III ²⁸	8	101=70	141	424
425	Theodosius Aug. XI Valentinianus Caesar I	25 Theodosius II 2 Valentinianus III	9	102=71	142	425
426	Theodosius Aug. XII Valentinianus Aug. II	26 Theodosius II 3 Valentinianus III	10	103=72	143	426
427	Fl. Hierius Fl. Ardabur	27 Theodosius II 4 Valentinianus III	11	104=73	144	427
428	Fl. Felix Fl. Taurus	28 Theodosius II 5 Valentinianus III	12	105=74	145	428
429	Fl. Florentius Fl. Dionysius	29 Theodosius II 6 Valentinianus III	13	106=75	146	429

²⁸ Valentinianus III became Caesar on 23.x.424, ruler a year later. We give 424/5 as his first year, but of course the numbers are hypothetical as no documents from his reign use them in a regnal formula.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
430	Theodosius Aug. XIII Valentinianus Aug. III	30 Theodosius II 7 Valentinianus III	14	107=76	147	430
431	Fl. Antiochus Anicius Auchenius Bassus	31 Theodosius II 8 Valentinianus III	15	108=77	148	431
432	Fl. Valerius Fl. Aetius (I)	32 Theodosius II 9 Valentinianus III	1	109=78	149	432
433	Theodosius Aug. XIV Petronius Maximus I	33 Theodosius II 10 Valentinianus III	2	110=79	150	433
434	Fl. Areobindus Fl. Ardabur Aspar	34 Theodosius II 11 Valentinianus III	3	111=80	151	434
435	Theodosius Aug. XV Valentinianus Aug. IV	35 Theodosius II 12 Valentinianus III	4	112=81	152	435
436	Fl. Anthemius Isidorus Fl. Senator	36 Theodosius II 13 Valentinianus III	5	113=82	153	436
437	Fl. Aetius II Fl. Sigisvultus	37 Theodosius II 14 Valentinianus III	6	114=83	154	437
438	Theodosius Aug. XVI Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus	38 Theodosius II 15 Valentinianus III	7	115=84	155	438
439	Theodosius Aug. XVII Fl. Festus	39 Theodosius II 16 Valentinianus III	8	116=85	156	439
440	Valentinianus Aug. V Fl. Anatolius	40 Theodosius II 17 Valentinianus III	9	117=86	157	440
441	Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus (Hierax)	41 Theodosius II 18 Valentinianus III	10	118=87	158	441
442	Fl. Eudoxius Fl. Dioscorus	42 Theodosius II 19 Valentinianus III	11	119=88	159	442
443	Petronius Maximus II Fl. Paterius	43 Theodosius II 20 Valentinianus III	12	120=89	160	443
444	Theodosius Aug. XVIII Caecina Decius Aginatius Albinus	44 Theodosius II 21 Valentinianus III	13	121=90	161	444

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
445	Valentinianus Aug. VI Fl. Nomus	45 Theodosius II 22 Valentinianus III	14	122=91	162	445
446	Fl. Actius III Q. Aurelius Symmachus	46 Theodosius II 23 Valentinianus III	15	123=92	163	446
447	Fl. Ardabur Fl. Calepius	47 Theodosius II 24 Valentinianus III	1	124=93	164	447
448	Fl. Zeno Rufius Praetextatus Postumianus	48 Theodosius II 25 Valentinianus III	2	125=94	165	448
449	Fl. Flor. Romanus Protogenes Fl. Astyrius	49 Theodosius II 26 Valentinianus III	3	126=95	166	449
450	Valentinianus Aug. VII Gennadius Avienus	27 Valentinianus III 1 Marcianus	4	127=96	167	450
451	Marcianus Aug. (I) [Fl. Adelphius]	28 Valentinianus III 2 Marcianus	5	128=97	168	451
452	Fl. Sporacius [Fl. Bassus Herculanus]	29 Valentinianus III 3 Marcianus	6	129=98	169	452
453	Iohannes Vincomalus Fl. Opilio	30 Valentinianus III 4 Marcianus	7	130=99	170	453
454	Fl. Aetius Fl. Studius	31 Valentinianus III 5 Marcianus	8	131=100	171	454
455	Valentinianus Aug. VIII Fl. Anthemius (I)	6 Marcianus	9	132=101	172	455
456	Fl. Iohannes Fl. Varanes	7 Marcianus 1 Leo I ²⁹	10	133=102	173	456
457	Fl. Constantinus Fl. Rufus	2 Leo I	11	134=103	174	457
458	Leo Aug. (I) [Maorianus Aug. I]	3 Leo I	12	135=104	175	458
459	Fl. Patricius [Fl. Ricimer]	4 Leo I	13	136=105	176	459

²⁹ From 7.ii.457. 475.

Julian	Consuls	Regnal	Ind.	Oxy.	Diocl.	Julian
460	Fl. Apollonius Fl. Magnus	5 Leo I	14	137=106	177	460
461	Fl. Dagalaiphus Fl. Severinus	6 Leo I	15	138=107	178	461
462	Leo Aug. II [Severus Aug.]	7 Leo I	1	139=108	179	462
463	Fl. Vivianus [Caecina Decius Basilius]	8 Leo I	2	140=109	180	463
464	Fl. Rusticius (Nestorius) Fl. Olybrius	9 Leo I	3	141=110	181	464
465	Fl. Basiliscus (I) Fl. Hermenericus	10 Leo I	4	142=111	182	465
466	Leo Aug. III Fl. Anthemius ³⁰	11 Leo I 1 Anthemius ³⁰	5	143=112	183	466
467	Fl. Puseus Fl. Iohannes	12 Leo I 2 Anthemius	6	144=113	184	467
468	Anthemius Aug. II	13 Leo I 3 Anthemius	7	145=114	185	468
469	Fl. Zeno (1) Fl. Marcianus	14 Leo I 4 Anthemius	8	146=115	186	469
470	Fl. Iordanes Messius Phoebus Severus	15 Leo I 5 Anthemius	9	147=116	187	470
471	Leo Aug. IV Caelius Asconius Probinianus	16 Leo I 6 Anthemius	10	148=117	188	471
472	Fl. Marcianus Rufius Postumius Festus	17 Leo I	11	149=118	189	472
473	Leo Aug. V Fl. Patricius	18 Leo I 1 Leo II ³¹ 1 Zeno ³²	12	150=119	190	473

³⁰ Anthemius became emperor on 12.iv.467, so 466/7 is reckoned as his first year.

³¹ From 18.i.474.

³² From 9.ii.474.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
474	Leo Junior Aug. Fl. Volusianus	2 Leo II 2 Zeno 1 Basiliscus ³³	13	151=120	191	474
475	(Zeno Aug. II) Fl. Sabinianus	(3 Zeno) 2 Basiliscus	14	152=121	192	475
476	Basiliscus Aug. II Fl. Armatus	4 Zeno	15	153=122	193	476
477	p.c. 476	5 Zeno	1	154=123	194	477
478	Illus	6 Zeno	2	155=124	195	478
479	Zeno Aug. III	7 Zeno	3	156=125	196	479
480	Caecina Decimus Maximus Basilius	8 Zeno	4	157=126	197	480
481	Rufius Achillius Maecius Placidus	9 Zeno	5	158=127	198	481
482	Fl. Appalius Illus Trocundes Severinus	10 Zeno	6	159=128	199	482
483	p.c. 482 [Anicius Acilius Aginantius Faustus]	11 Zeno	7	160=129	200	483
484	Fl. Theodoricus	12 Zeno	8	161=130	201	484
485	p.c. 484 [Q. Aurelius Mem- mianus Symmachus]	13 Zeno	9	162=131	202	485
486	Fl. Longinus (I) [Caecina Mavortius Basilius Decius]	14 Zeno	10	163=132	203	486
487	p.c. 486 [Mar. Manlius Boethius]	15 Zeno	11	164=133	204	487

³³ From January, 475.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
488	p.c. 486 [Claudius Iulius Ecclesius Dynamius] [Rufius Achilius Sividius]	16 Zeno	12	165=134	205	488
489	Fl. Eusebius (I) [Petronius Probinus]	17 Zeno	13	166=135	206	489
490	Fl. Longinus II [Anicius Probus Faustus]	18 Zeno 1 Anastasius I ³⁴	14	167=136	207	490
491	Fl. Olybrius	2 Anastasius I	15	168=137	208	491
492	Anastasius Aug. (I) Fl. Rufus	3 Anastasius I	1	169=138	209	492
493	Fl. Eusebius II [Fl. Albinus]	4 Anastasius I	2	170=139	210	493
494	p.c. 493 [Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius] [Fl. Praesidius]	5 Anastasius I	3	171=140	211	494
495	Fl. Viator	6 Anastasius I	4	172=141	212	495
496	Fl. Paulus	7 Anastasius I	5	173=142	213	496
497	Anastasius Aug. II	8 Anastasius I	6	174=143	214	497
498	Iohannes Scytha Fl. Paulinus	9 Anastasius I	7	175=144	215	498
499	Iohannes Gibbus	10 Anastasius I	8	176=145	216	499
500	Fl. Patricius Fl. Hypatius	11 Anastasius I	9	177=146	217	500
501	Fl. Pompeius Fl. Avienus	12 Anastasius I	10	178=147	218	501
502	Fl. Probus Rufius Magnus Faustus Avienus	13 Anastasius I	11	179=148	219	502

³⁴ Anthemius became emperor on 12.iv.467, so 466/7 is recoded as his first year.

³⁴ From II.iv.491.

³⁵ From January 473.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
503	Fl. Dexicrates Fl. Volusianus	14 Anastasius I	12	180=149	220	503
504	Rufius Petronius Nicomachus Cethegus	15 Anastasius I	13	181=150	221	504
505	Fl. Sabinianus Fl. Theodorus	16 Anastasius I	14	182=151	222	505
506	Fl. Areobindus Dagalafus Areobindus Ennodius Messala	17 Anastasius I	15	183=152	223	506
507	Anastasius Aug. III Venantius	18 Anastasius I	1	184=153	224	507
508	Fl. Celer Basilus Venantius	19 Anastasius I	2	185=154	225	508
509	Fl. Importunus (Opportunus)	20 Anastasius I	3	186=155	226	509
510	Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius	21 Anastasius I	4	187=156	227	510
511	Fl. Secundinus Fl. Felix	22 Anastasius I	5	188=157	228	511
512	Fl. Paulus Fl. Moschianus	23 Anastasius I	6	189=158	229	512
513	Fl. Taurus Clementinus Armonius Clementinus Fl. Probus	24 Anastasius I	7	190=159	230	513
514	Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator	25 Anastasius I	8	191=160	231	514
515	Procopius Anthemius [Fl. Florentius]	26 Anastasius I	9	192=161	232	515
516	Fl. Petrus	27 Anastasius I	10	193=162	233	516

¹⁴From 10 vi. 218.

¹⁵Justinian I became Augustus on 1 vi. 527, and this date is first mentioned in the anniversary of his reign, after 527, regnal years were again used in dating formulas. The consular reports on 1 vi. 527, for a discussion of some apparently problematical datings in documents from his reign, see 545v-547 (1080-10-2) and Appendix III. Herzig avoids this problem by not using regnal years until Justinian's coronation on 10 vi. 527.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
517	Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Sabinianus Pompeius Anastasius Fl. Agapitus	28 Anastasius I 1 Justinus I ³⁵	11	194=163	234	517
518	Fl. Anastasius Paulus Probus Moschianus Probus Magnus Fl. Longinus II	2 Justinus I	12	195=164	235	518
519	Justinus Aug. (I) Eutharicus Cilliga Fl. Olybrius	3 Justinus I	13	196=165	236	519
520	Fl. Vitalianus Fl. Rusticius Fl. Rufus	4 Justinus I	14	197=166	237	520
521	Fl. Petrus Sabbatius Iustinianus (I) Fl. Valerius	5 Justinus I	15	198=167	238	521
522	Fl. Symmachus Fl. Boethius Fl. Praesidius	6 Justinus I	1	199=168	239	522
523	Fl. Maximus Fl. Victor	7 Justinus I	2	200=169	240	523
524	Justinus Aug. II Venantius Opilio (Opilianus)	8 Justinus I	3	201=170	241	524
525	Fl. Theodorus Philoxenus Soterichus Philoxenus Fl. Probus	9 Justinus I	4	202=171	242	525
526	Fl. Olybrius	10 Justinus I	5	203=172	243	526
527	Fl. Vettius Agorius Basilius Mavortius	1 Justinianus I ³⁶ (1.iv)	6	204=173	244	527
528	Justinianus Aug. II Fl. Avitus	2 Justinianus I (1.iv)	7	205=174	245	528
529	Fl. Decius Iunior Rufus Magnus Praemus Avitus	3 Justinianus I (1.iv)	8	206=175	246	529

³⁵ From 10.vii.518.

³⁶ Justinianus I became Augustus on 1.iv.527, and this date is that normally used as the anniversary of his regnal years when, after 537, regnal years were again used in dating formulas. He became emperor on 1.viii.527. For a discussion of some apparently problematical datings in documents from his reign, see *BASP* 17 (1980) 19-22 and Appendix B.II here.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind. Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
530	Fl. Lampadius Rufius Gennadius Probus Orestes	4 Justinianus I (1.iv)	9 207=176 (1.iv)	247	530
531	p.c. 530	5 Justinianus I (1.iv)	10 208=177 (1.iv)	248	531
532	p.c. 530 iterum	6 Justinianus I (1.iv)	11 209=178 (1.iv)	249	532
533	Justinianus Aug. III	7 Justinianus I (1.iv)	12 210=179 (1.iv)	250	533
534	Justinianus Aug. IV Fl. Paulinus	8 Justinianus I (1.iv)	13 211=180 (1.iv)	251	534
535	Fl. Belisarius	9 Justinianus I (1.iv)	14 212=181 (1.iv)	252	535
536	p.c. 535	10 Justinianus I (1.iv)	15 213=182 (1.iv)	253	536
537	p.c. 535 iterum	11 Justinianus I (1.iv)	1 214=183 (1.iv)	254	537
538	Fl. Iohannes	12 Justinianus I (1.iv)	2 215=184 (1.iv)	255	538
539	Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion	13 Justinianus I (1.iv)	3 216=185 (1.iv)	256	539
540	Fl. Mar. Petrus Theo- dorus Valentinus Rus- ticus Boraides Germanus Iustinus	14 Justinianus I (1.iv)	4 217=186 (1.iv)	257	540
541	Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius ³⁷	15 Justinianus I (1.iv)	5 218=187 (1.iv)	258	541
542	p.c. Basilius 1	16 Justinianus I (1.iv)	6 219=188 (1.iv)	259	542
543	p.c. Basilius 2	17 Justinianus I (1.iv)	7 220=189 (1.iv)	260	543

³⁷ For the count of postconsular years under Basilius and later, see the discussion above, pp. 94-95.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
544	p.c. Basilius 3 Fl. Anastasio Paulus Fl. Anastasio Paulus	18 Justinianus I (I.iv)	8	221=190 (I.iv)	261	544
545	p.c. Basilius 4 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	19 Justinianus I (I.iv)	9	222=191 (I.iv)	262	545
546	p.c. Basilius 5 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	20 Justinianus I (I.iv)	10	223=192 (I.iv)	263	546
547	p.c. Basilius 6 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	21 Justinianus I (I.iv)	11	224=193 (I.iv)	264	547
548	p.c. Basilius 7 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	22 Justinianus I (I.iv)	12	225=194 (I.iv)	265	548
549	p.c. Basilius 8 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	23 Justinianus I (I.iv)	13	226=195 (I.iv)	266	549
550	p.c. Basilius 9 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	24 Justinianus I (I.iv)	14	227=196 (I.iv)	267	550
551	p.c. Basilius 10 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	25 Justinianus I (I.iv)	15	228=197 (I.iv)	268	551
552	p.c. Basilius 11 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	26 Justinianus I (I.iv)	1	229=198 (I.iv)	269	552
553	p.c. Basilius 12 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	27 Justinianus I (I.iv)	2	230=199 (I.iv)	270	553
554	p.c. Basilius 13 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	28 Justinianus I (I.iv)	3	231=200 (I.iv)	271	554
555	p.c. Basilius 14 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	29 Justinianus I (I.iv)	4	232=201 (I.iv)	272	555
556	p.c. Basilius 15 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	30 Justinianus I (I.iv)	5	233=202 (I.iv)	273	556
557	p.c. Basilius 16 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	31 Justinianus I (I.iv)	6	234=203 (I.iv)	274	557
558	p.c. Basilius 17 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	32 Justinianus I (I.iv)	7	235=204 (I.iv)	275	558
559	p.c. Basilius 18 Fl. Anastasio Paulus	33 Justinianus I (I.iv)	8	236=205 (I.iv)	276	559

¹⁷ Justinianus I became Augustus on 1 July 527, and this date is that normally used as the anniversary of his regnal years when, after 527, regnal years were again used in dating documents. He became emperor on 1 July 527. For a discussion of the regnal years of Justinianus I, see the discussion above, pp. 144-45. For the count of post-regnal years under Basilius and later, see the discussion above, pp. 144-45.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind. Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
560	p.c. Basilius 19	34 Justinianus I (1.iv)	9 237=206 (ix.21)	277	560
561	p.c. Basilius 20	35 Justinianus I (1.iv)	10 238=207 (x.22)	278	561
562	p.c. Basilius 21	36 Justinianus I (1.iv)	11 239=208 (xi.23)	279	562
563	p.c. Basilius 22	37 Justinianus I (1.iv)	12 240=209 (xii.24)	280	563
564	p.c. Basilius 23	38 Justinianus I (1.iv)	13 241=210 (i.25)	281	564
565	p.c. Basilius 24	39 Justinianus I (1.iv)	14 242=211 (ii.26)	282	565
		1 Justinus II (15.xi)			
566	Justinus Aug. I p.c. Mauricius 5	2 Justinus II (15.xi)	15 243=212 (xv.27)	283	566
567	p.c. Justinus 7	3 Justinus II (15.xi)	1 244=213 (i.28)	284	567
568	Justinus Aug. II ³⁸ p.c. Justinus 2	4 Justinus II (15.xi)	2 245=214 (ii.29)	285	568
569	p.c. Justinus 3 p.c. Justinus II 1	5 Justinus II (15.xi)	3 246=215 (iii.30)	286	569
570	p.c. Justinus 4 p.c. Justinus II 2	6 Justinus II (15.xi)	4 247=216 (iv.31)	287	570
571	p.c. Justinus 5 p.c. Justinus II 3	7 Justinus II (15.xi)	5 248=217 (v.32)	288	571
572	p.c. Justinus 6 p.c. Justinus II 4	8 Justinus II (15.xi)	6 249=218 (vi.33)	289	572
573	p.c. Justinus 7 p.c. Justinus II 5	9 Justinus II (15.xi)	7 250=219 (vii.34)	290	573

³⁸ The numeral II is used here to differentiate the count based on this second consulate of Justinus from that based on his first consulate of 566; cf. above, p. 48.

Julian	Consuls	Regnal	Ind.	Oxy.	Diocl.	Julian
574	p.c. Justinus 8 p.c. Justinus II 6	10 Justinus II (15.xi) 1 Tiberius ³⁹ (7.xii)	8	251=220 (1.iv)	191	574
575	p.c. Justinus 9 p.c. Justinus II 7	11 Justinus II (15.xi) 2 Tiberius (7.xii)	9	252=221 (1.iv)	192	575
576	p.c. Justinus 10 p.c. Justinus II 8	12 Justinus II (15.xi) 3 Tiberius (7.xii)	10	253=222 (1.iv)	193	576
577	p.c. Justinus 11 p.c. Justinus II 9	13 Justinus II (15.xi) 4 Tiberius (7.xii)	11	254=223 (1.iv)	194	577
578	p.c. Justinus 12 p.c. Justinus II 10	14 Justinus II (15.xi) 5/1 Tiberius (7.xii/6.x)	12	255=224 (15.ix/12.xi)	195	578
579	Tiberius	6/2 Tiberius (7.xii/6.x)	13	256=225 (Justinus II)	196	579
580	cos. Tiberius 2 p.c. Tiberius 1	7/3 Tiberius (7.xii/6.x)	14	257=226 (Justinus II)	197	580
581	cos. Tiberius 3 p.c. Tiberius 2	8/4 Tiberius (7.xii/6.x)	15	258=227 (Justinus II)	198	581
582						
583						
584						
585						
586						
587						
588						
589						
590						

³⁹ Tiberius' regnal years are usually reckoned from 7.xii.574, when he was named Caesar; in *P.Lond.* V 1725 and *SB* VI 9085, inv. 16050, a reckoning which takes his *dies imperii* as emperor, 6.x.578, as the starting point is found; this reckoning is indicated by the second figure in the table. Cf. for this reign also *BASP* 17 (1980) 22-23, and especially B. Kramer and D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 42 (1981) 123-127, who argue that at Oxyrhynchos Tiberius' regnal years were counted one too low until sometime in 581. The *terminus ante quem* for correcting the count is now 18.vii, as shown by *SB* XX 15138 (see the remarks of T. Kruse, *ZPE* 88 [1991] 139, n. to lines 1-5). Regnal dating by Tiberius appears in the Arsinoite only before the death of Justinus II, cf. Kramer and Hagedorn 126 with n. 21. For *P.Ant.* II 103 cf. also J.R. Rea in *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 59.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind. Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
582	cos. Tiberius 4 p.c. Tiberius 3	1 Mauricius ⁴⁰ (13.viii)	1 259=228	299	582
583	cos. Tiberius 5 p.c. Tiberius 4 Mauricius (25.xii)	2 Mauricius (13.viii)	2 260=229	300	583
584	p.c. Tiberius 5 cos. Mauricius 2 p.c. Mauricius 1	3 Mauricius (13.viii)	3 261=230	301	584
585	cos. Mauricius 3 p.c. Mauricius 2	4 Mauricius (13.viii)	4 262=231	302	585
586	cos. Mauricius 4 p.c. Mauricius 3	5 Mauricius (13.viii)	5 263=232	303	586
587	cos. Mauricius 5 p.c. Mauricius 4	6 Mauricius (13.viii)	6 264=233	304	587
588	cos. Mauricius 6 p.c. Mauricius 5	7 Mauricius (13.viii)	7 265=234	305	588
589	cos. Mauricius 7 p.c. Mauricius 6	8 Mauricius (13.viii)	8 266=235	306	589
590	cos. Mauricius 8 p.c. Mauricius 7	9 Mauricius (13.viii)	9 267=236	307	590
591	cos. Mauricius 9 p.c. Mauricius 8	10 Mauricius (13.viii)	10 268=237	308	591
592	cos. Mauricius 10 p.c. Mauricius 9	11 Mauricius (13.viii)	11 269=238	309	592
593	cos. Mauricius 11 p.c. Mauricius 10	12 Mauricius (13.viii)	12 270=239	310	593
594	cos. Mauricius 12 p.c. Mauricius 11	13 Mauricius (13.viii)	13 271=240	311	594

⁴⁰ Mauricius became Caesar on 6.viii, emperor a week later, 13.viii.582. The dates are so close that our evidence does not suffice to say which was used in Egypt. On the complicated history of the consular and regnal reckoning of Mauricius, one must now consult the thorough discussion by J.R. Rea in *P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 51-57; cf. above, Chapter 6. It appears that in Oxyrhynchos the consular year, in phrases uniting regnal and consular formulas, was reckoned as beginning in August, most likely at the start of the Egyptian civil year on Thoth 1. The regnal year was also probably equated to the same civil year. The count in the *Consuls* column here with Mauricius cos. thus refers to years beginning on 29/30.viii in the year in question, not to the traditional 1 January start of the consulate. The p.c. reckoning, by contrast, appears to use the traditional consular year; it is not found at Oxyrhynchos.

Julian	Consuls	Regnal	Ind.	Oxy.	Diocl.	Julian
595	cos. Mauricius 13 p.c. Mauricius 12	14 Mauricius (13.viii) (15.xi)	14	272=241	312	595
596	cos. Mauricius 14 p.c. Mauricius 13	15 Mauricius (13.viii) Tiberius ²⁹	15	273=242	313	596
597	cos. Mauricius 15 p.c. Mauricius 14	16 Mauricius (13.viii) Mauricius (13.viii)	1	274=243	314	597
598	cos. Mauricius 16 p.c. Mauricius 15	17 Mauricius (13.viii) Justinus II	2	275=244	315	598
599	cos. Mauricius 17 p.c. Mauricius 16	18 Mauricius (13.viii) Mauricius (13.viii)	3	276=245	316	599
600	cos. Mauricius 18 p.c. Mauricius 17	19 Manricius (13.viii) Mauricius (13.viii)	4	277=246	317	600
601	cos. Mauricius 19 p.c. Mauricius 18	20 Mauricius (13.viii) Mauricius (13.viii)	5	278=247	318	601
602	cos. Mauricius 20 p.c. Mauricius 19	21 Mauricius (13.viii) 1 Phocas (23.xi)	6	279=248	319	602
603	Phocas	2 Phocas (23.xi) Tiberius	7	280=249	320	603
604	p.c. Phocas	3 Phocas (23.xi) Tiberius	8	281=250	321	604
605	p.c. Phocas 2	4 Phocas (23.xi) Mauricius (13.viii)	9	282=251	322	605
606	p.c. Phocas 3	5 Phocas (23.xi) Tiberius	10	283=252	323	606
607	p.c. Phocas 4	6 Phocas (23.xi) Tiberius	11	284=253	324	607
608	p.c. Phocas 5	7 Phocas (23.xi) Mauricius (13.viii)	12	285=254	325	608
609	p.c. Phocas 6	8 Phocas (23.xi)	13	286=255	326	609
610	p.c. Phocas 7	1 Heraclius (5.x)	14	287=256	327	610
611	Heraclius	2 Heraclius (5.x)	15	288=257	328	611
612	p.c. Heraclius	3 Heraclius (5.x)	1	289=258	329	612

²⁹ M. A. Christy, *The Constantinian Emperors* (London, 1976), p. 148. Christy notes that the date of the death of Mauricius is uncertain, but that it is likely to be 592. The date of the death of Tiberius is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 595. The date of the death of Justinus II is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 595. The date of the death of Phocas is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 602. The date of the death of Heraclius is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 610. The date of the death of Mauricius is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 592. The date of the death of Tiberius is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 595. The date of the death of Justinus II is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 595. The date of the death of Phocas is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 602. The date of the death of Heraclius is also uncertain, but it is likely to be 610.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
613	p.c. Heraclius 2 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 3	4 Heraclius (5.x) 1 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i) ⁴¹	2	290=259	330	613
614	p.c. Heraclius 3 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 4	5 Heraclius (5.x) 2 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	3	291=260	331	614
615	p.c. Heraclius 4 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 5	6 Heraclius (5.x) 3 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	4	292=261	332	615
616	p.c. Heraclius 5 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 6	7 Heraclius (5.x) 4 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	5	293=262	333	616
617	p.c. Heraclius 6 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 7	8 Heraclius (5.x) 5 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	6	294=263	334	617
618	p.c. Heraclius 7 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 8	9 Heraclius (5.x) 6 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	7	295=264	335	618
619	p.c. Heraclius 8 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 9 p.c. Heraclius II 4	10 Heraclius (5.x) 7 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	8	296=265	336	619
620	p.c. Heraclius 9	11 Heraclius (5.x) 8 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	9	297=266	337	620
621	p.c. Heraclius 10	12 Heraclius (5.x) 9 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	10	298=267	338	621
622	p.c. Heraclius 11	13 Heraclius (5.x) 10 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	11	299=268	339	622
623	p.c. Heraclius 12	14 Heraclius (5.x) 11 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	12	300=269	340	623

⁴¹ See for Heraclius Novus Constantinus Stein 1934: 891-894 and C. Zuckerman in *JJP* 25 (1995) 195-201.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
624	p.c. Heraclius 13 p.c. Mauricius 12	15 Heraclius (5.x) 12 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	13	301=270	341	624
596	cos. Mauricius 14	15 Mauricius (13.viii)		273=242	313	596
625	p.c. Heraclius 14	16 Heraclius (5.x) 13 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	14	302=271	342	625
597	cos. Mauricius 15 p.c. Mauricius 14	16		243	314	597
626	p.c. Heraclius 15 cos. Mauricius 16 p.c. Mauricius 15	17 Heraclius (5.x) 14 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	15	303=272	343	626
598	cos. Mauricius 16	14		244	315	598
627	p.c. Heraclius 16 p.c. Mauricius 16	18 Heraclius (5.x) 15 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	1	304=273	344	627
600	cos. Mauricius 18	19 Mauricius (13.viii)	4	277=246	317	600
628	p.c. Heraclius 17	19 Heraclius (5.x) 16 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	2	305=274	345	628
601	cos. Mauricius 19 p.c. Mauricius 18	20		247	318	601
629	p.c. Heraclius 18 cos. Mauricius 20 p.c. Mauricius 19	20 Heraclius (5.x) 17 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	3	306=275	346	629
602	cos. Mauricius 20	17		248	319	602
630	p.c. Heraclius 19	21 Heraclius (5.x) 18 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	4	307=276	347	630
604	p.c. Phocas	23		250	321	604
631	p.c. Heraclius 20 p.c. Phocas 3	22 Heraclius (5.x) 19 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	5	308=277	348	631
606	p.c. Phocas 3	22		252	323	606
632	p.c. Heraclius 21 Heraclius Novus Constantinus ⁴²	23 Heraclius (5.x) 20 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	6	309=278	349	632
608		20		254	325	608
633	p.c. Heraclius 22 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus	24 Heraclius (5.x) 21 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	7	310=279	350	633
610		21		256	327	610
634	p.c. Heraclius 23 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 2	25 Heraclius (5.x) 22 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	8	311=280	351	634
612		22		258	329	612

⁴² See p. 155, n. 41.

<i>Julian</i>	<i>Consuls</i>	<i>Regnal</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Oxy.</i>	<i>Diocl.</i>	<i>Julian</i>
635	p.c. Heraclius 24 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 3	26 Heraclius (5.x) 23 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	9	312=281	352	635
636	p.c. Heraclius 25 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 4	27 Heraclius (5.x) 24 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	10	313=282	353	636
637	p.c. Heraclius 26 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 5	28 Heraclius (5.x) 25 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	11	314=283	354	637
638	p.c. Heraclius 27 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 6	29 Heraclius (5.x) 26 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	12	315=284	355	638
639	p.c. Heraclius 28 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 7	30 Heraclius (5.x) 27 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	13	316=285	356	639
640	p.c. Heraclius 29 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 8	31 Heraclius (5.x) 28 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i)	14	317=286	357	640
641	p.c. Heraclius 30 p.c. Heraclius Novus Constantinus 9 p.c. Heraclius II 4	29 Heraclius Novus Constantinus (22.i) ⁴³ 10 Heraclius II (1.i) 4 David (4.vii) 3 Mar(t)inus	15	318=287	358	641

To obtain the indiction number or era year for years after 641, consult the entry for the appropriate year less 300 years (or less 600 years for very late dates); the indiction will be the same, and for the era years add back 300 to get the correct year.

⁴³ See below, p. 271 for the documents from 641; cf. *CPR* XXIII, pp. 222-230.

624	p.c. Heraclius 20	22 Heraclius (5.x)	7	310-279	350	633
	Constantinus	Constantinus (22.i)				

TABLE OF DAYS

The table below is meant to enable the user to find at a glance the julian date equivalent to an Egyptian date (and vice-versa), as well as the julian date equivalent to a date expressed in the Roman calendar (and vice-versa). The figure given against the day of the Egyptian month in ordinary type is the julian date of that day in ordinary years, and the date by the Roman calendar is that which corresponds to this julian date.

The three calendars of this chart all put their leap-year days, once in four years, at different times. The Egyptian calendar added a sixth epagomenal day (29.viii), which resulted in Thoth 1 being equivalent to 30.viii. From this date until the date when the julian calendar inserts its extra day, 29.ii, the number of the julian date corresponding to the Egyptian day is one higher than in ordinary years. *The equivalents in these years are printed in italics immediately after the normal equivalent.* The years which had 6 epagomenai are those years preceding years divisible by four, and are marked in bold type in the chronological chart (Appendix C). Leap year equivalents are valid from 30.viii of this year until 29.ii of the following year.

In leap years, if one wishes to find the Roman equivalent of an Egyptian date, one must find the italicized julian equivalent and then check for the Roman date under the line where that julian equivalent is printed in normal type, i.e. one day later. The only disturbance of this relationship occurs when the Roman calendar inserts its extra day, by doubling ante 6 Kal. Mar. The following days until the Kalends of March are equivalent to julian dates one higher than normal, i.e. Prid. Kal. Mar. is 29.ii, not 28.ii.

631	p.c. Heraclius 20	22 Heraclius (5.x)	7	310-279	350	633
		19 Heraclius Novus				
		Constantinus (22.i)				
634	p.c. Heraclius 23	25 Heraclius (5.x)	8	311-280	351	634
	p.c. Heraclius Novus	22 Heraclius Novus				
	Constantinus	Constantinus (22.i)				

TYBI THOTH CHD MECHE PHAOPHI HATHYR

1	29 Aug. (30)	ante 4 Kal. Sep.	1	28 Sep. (29)	ante 4 Kal. Oct.
2	30 Aug. (31)	ante 3 Kal. Sep.	2	29 Sep. (30)	ante 3 Kal. Oct.
3	31 Aug. (1 Sep.)	Prid. Kal. Sep.	3	30 Sep. (1 Oct.)	Prid. Kal. Oct.
4	1 Sep. (2)	Kal. Sep.	4	1 Oct. (2)	Kal. Oct.
5	2 Sep. (3)	ante 4 Non. Sep.	5	2 Oct. (3)	ante 6 Non. Oct.
6	3 Sep. (4)	ante 3 Non. Sep.	6	3 Oct. (4)	ante 5 Non. Oct.
7	4 Sep. (5)	Prid. Non. Sep.	7	4 Oct. (5)	ante 4 Non. Oct.
8	5 Sep. (6)	Non. Sep.	8	5 Oct. (6)	ante 3 Non. Oct.
9	6 Sep. (7)	ante 8 Id. Sep.	9	6 Oct. (7)	Prid. Non. Oct.
10	7 Sep. (8)	ante 7 Id. Sep.	10	7 Oct. (8)	Non. Oct.
11	8 Sep. (9)	ante 6 Id. Sep.	11	8 Oct. (9)	ante 8 Id. Oct.
12	9 Sep. (10)	ante 5 Id. Sep.	12	9 Oct. (10)	ante 7 Id. Oct.
13	10 Sep. (11)	ante 4 Id. Sep.	13	10 Oct. (11)	ante 6 Id. Oct.
14	11 Sep. (12)	ante 3 Id. Sep.	14	11 Oct. (12)	ante 5 Id. Oct.
15	12 Sep. (13)	Prid. Id. Sep.	15	12 Oct. (13)	ante 4 Id. Oct.
16	13 Sep. (14)	Id. Sep.	16	13 Oct. (14)	ante 3 Id. Oct.
17	14 Sep. (15)	ante 18 Kal. Oct.	17	14 Oct. (15)	Prid. Id. Oct.
18	15 Sep. (16)	ante 17 Kal. Oct.	18	15 Oct. (16)	Id. Oct.
19	16 Sep. (17)	ante 16 Kal. Oct.	19	16 Oct. (17)	ante 17 Kal. Nov.
20	17 Sep. (18)	ante 15 Kal. Oct.	20	17 Oct. (18)	ante 16 Kal. Nov.
21	18 Sep. (19)	ante 14 Kal. Oct.	21	18 Oct. (19)	ante 15 Kal. Nov.
22	19 Sep. (20)	ante 13 Kal. Oct.	22	19 Oct. (20)	ante 14 Kal. Nov.
23	20 Sep. (21)	ante 12 Kal. Oct.	23	20 Oct. (21)	ante 13 Kal. Nov.
24	21 Sep. (22)	ante 11 Kal. Oct.	24	21 Oct. (22)	ante 12 Kal. Nov.
25	22 Sep. (23)	ante 10 Kal. Oct.	25	22 Oct. (23)	ante 11 Kal. Nov.
26	23 Sep. (24)	ante 9 Kal. Oct.	26	23 Oct. (24)	ante 10 Kal. Nov.
27	24 Sep. (25)	ante 8 Kal. Oct.	27	24 Oct. (25)	ante 9 Kal. Nov.
28	25 Sep. (26)	ante 7 Kal. Oct.	28	25 Oct. (26)	ante 8 Kal. Nov.
29	26 Sep. (27)	ante 6 Kal. Oct.	29	26 Oct. (27)	ante 7 Kal. Nov.
30	27 Sep. (28)	ante 5 Kal. Oct.	30	27 Oct. (28)	ante 6 Kal. Nov.

HATHYR

CHOIAK

1	28 Oct. (29)	ante 5 Kal. Nov.	1	27 Nov. (28)	ante 5 Kal. Dec.
2	29 Oct. (30)	ante 4 Kal. Nov.	2	28 Nov. (29)	ante 4 Kal. Dec.
3	30 Oct. (31)	ante 3 Kal. Nov.	3	29 Nov. (30)	ante 3 Kal. Dec.
4	31 Oct. (1 Nov.)	Prid. Kal. Nov.	4	30 Nov. (1 Dec.)	Prid. Kal. Dec.
5	1 Nov. (2)	Kal. Nov.	5	1 Dec. (2)	Kal. Dec.
6	2 Nov. (3)	ante 4 Non. Nov.	6	2 Dec. (3)	ante 4 Non. Dec.
7	3 Nov. (4)	ante 3 Non. Nov.	7	3 Dec. (4)	ante 3 Non. Dec.
8	4 Nov. (5)	Prid. Non. Nov.	8	4 Dec. (5)	Prid. Non. Dec.
9	5 Nov. (6)	Non. Nov.	9	5 Dec. (6)	Non. Dec.
10	6 Nov. (7)	ante 8 Id. Nov.	10	6 Dec. (7)	ante 8 Id. Dec.
11	7 Nov. (8)	ante 7 Id. Nov.	11	7 Dec. (8)	ante 7 Id. Dec.
12	8 Nov. (9)	ante 6 Id. Nov.	12	8 Dec. (9)	ante 6 Id. Dec.
13	9 Nov. (10)	ante 5 Id. Nov.	13	9 Dec. (10)	ante 5 Id. Dec.
14	10 Nov. (11)	ante 4 Id. Nov.	14	10 Dec. (11)	ante 4 Id. Dec.
15	11 Nov. (12)	ante 3 Id. Nov.	15	11 Dec. (12)	ante 3 Id. Dec.
16	12 Nov. (13)	Prid. Id. Nov.	16	12 Dec. (13)	Prid. Id. Dec.
17	13 Nov. (14)	Id. Nov.	17	13 Dec. (14)	Id. Dec.
18	14 Nov. (15)	ante 18 Kal. Dec.	18	14 Dec. (15)	ante 19 Kal. Ian.
19	15 Nov. (16)	ante 17 Kal. Dec.	19	15 Dec. (16)	ante 18 Kal. Ian.
20	16 Nov. (17)	ante 16 Kal. Dec.	20	16 Dec. (17)	ante 17 Kal. Ian.
21	17 Nov. (18)	ante 15 Kal. Dec.	21	17 Dec. (18)	ante 16 Kal. Ian.
22	18 Nov. (19)	ante 14 Kal. Dec.	22	18 Dec. (19)	ante 15 Kal. Ian.
23	19 Nov. (20)	ante 13 Kal. Dec.	23	19 Dec. (20)	ante 14 Kal. Ian.
24	20 Nov. (21)	ante 12 Kal. Dec.	24	20 Dec. (21)	ante 13 Kal. Ian.
25	21 Nov. (22)	ante 11 Kal. Dec.	25	21 Dec. (22)	ante 12 Kal. Ian.
26	22 Nov. (23)	ante 10 Kal. Dec.	26	22 Dec. (23)	ante 11 Kal. Ian.
27	23 Nov. (24)	ante 9 Kal. Dec.	27	23 Dec. (24)	ante 10 Kal. Ian.
28	24 Nov. (25)	ante 8 Kal. Dec.	28	24 Dec. (25)	ante 9 Kal. Ian.
29	25 Nov. (26)	ante 7 Kal. Dec.	29	25 Dec. (26)	ante 8 Kal. Ian.
30	26 Nov. (27)	ante 6 Kal. Dec.	30	26 Dec. (27)	ante 7 Kal. Ian.

TYBI

MECHEIR

1	27 Dec. (28)	ante 6 Kal. Ian.	1	26 Jan. (27)	ante 7 Kal. Feb.
2	28 Dec. (29)	ante 5 Kal. Ian.	2	27 Jan. (28)	ante 6 Kal. Feb.
3	29 Dec. (30)	ante 4 Kal. Ian.	3	28 Jan. (29)	ante 5 Kal. Feb.
4	30 Dec. (31)	ante 3 Kal. Ian.	4	29 Jan. (30)	ante 4 Kal. Feb.
5	31 Dec. (1 Jan.)	Prid. Kal. Ian.	5	30 Jan. (31)	ante 3 Kal. Feb.
6	1 Jan. (2)	Kal. Ian.	6	31 Jan. (1 Feb.)	Prid. Kal. Feb.
7	2 Jan. (3)	ante 4 Non. Ian.	7	1 Feb. (2)	Kal. Feb.
8	3 Jan. (4)	ante 3 Non. Ian.	8	2 Feb. (3)	ante 4 Non. Feb.
9	4 Jan. (5)	Prid. Non. Ian.	9	3 Feb. (4)	ante 3 Non. Feb.
10	5 Jan. (6)	Non. Ian.	10	4 Feb. (5)	Prid. Non. Feb.
11	6 Jan. (7)	ante 8 Id. Ian.	11	5 Feb. (6)	Non. Feb.
12	7 Jan. (8)	ante 7 Id. Ian.	12	6 Feb. (7)	ante 8 Id. Feb.
13	8 Jan. (9)	ante 6 Id. Ian.	13	7 Feb. (8)	ante 7 Id. Feb.
14	9 Jan. (10)	ante 5 Id. Ian.	14	8 Feb. (9)	ante 6 Id. Feb.
15	10 Jan. (11)	ante 4 Id. Ian.	15	9 Feb. (10)	ante 5 Id. Feb.
16	11 Jan. (12)	ante 3 Id. Ian.	16	10 Feb. (11)	ante 4 Id. Feb.
17	12 Jan. (13)	Prid. Id. Ian.	17	11 Feb. (12)	ante 3 Id. Feb.
18	13 Jan. (14)	Id. Ian.	18	12 Feb. (13)	Prid. Id. Feb.
19	14 Jan. (15)	ante 19 Kal. Feb.	19	13 Feb. (14)	Id. Feb.
20	15 Jan. (16)	ante 18 Kal. Feb.	20	14 Feb. (15)	ante 16 Kal. Mar.
21	16 Jan. (17)	ante 17 Kal. Feb.	21	15 Feb. (16)	ante 15 Kal. Mar.
22	17 Jan. (18)	ante 16 Kal. Feb.	22	16 Feb. (17)	ante 14 Kal. Mar.
23	18 Jan. (19)	ante 15 Kal. Feb.	23	17 Feb. (18)	ante 13 Kal. Mar.
24	19 Jan. (20)	ante 14 Kal. Feb.	24	18 Feb. (19)	ante 12 Kal. Mar.
25	20 Jan. (21)	ante 13 Kal. Feb.	25	19 Feb. (20)	ante 11 Kal. Mar.
26	21 Jan. (22)	ante 12 Kal. Feb.	26	20 Feb. (21)	ante 10 Kal. Mar.
27	22 Jan. (23)	ante 11 Kal. Feb.	27	21 Feb. (22)	ante 9 Kal. Mar.
28	23 Jan. (24)	ante 10 Kal. Feb.	28	22 Feb. (23)	ante 8 Kal. Mar.
29	24 Jan. (25)	ante 9 Kal. Feb.	29	23 Feb. (24)	ante 7 Kal. Mar.
30	25 Jan. (26)	ante 8 Kal. Feb.	30	24 Feb. (25)	ante 6 Kal. Mar.

PHAMENOTH		MECHEIR		PHARMOUTH		TYBI	
1	25 Feb. (26)	ante 5 (6) Kal. Mar.	1	27 Mar.	ante 6 Kal. Apr.	1	27 Dec.
2	26 Feb. (27)	ante 4 (5) Kal. Mar.	2	28 Mar.	ante 5 Kal. Apr.	2	28 Dec.
3	27 Feb. (28)	ante 3 (4) Kal. Mar.	3	29 Mar.	ante 4 Kal. Apr.	3	29 Dec.
4	28 Feb. (29)	Prid. (3) Kal. Mar.	4	30 Mar.	ante 3 Kal. Apr.	4	30 Dec.
5	1 Mar.	Kal. Mar.	5	31 Mar.	Prid. Kal. Apr.	5	31 Dec.
6	2 Mar.	ante 6 Non. Mar.	6	1 Apr.	Kal. Apr.	6	1 Jan.
7	3 Mar.	ante 5 Non. Mar.	7	2 Apr.	ante 4 Non. Apr.	7	2 Jan.
8	4 Mar.	ante 4 Non. Mar.	8	3 Apr.	ante 3 Non. Apr.	8	3 Jan.
9	5 Mar.	ante 3 Non. Mar.	9	4 Apr.	Prid. Non. Apr.	9	4 Jan.
10	6 Mar.	Prid. Non. Mar.	10	5 Apr.	Non. Apr.	10	5 Jan.
11	7 Mar.	Non. Mar.	11	6 Apr.	ante 8 Id. Apr.	11	6 Jan.
12	8 Mar.	ante 8 Id. Mar.	12	7 Apr.	ante 7 Id. Apr.	12	7 Jan.
13	9 Mar.	ante 7 Id. Mar.	13	8 Apr.	ante 6 Id. Apr.	13	8 Jan.
14	10 Mar.	ante 6 Id. Mar.	14	9 Apr.	ante 5 Id. Apr.	14	9 Jan.
15	11 Mar.	ante 5 Id. Mar.	15	10 Apr.	ante 4 Id. Apr.	15	10 Jan.
16	12 Mar.	ante 4 Id. Mar.	16	11 Apr.	ante 3 Id. Apr.	16	11 Jan.
17	13 Mar.	ante 3 Id. Mar.	17	12 Apr.	Prid. Id. Apr.	17	12 Jan.
18	14 Mar.	Prid. Id. Mar.	18	13 Apr.	Id. Apr.	18	13 Jan.
19	15 Mar.	Id. Mar.	19	14 Apr.	ante 18 Kal. Mai.	19	14 Jan.
20	16 Mar.	ante 17 Kal. Apr.	20	15 Apr.	ante 17 Kal. Mai.	20	15 Jan.
21	17 Mar.	ante 16 Kal. Apr.	21	16 Apr.	ante 16 Kal. Mai.	21	16 Jan.
22	18 Mar.	ante 15 Kal. Apr.	22	17 Apr.	ante 15 Kal. Mai.	22	17 Jan.
23	19 Mar.	ante 14 Kal. Apr.	23	18 Apr.	ante 14 Kal. Mai.	23	18 Jan.
24	20 Mar.	ante 13 Kal. Apr.	24	19 Apr.	ante 13 Kal. Mai.	24	19 Jan.
25	21 Mar.	ante 12 Kal. Apr.	25	20 Apr.	ante 12 Kal. Mai.	25	20 Jan.
26	22 Mar.	ante 11 Kal. Apr.	26	21 Apr.	ante 11 Kal. Mai.	26	21 Jan.
27	23 Mar.	ante 10 Kal. Apr.	27	22 Apr.	ante 10 Kal. Mai.	27	22 Jan.
28	24 Mar.	ante 9 Kal. Apr.	28	23 Apr.	ante 9 Kal. Mai.	28	23 Jan.
29	25 Mar.	ante 8 Kal. Apr.	29	24 Apr.	ante 8 Kal. Mai.	29	24 Jan.
30	26 Mar.	ante 7 Kal. Apr.	30	25 Apr.	ante 7 Kal. Mai.	30	25 Jan.

PACHON		MESORÉ		PAUNI		EPEITH	
1	26 Apr.	ante 6 Kal. Mai.	1	26 May	ante 7 Kal. Iun.	1	1
2	27 Apr.	ante 5 Kal. Mai.	2	27 May	ante 6 Kal. Iun.	2	2
3	28 Apr.	ante 4 Kal. Mai.	3	28 May	ante 5 Kal. Iun.	3	3
4	29 Apr.	ante 3 Kal. Mai.	4	29 May	ante 4 Kal. Iun.	4	4
5	30 Apr.	Prid. Kal. Mai.	5	30 May	ante 3 Kal. Iun.	5	5
6	1 May	Kal. Mai.	6	31 May	Prid. Kal. Iun.	6	6
7	2 May	ante 6 Non. Mai.	7	1 June	Kal. Iun.	7	7
8	3 May	ante 5 Non. Mai.	8	2 June	ante 4 Non. Iun.	8	8
9	4 May	ante 4 Non. Mai.	9	3 June	ante 3 Non. Iun.	9	9
10	5 May	ante 3 Non. Mai.	10	4 June	Prid. Non. Iun.	10	10
11	6 May	Prid. Non. Mai.	11	5 June	Non. Iun.	11	11
12	7 May	Non. Mai.	12	6 June	ante 8 Id. Iun.	12	12
13	8 May	ante 8 Id. Mai.	13	7 June	ante 7 Id. Iun.	13	13
14	9 May	ante 7 Id. Mai.	14	8 June	ante 6 Id. Iun.	14	14
15	10 May	ante 6 Id. Mai.	15	9 June	ante 5 Id. Iun.	15	15
16	11 May	ante 5 Id. Mai.	16	10 June	ante 4 Id. Iun.	16	16
17	12 May	ante 4 Id. Mai.	17	11 June	ante 3 Id. Iun.	17	17
18	13 May	ante 3 Id. Mai.	18	12 June	Prid. Id. Iun.	18	18
19	14 May	Prid. Id. Mai.	19	13 June	Id. Iun.	19	19
20	15 May	Id. Mai.	20	14 June	ante 18 Kal. Iul.	20	20
21	16 May	ante 17 Kal. Iun.	21	15 June	ante 17 Kal. Iul.	21	21
22	17 May	ante 16 Kal. Iun.	22	16 June	ante 16 Kal. Iul.	22	22
23	18 May	ante 15 Kal. Iun.	23	17 June	ante 15 Kal. Iul.	23	23
24	19 May	ante 14 Kal. Iun.	24	18 June	ante 14 Kal. Iul.	24	24
25	20 May	ante 13 Kal. Iun.	25	19 June	ante 13 Kal. Iul.	25	25
26	21 May	ante 12 Kal. Iun.	26	20 June	ante 12 Kal. Iul.	26	26
27	22 May	ante 11 Kal. Iun.	27	21 June	ante 11 Kal. Iul.	27	27
28	23 May	ante 10 Kal. Iun.	28	22 June	ante 10 Kal. Iul.	28	28
29	24 May	ante 9 Kal. Iun.	29	23 June	ante 9 Kal. Iul.	29	29
30	25 May	ante 8 Kal. Iun.	30	24 June	ante 8 Kal. Iul.	30	30

EPEIPH		MESORE		
1	25 June	ante 7 Kal. Iul.	1 25 July	ante 8 Kal. Aug.
2	26 June	ante 6 Kal. Iul.	2 26 July	ante 7 Kal. Aug.
3	27 June	ante 5 Kal. Iul.	3 27 July	ante 6 Kal. Aug.
4	28 June	ante 4 Kal. Iul.	4 28 July	ante 5 Kal. Aug.
5	29 June	ante 3 Kal. Iul.	5 29 July	ante 4 Kal. Aug.
6	30 June	Prid. Kal. Iul.	6 30 July	ante 3 Kal. Aug.
7	1 July	Kal. Iul.	7 31 July	Prid. Kal. Aug.
8	2 July	ante 6 Non. Iul.	8 1 Aug.	Kal. Aug.
9	3 July	ante 5 Non. Iul.	9 2 Aug.	ante 4 Non. Aug.
10	4 July	ante 4 Non. Iul.	10 3 Aug.	ante 3 Non. Aug.
11	5 July	ante 3 Non. Iul.	11 4 Aug.	Prid. Non. Aug.
12	6 July	Prid. Non. Iul.	12 5 Aug.	Non. Aug.
13	7 July	Non. Iul.	13 6 Aug.	ante 8 Id. Aug.
14	8 July	ante 8 Id. Iul.	14 7 Aug.	ante 7 Id. Aug.
15	9 July	ante 7 Id. Iul.	15 8 Aug.	ante 6 Id. Aug.
16	10 July	ante 6 Id. Iul.	16 9 Aug.	ante 5 Id. Aug.
17	11 July	ante 5 Id. Iul.	17 10 Aug.	ante 4 Id. Aug.
18	12 July	ante 4 Id. Iul.	18 11 Aug.	ante 3 Id. Aug.
19	13 July	ante 3 Id. Iul.	19 12 Aug.	Prid. Id. Aug.
20	14 July	Prid. Id. Iul.	20 13 Aug.	Id. Aug.
21	15 July	Id. Iul.	21 14 Aug.	ante 19 Kal. Sep.
22	16 July	ante 17 Kal. Aug.	22 15 Aug.	ante 18 Kal. Sep.
23	17 July	ante 16 Kal. Aug.	23 16 Aug.	ante 17 Kal. Sep.
24	18 July	ante 15 Kal. Aug.	24 17 Aug.	ante 16 Kal. Sep.
25	19 July	ante 14 Kal. Aug.	25 18 Aug.	ante 15 Kal. Sep.
26	20 July	ante 13 Kal. Aug.	26 19 Aug.	ante 14 Kal. Sep.
27	21 July	ante 12 Kal. Aug.	27 20 Aug.	ante 13 Kal. Sep.
28	22 July	ante 11 Kal. Aug.	28 21 Aug.	ante 12 Kal. Sep.
29	23 July	ante 10 Kal. Aug.	29 22 Aug.	ante 11 Kal. Sep.
30	24 July	ante 9 Kal. Aug.	30 23 Aug.	ante 10 Kal. Sep.
			30 25 Apr.	ante 7 Kal. Mai.

ΕΠΙΦΑΝ

ΕΡΑΔΟΜΕΝΑΙ - ΕΡΟΣΙΜ

1	25 June	ante 7 Kal. Jul.	1	25 July	ante 2 Kal. Aug.
2	26 June	ante 6 Kal. Jul.	2	26 July	ante 1 Kal. Aug.
3	27 June	ante 5 Kal. Jul.	3	27 July	ante 30 Id. Aug.
4	28 June	ante 4 Kal. Jul.	4	28 July	ante 29 Id. Aug.
5	29 June	ante 3 Kal. Jul.	5	29 July	ante 28 Id. Aug.
6	30 June	ante 2 Kal. Jul.	6	30 July	ante 27 Id. Aug.
7	1 July	ante 1 Kal. Jul.	7	31 July	ante 26 Id. Aug.

TABLE FOR CONVERTING DAYS FROM EGYPTIAN TO ALEXANDRIAN COUNT

These tables are designed to assist the reader in converting datings given according to the "Egyptian count" into the corresponding "Alexandrian count" datings.

For converting a date given as "Egyptian count" into "Alexandrian count,"

- check Table I ("Table of day differences") and
- deduct from the numeral following a particular month + day found below in Table II in the column marked "#" the numeral found in Table I for the applicable (set of) year(s). Then
- look in Table II under the resulting numeral and find the corresponding day in the "Alexandrian count."

8	2 July	ante 1 Id. Jul.	8	1 Aug.	ante 25 Id. Aug.
9	3 July	ante 30 Kal. Aug.	9	2 Aug.	ante 24 Id. Aug.
10	4 July	ante 29 Kal. Aug.	10	3 Aug.	ante 23 Id. Aug.
11	5 July	ante 28 Kal. Aug.	11	4 Aug.	ante 22 Id. Aug.
12	6 July	ante 27 Kal. Aug.	12	5 Aug.	ante 21 Id. Aug.
13	7 July	ante 26 Kal. Aug.	13	6 Aug.	ante 20 Id. Aug.
14	8 July	ante 25 Kal. Aug.	14	7 Aug.	ante 19 Id. Aug.
15	9 July	ante 24 Kal. Aug.	15	8 Aug.	ante 18 Id. Aug.
16	10 July	ante 23 Kal. Aug.	16	9 Aug.	ante 17 Id. Aug.
17	11 July	ante 22 Kal. Aug.	17	10 Aug.	ante 16 Id. Aug.
18	12 July	ante 21 Kal. Aug.	18	11 Aug.	ante 15 Id. Aug.
19	13 July	ante 20 Kal. Aug.	19	12 Aug.	ante 14 Id. Aug.
20	14 July	ante 19 Kal. Aug.	20	13 Aug.	ante 13 Id. Aug.
21	15 July	ante 18 Kal. Aug.	21	14 Aug.	ante 12 Id. Aug.
22	16 July	ante 17 Kal. Aug.	22	15 Aug.	ante 11 Id. Aug.
23	17 July	ante 16 Kal. Aug.	23	16 Aug.	ante 10 Id. Aug.
24	18 July	ante 15 Kal. Aug.	24	17 Aug.	ante 9 Id. Aug.
25	19 July	ante 14 Kal. Aug.	25	18 Aug.	ante 8 Id. Aug.
26	20 July	ante 13 Kal. Aug.	26	19 Aug.	ante 7 Id. Aug.
27	21 July	ante 12 Kal. Aug.	27	20 Aug.	ante 6 Id. Aug.
28	22 July	ante 11 Kal. Aug.	28	21 Aug.	ante 5 Id. Aug.
29	23 July	ante 10 Kal. Aug.	29	22 Aug.	ante 4 Id. Aug.
30	24 July	ante 9 Kal. Aug.	30	23 Aug.	ante 3 Id. Aug.

Table I: Table of differences in numbers of days between years calculated according to Egyptian count and years calculated according to Alexandrian count (cf. ZPE 104 [1994] 244-245):

<i>B.C./A.D.</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>A.D.</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>A.D.</i>	<i>days</i>	<i>A.D.</i>	<i>days</i>
22 ^a -18 ^a	1	79-83	26	179-183	51	279-283	76
18 ^a -14 ^a	2	83-87	27	183-187	52	283-287	77
14 ^a -10 ^a	3	87-91	28	187-191	53	287-291	78
10 ^a -6 ^a	4	91-95	29	191-195	54	291-295	79
6 ^a -2 ^a	5	95-99	30	195-199	55	295-299	80
2 ^a -3 ^p	6	99-103	31	199-203	56	299-303	81
3-7	7	103-107	32	203-207	57	303-307	82
7-11	8	107-111	33	207-211	58	307-311	83
11-15	9	111-115	34	211-215	59	311-315	84
15-19	10	115-119	35	215-219	60	315-319	85
19-23	11	119-123	36	219-223	61	319-323	86
23-27	12	123-127	37	223-227	62	323-327	87
27-31	13	127-131	38	227-231	63	327-331	88
31-35	14	131-135	39	231-235	64	331-335	89
35-39	15	135-139	40	235-239	65	335-339	90
39-43	16	139-143	41	239-243	66	339-343	91
43-47	17	143-147	42	243-247	67	343-347	92
47-51	18	147-151	43	247-251	68	347-351	93
51-55	19	151-155	44	251-255	69	351-355	94
55-59	20	155-159	45	255-259	70	355-359	95
59-63	21	159-163	46	259-263	71	359-363	96
63-67	22	163-167	47	263-267	72	363-367	97
67-71	23	167-171	48	267-271	73	367-371	98
71-75	24	171-175	49	271-275	74	371-375	99
75-79	25	175-179	50	275-279	75	375-379	100
						379-383	101
						383-387	102
						387-391	103
						391-395	104
						395-399	105
						399-400	106

Table II: Day numerals in the Egyptian calendar (which skips the "extra" day in a leap year). The count is carried beyond the normal year of 365 or 366 days up to 470, because that is the maximum figure created by a conceivable 105-day divergence between the Egyptian and the Alexandrian calendar:

<i>I:</i> <i>Thoth</i>		<i>II:</i> <i>Phaophi</i>		<i>III:</i> <i>Hathyr</i>		<i>IV:</i> <i>Choiak</i>		<i>V:</i> <i>Tybi</i>		<i>VI:</i> <i>Mecheir</i>	
	#		#		#		#		#		#
1	1	1	31	1	61	1	91	1	121	1	151
2	2	2	32	2	62	2	92	2	122	2	152
3	3	3	33	3	63	3	93	3	123	3	153
4	4	4	34	4	64	4	94	4	124	4	154
5	5	5	35	5	65	5	95	5	125	5	155
6	6	6	36	6	66	6	96	6	126	6	156
7	7	7	37	7	67	7	97	7	127	7	157
8	8	8	38	8	68	8	98	8	128	8	158
9	9	9	39	9	69	9	99	9	129	9	159
10	10	10	40	10	70	10	100	10	130	10	160
11	11	11	41	11	71	11	101	11	131	11	161
12	12	12	42	12	72	12	102	12	132	12	162
13	13	13	43	13	73	13	103	13	133	13	163
14	13	14	44	14	74	14	104	14	134	14	164
15	15	15	45	15	75	15	105	15	135	15	165
16	16	16	46	16	76	16	106	16	136	16	166
17	17	17	47	17	77	17	107	17	137	17	167
18	18	18	48	18	78	18	108	18	138	18	168
19	19	19	49	19	79	19	109	19	139	19	169
20	20	20	50	20	80	20	110	20	140	20	170
21	21	21	51	21	81	21	111	21	141	21	171
22	22	22	52	22	82	22	112	22	142	22	172
23	23	23	53	23	83	23	113	23	143	23	173
24	24	24	54	24	84	24	114	24	144	24	174
25	25	25	55	25	85	25	115	25	145	25	175
26	26	26	56	26	86	26	116	26	146	26	176
27	27	27	57	27	87	27	117	27	147	27	177
28	28	28	58	28	88	28	118	28	148	28	178
29	29	29	59	29	89	29	119	29	149	29	179
30	30	30	60	30	90	30	120	30	150	30	180

<i>VII:</i> <i>Phamenoth</i>	<i>VIII:</i> <i>Pharmouthi</i>	<i>IX:</i> <i>Pachon</i>	<i>X:</i> <i>Pauni</i>	<i>XI:</i> <i>Epeiph</i>	<i>XII:</i> <i>Mesore</i>						
#	#	#	#	#	#						
1	181	1	211	1	241	1	271	1	301	1	331
2	182	2	212	2	242	2	272	2	302	2	332
3	183	3	213	3	243	3	273	3	303	3	333
4	184	4	214	4	244	4	274	4	304	4	334
5	185	5	215	5	245	5	275	5	305	5	335
6	186	6	216	6	246	6	276	6	306	6	336
7	187	7	217	7	247	7	277	7	307	7	337
8	188	8	218	8	248	8	278	8	308	8	338
9	189	9	219	9	249	9	279	9	309	9	339
10	190	10	220	10	250	10	280	10	310	10	340
11	191	11	221	11	251	11	281	11	311	11	341
12	192	12	222	12	252	12	282	12	312	12	342
13	193	13	223	13	253	13	283	13	313	13	343
14	194	14	224	14	254	14	284	14	314	14	344
15	195	15	225	15	255	15	285	15	315	15	345
16	196	16	226	16	256	16	286	16	316	16	346
17	197	17	227	17	257	17	287	17	317	17	347
18	198	18	228	18	258	18	288	18	318	18	348
19	199	19	229	19	259	19	289	19	319	19	349
20	200	20	230	20	260	20	290	20	320	20	350
21	201	21	231	21	261	21	291	21	321	21	351
22	202	22	232	22	262	22	292	22	322	22	352
23	203	23	233	23	263	23	293	23	323	23	353
24	204	24	234	24	264	24	294	24	324	24	354
25	205	25	235	25	265	25	295	25	325	25	355
26	206	26	236	26	266	26	296	26	326	26	356
27	207	27	237	27	267	27	297	27	327	27	357
28	208	28	238	28	268	28	298	28	328	28	358
29	209	29	239	29	269	29	299	29	329	29	359
30	210	30	240	30	270	30	300	30	330	30	360

Epagomene

1=361

2=362

3=363

4=364

5=365

<i>Thoth</i>	<i>Phaophi</i>	<i>Hathyr</i>	<i>Choiak</i>
1	366	396	426
2	367	397	427
3	368	398	428
4	369	399	429
5	370	400	430
6	371	401	431
7	372	402	432
8	373	403	433
9	374	404	434
10	375	405	435
11	376	406	436
12	377	407	437
13	378	408	438
14	379	409	439
15	380	410	440
16	381	411	441
17	382	412	442
18	383	413	443
19	384	414	444
20	385	415	445
21	386	416	446
22	387	417	447
23	388	418	448
24	389	419	449
25	390	420	450
26	391	421	451
27	392	422	452
28	393	423	453
29	394	424	454
30	395	425	455
31	396	426	456
32	397	427	457
33	398	428	458
34	399	429	459
35	400	430	460
36	401	431	461
37	402	432	462
38	403	433	463
39	404	434	464
40	405	435	465
41	406	436	466
42	407	437	467
43	408	438	468
44	409	439	469
45	410	440	470
46	411	441	471
47	412	442	472
48	413	443	473
49	414	444	474
50	415	445	475
51	416	446	476
52	417	447	477
53	418	448	478
54	419	449	479
55	420	450	480
56	421	451	481
57	422	452	482
58	423	453	483
59	424	454	484
60	425	455	485
61	426	456	486
62	427	457	487
63	428	458	488
64	429	459	489
65	430	460	490
66	431	461	491
67	432	462	492
68	433	463	493
69	434	464	494
70	435	465	495
71	436	466	496
72	437	467	497
73	438	468	498
74	439	469	499
75	440	470	500
76	441	471	501
77	442	472	502
78	443	473	503
79	444	474	504
80	445	475	505
81	446	476	506
82	447	477	507
83	448	478	508
84	449	479	509
85	450	480	510
86	451	481	511
87	452	482	512
88	453	483	513
89	454	484	514
90	455	485	515
91	456	486	516
92	457	487	517
93	458	488	518
94	459	489	519
95	460	490	520
96	461	491	521
97	462	492	522
98	463	493	523
99	464	494	524
100	465	495	525

CONSULATES IN THE PAPYRI, 284-641

PERPETUAL CALENDAR

This table is based on that in Grumel 1958: 316.

Explanation	1																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																
<p>This calendar enables the user to find and to verify the day in a week for any given date.</p> <p>It consists of 4 tables, viz:</p> <p>(1) The numbers of days within a month, including the months of January and February in leap years.</p> <p>(2) The 'litterae dominicae' belonging to days in the week (Friday — Thursday); the weekdays can be arrived at via these 'litterae'.</p> <p>(3) The centuries, i.e. the first digit or digits of dates, serving to mark the century.</p> <p>(4) The years, i.e. the last two digits of dates, serving to mark the year. E.g.: '1073' = '10' (century) + '73' (year).</p> <p>Method of use:</p> <p>After having found in table 1 the number of the day of the month and in table 4 the number of the year of any given century, one goes vertically down in the column of the day of the month and one follows the line of the year horizontally from the left to the right, until the two lines meet in table 2. This yields a 'littera dominica'. E.g.: a straight line going down from May 14, and a horizontal line going to the right from year '33' meet in table 2 under Friday, 'B'. This letter is then looked up in the same table 2 under the line of the century indicated in the date. May 14, 633 will, with letter 'B' indeed be on a Friday, but May 14 in the year 533, in combination with the letter 'B', will fall on a Saturday, in the year 433 on a Sunday, in the year 333 on a Monday, in the year 233 on a Tuesday, in the year 133 on a Wednesday, and in the year 33 on a Thursday.</p> <p>One can also find out the precise year of a text, if one knows a century, a month, a day and a precise weekday (e.g.: in which years of the 7th century fell a date to 'January 13' on a 'Friday'). As one knows the century (in the given case covering all years between 600 - 699), one looks in table 3 for the number '6' and proceeds from there to the right, where one finds the letter 'B' under Friday. Then one looks for the same letter 'B' under the prolonged vertical line starting with 'January 13'. All years on the same horizontal line are applicable, i.e. the years 601, 607, 612, 618, 629, 635, etc.</p>	<p>Days in the month</p> <table style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>January</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td></tr> <tr><td>October</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>February</td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>March</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>November</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>April</td><td></td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>July</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td></tr> <tr><td>leap January</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>May</td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>June</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>August</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>leap February</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>September</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>December</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>31</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	January	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	October	15	16	17	18	19	20	21		22	23	24	25	26	27	28		29	30	31					February			1	2	3	4		March	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	November	12	13	14	15	16	17	18		19	20	21	22	23	24	25		26	27	28	29	30	31		April		2	3	4	5	6	7	July	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	leap January	16	17	18	19	20	21	22		23	24	25	26	27	28	29		30	31						May			1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10	11	12	13		14	15	16	17	18	19	20		21	22	23	24	25	26	27		28	29	30	31				June				1	2	3			4	5	6	7	8	9	10		11	12	13	14	15	16	17		18	19	20	21	22	23	24		25	26	27	28	29	30		August				1	2	3	4	leap February	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		13	14	15	16	17	18	19		20	21	22	23	24	25	26		27	28	29	30	31			September					1	2		December	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10	11	12	13	14	15	16		17	18	19	20	21	22	23		24	25	26	27	28	29	30		31						
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APPENDIX D

APPEARANCES OF CONSULATES IN THE PAPYRI 284–641

This list aims to include all references to consulates appearing in the Greek and Latin papyri found in Egypt from the accession of Diocletian to the end of Byzantine rule. Consulates which cannot be identified with reasonable probability are excluded. In the interest of simplifying the list, a number of limitations have been adopted, and readers are asked to note the following:

1. For each year in which there are attestations of consulates, this is divided into post-consulates of the consuls of the preceding year and the consulate of the consuls currently in office. References to a postconsulate are given first.

2. Within a rubric, we give first what we regard as the standard Greek form of the titulature (omitting words like *ὑπατείας*), followed by the references, in chronological order, to places in which this formula occurs. Within parentheses are given the date (5.iv = 5 April of the year in question), the date of the document if that is different, any modifications of the formula in that text, and any necessary remarks. If an exact date is not determinable, no date is given; such citations are given at the end. This procedure is then repeated for other forms of titulature, with the Latin version, if any, given last.

3. For reasons of economy, minor variations of spelling of names and titles are not noted, nor are minor differences in order, in punctuation, nor the use of the article. Unless we judge it crucial, we omit all brackets and dots. In most instances, only one edition of a text, usually the latest critical text (except in a few instances where that differs little from its predecessor and has the disadvantage of lacking commentary) is cited; the reader is referred to the *BL* for other printings of a text. Improvements to the text cited which are germane to the date are in general noted, but we have taken for granted some routine rectifications of detail in *BL*.

4. Papyri using postconsulates which in our judgment belong to a second or later post-consulate without so indicating are assigned in this list according to our opinion. The arguments concerning these texts may be found in Chapter 8.

5. Papyri described by Grenfell and Hunt in *P.Cair.* are included only by way of later full publications. The years of the few texts not included and their numbers are as follows: 318: 10593; 321: 10610; 341: 10690; perhaps 344: 10586 (cf. *P.Abinn.* 58.1); uncertain: 10749.

6. Provenances, in the sense of the *place of writing* (i.e., the nome), are indicated for all papyri, except that all texts with *P.Oxy.* designations are to be assumed to be from the Oxyrhynchite, *P.Panop.* from the Panopolite, *P.Ant.* from the Antinoopolite, and *P.Herm.* from the Hermopolite unless the contrary is indicated.

- 284 Π et I: *ChLA* XI 499 ii.6 (prov. unkn.).
- 285-288 No papyri.
- 289 [Βάσσου και Κωνσταντιανού]: *P.Mich.* X 593 i.18 (prov. unkn.; cf. *BL* 9.162; doc. 312).
- 290 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ δ' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ γ' Σεβαστῶν: *AnalPap* 13 (2001) 31-32 no. 3.1 (prov. unkn.).
[Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ δ' καὶ Μαξιμι]ανοῦ τὸ γ': *P.Mich.* X 593 i.7 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- 291 Τιβεριανοῦ καὶ Δίωνος: *P.Oxy.* IX 1205.14 (14.iv; ed. rest. τὸ β' after Τιβ.); *P.Mich.* X 593 [i.17]; ii.4,18 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- 292 Ἄννιβαλιανῶ: *P.Mich.* X 593 ii.2, 14 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- 293 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ δ': *P.Lips.* I 4.1 and 5.1 (Hermop., 10.ix); *SB* XVIII 13851.12 = *ChLA* XLVI 1433 (Caesarea; 6.xii; Lat.); *P.Cair.Isid.* 35.1 (Arsin., 18.xii; om. Σεβαστοῦ twice); *P.Vind.Sal.* 7.1 (Oxy.; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμῶν, has Σεβαστῶν at end); perhaps *P.Kell.* I Gr. 1.7-8 (Mothite).
[Diocletiano Aug. V et] Maximiano Aug. III: *P.Grenf.* II 110.6 = *ChLA* III 205 (prov. unkn.).
- 294 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων: *P.Oxy.* VI 891.1 (*ca* vi; cf. *BL* 7.131); *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.13 (Arsin., 21.viii); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4597.1 (19.xi); *P.Oxy.* I 23 verso (adds Σεβαστῶν); perhaps *BGU* VII 1644.1 (Arsin.), *P.Kell.* I Gr. 1.7-8 (Mothite) and *P.NYU* II 25.i.1, ii.20 = *ZPE* 140 (2002) 132 (Oxy.).
Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ: *P.Mich.* X 593 i.6 (prov. unkn.; largely rest.; doc. 312).
- 295 Νουμμίου Τούσκου καὶ Ἄννιου Ἄνυλλεῖνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Oxy.* I 43 recto vi.25 (i-ii); *P.Oxy.* I 23 verso; *P.Lips.* I 29.19 (Hermop.).
Τούσκω καὶ Ἄνυλλεῖνω: *BGU* III 858.1 (Arsin., 11.x; cf. *BL* 8.35); *P.Mich.* X 593 ii.3,7,10; iii.4 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
Anonymous ref.: *P.Oxy.* VIII 1121.1 (8.ii; cf. *ZPE* 84 [1990] 44-46).
- 296 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2849.8 (21.v); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 26.1 (Oxy., 13.vi; adds αὐτοκράτορος bef. Διοκλ.); *P.Michael.* 23a.1 (prov. unkn., 9.ix; adds αὐτοκράτορος before Διοκλ.); *P.Oxy.* LV 3802.1 (31.x); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3184a.1 (x-xi; adds αὐτοκράτορος before Διοκλ., om. τὸ β'); *PSI* IX 1071.1 (Oxy., 29.viii-31.xii; om. Σεβ., τοῦ . . . Καίς.); *SB* VI 9502.1 (Oxy.); *P.Stras.* IV 261.1 (Oxy.).
Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τὸ β': *P.Mich.* X 593 iii.1 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- 297 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3184 b.1 (8.i; Κωνσταντίου for 2nd Μαξ.!); *SB* XVIII 13309.1 (Hermop., 3.ii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 81.1 (Arsin., 9.iv); *SB* XIV 12190.1 (prov. unkn., 14567.1.32 (Oxy., 30.24 and 28.19, line 1 has κυρίων καὶ Σεβαστῶν); *P.Palmer.* 2.10 (22.v.

17. vii; om. ἐπιφ.); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4489.1 (5.viii; αὐτοκρ.); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3245.1 (i-viii; adds αὐτοκρ. bef. Μαξ.).
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ β': *P.Mich.* X 593 ii.1,9,19 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
 DD. NN. Maximiano Aug. V et Maximiano Caesare II: *P.Mich.* X 592 = *ChLA* V 298 ii.7 (prov. unkn.; doc. 311-324).
- 298 Ἀνικίου Φαύστου καὶ Οὐίριου Γάλλου: *P.Wisc.* II 58.3, 59.3 (Arsin., 5.iv); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1705.22 (6.vii); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1704.24 (1.i-29.viii); *P.Mich.* IX 548.22 (Arsin., 6.ix); *P.Oxy.* XII 1469.24 (cf. *BL* 9.186; ed. rest. Παυλίνου τὸ β').
 Φαύστου καὶ Γάλλου: *P.Oxy.* XIV 1643.19 (11.v); *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.26 (Panop., 5.viii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 2.25 (Arsin., 1.xii); *P.Sakaon* 76.15 (Arsin., xi-xii); *P.Mich.* X 593 ii.8,11; iii.7,(8) (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- 299 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ': *SB* VIII 9833.1 (Oxy., 2.v; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ., Σεβ. at end); *P.Laur.* III 67.1 (Oxy., 17.vii; adds αὐτοκρ.? Σεβ. at end); *P.Oxy.* IX 1204.1,11 (19.viii; in 1, αὐτοκρ. bef. Διοκλ., Σεβ. at end); *P.Cair.Isid.* 3.1, 4.1, 5.1 = *ChLA* XLI 1199, 1200, 1203 (all Arsin., 12.ix); *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.40 (Panop., 31.xii; δεσπ. for κυρ., Σεβ. at end; see index for other refs. to same day); cf. *P.Laur.* IV 154.10 (Oxy.; like *P.Laur.* III 67?).
 τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρ. Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβ.: *PSI* XIII 1338.1 (Oxy., 11.x, 10.x ed.).
 Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ': *P.Mich.* X 593 ii.16; iii.2 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312; 2nd consul om. in iii.2).
- 300 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ': *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.37,58 (Panop., 1.i; δεσποτῶν; doc. 30.i); *P.Sakaon* 2.1 (Arsin., 14.i); 3.1 (i); *P.Col.* VII 179.1 (Arsin., 5.ii); *SB* IV 7338.3 (Lykop., vi-vii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 112.1 (Arsin., i-viii); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3141.1 (i-viii); *SB* XXII 15794.9 (Arsin., 22.xii; doc. d. ii-iii.301; much restored); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3301.1; *P.Harr.* II 207.1n. (Oxy.; restored).
 Κωνσταντίω καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ τὸ γ': *P.Mich.* X 593 ii.6 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- 301 Ποστουμίου Τιτιανοῦ καὶ Οὐίριου Νεπωτιανοῦ: *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3304.3 (6.vi; cf. *BL* 9.202); *P.Flor.* I 3.23 (Hermop., vii-viii; cf. *BL* 8.123-124); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 2.1 (Mothite, vii-viii); *PSI* IX 1037.5 (Oxy., i-viii; cf. *BL* 9.319); cf. also *P.Leid.Inst.* 100.9 (prov. unkn.).
 Τιτιανοῦ καὶ Νεπωτιανοῦ: *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2859.30 (10.xi).
- 302 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ δ': *P.NYU* I 20.1 = *P.Mich.* XII, pp. 38-40 (Arsin., i-iii); *P.Corn.* 20.1 etc. (Arsin., 23.ix); *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.20 (Arsin., ref. on 31.x to 31.v; δεσποτῶν).
 Οὐαλερίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ δ: *SB* VI 9309 verso (sic) (prov. unkn.).
- 303 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ ζ': *P.Corn.* 20(a).2,21 (Hermop., 23.v); *P.Sakaon* 96 = *SB* VIII 9917.1 (Arsin., 15.vii; adds Σεβ. after each); *P.Wisc.* II 61.1 (Oxy., 24.xii; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ., Σεβ. at end); *SB* XIV 11614.1 = *P.Leid.Inst.* 59.1 (Oxy.); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3727.1 (αὐτοκρ.).

- DD. NN. Diocletiano Aug. VIII et Maximiano Aug. VII: *P.Mich.* X 592 = *ChLA* V 298 ii.4 (prov. unkn.; doc. 311-324); *P.Amh.* II 182 = *ChLA* IX 401.4 (prov. unkn.); *ChLA* XIX 684 = *P.Stras.* VII 617.15,19 (Arsin.; cf. Mitthof 2001: 421-424).
- 304 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θ' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η' Σεβαστῶν: *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2187.1 (13.i; mostly lost); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2770.1 (26.i); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2673.1 (5.ii); *P.Oxy.* XII 1551.1 (ii-iii; cf. *BL* 8.247); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4353.1 (14.iv); *Anal-Pap* 13 (2001) 82.2 = *P.Vindob.Bosw.* 5 (Hermop., i-viii); *SB* VI 9269.1 (Arsin., 18.ix; Σεβ. with each; see Rémondon, *CdÉ* 41 [1966] 165-67); *CPR* VII 14.8-9 (Hermop.; cf. *BL* 9.67; doc.d. 28.iv.305).
Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θ': *P.Mich.* X 593 iii.3 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- DD. NN. Diocletiano Aug. VIII et Maximiano Aug. VIII: *P.Mich.* X 592 = *ChLA* V 298 ii.11 (prov. unkn.; doc. 311-324).
- 305 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τὸ ε': *P.Sakaon* 59.1 (Arsin., 11.iii); *P.Wisc.* I 32.1 (Arsin., 26.iv); *CPR* VII 14.6 (Hermop., 28.iv); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3143.1 (27.v or 14.vi); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4122.1 (22.vi); *P.Oxy.* VI 895.1 (v-viii); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2766.1.
τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν τὸ ε': *P.Laur.* IV 168 (prov. unkn.); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2665.1 (adds αὐτοκρ.; or 306).
- 306 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν τὸ ζ': *P.Sakaon* 71.1 (Arsin., 6.iii); *CPR* V 6.1,20 (Hermop., 20.iii; om. in 1 Σεβ. τὸ ζ'); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3728.1 (ii-iii; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ.); *P.Lips.* I 6.1 (Hermop., 16.iv); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1104.1 (29.v; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ.); *P.Sakaon* 60.2 (Arsin., 25.vi); *P.Oxy.* I 102.1 (13.x; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ.); *BGU* I 286.1 (Arsin.); *PSI* VI 716.1 (?) (Oxy.); possibly *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2665.1.
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐν θεοῖς: *P.Col.* X 283.1-2 (Oxy., fall 306).
- 307 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεουήρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α': *P.Mil.* I 55.1 (Oxy., 25.ii; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ.; om. τὸ α'; cf. *BL* 10.119); *P.Sakaon* 64.1 (Arsin., 3.iv; om. τοῦ ἐπιφ.); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3729.2 (4.v; adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ.); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4491 (9.v); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3192.1 (9.v; om. τὸ α'); *P.Oxy.* LX 4074.1 (bef. 20.xi?; for the date cf. *BL* 11.172); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4354.1; *P.Prag.* I 50.1 (prov. unkn.).
Σεουήρου καὶ Μαξιμίνου: *P.Mich.* X 593 ii.21 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου Καίσαρος: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4355.6-7 (20.xi; for the date cf. *ZPE* 123 [1998] 197); *P.Mert.* I 31.12,19 (Arsin., 24.xii); *P.Col.* VII 138.9 (Arsin., 24.xii); *P.Graux* II 17.1 (Arsin., xii); 18.1 (Arsin., xii); 19.1 (Arsin., xii; all Graux texts add ἐπιφ.); *SB* XVIII 13852.4 (?; Hibite; doc. 309).
- 308 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν βασιλέων τὸ ι' καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ': *P.Lond.* III 1133 (p. lix) (prov. unkn., 1.i; cf. *BL* 1.272; Σεβαστῶν [*vidimus*]); *P.Grenf.* II 75.19 (Hibite, 6.i; Αὐγ. for Σεβ.); *P.Sakaon* 15.8,18,27,36 (Arsin., 3-26.ii); *P.Grenf.* II 72.11 (Hibite, 18.ii; Αὐγ. for Σεβ.; cf. *BL* 8.143); *P.Cair.Isid.* 97.15 (Arsin., 14-30.iv); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1645.1 (31.viii); *SB* XX 14587.1,22 (Oxy., 30.ix and 28.ix; line 1 has κυρίων for δεσποτῶν); *P.Panop.* 2.10 (22.x;

- Αὐγ. for βασ. and Σεβ.); *P.Mich.* XV 720.1 (Oxy., ix-xii); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2674.1 (adds αὐτοκρ. after ἡμ.); *P.Lips.* I 18.1 (Hermop.; cf. *BL* 1.205, but restore δέκα]τον in line 25); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 36.11 (Mothite); *P.Bodl.* I 169.19 (Hibite, 4.xi?; or 309?); *SB XVIII* 13852.5 (?; Hibite; doc. 309).
- Διοκλητιανου πατρός τῶν βασιλέων τὸ ι': *P.Mich.* X 593 iii.5,(6) (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- Διοκλητιανου τὸ ι': *P.Mich.* X 593 iii.9 (prov. unkn.; doc. 312).
- τὸ ι' καὶ τὸ ζ': *P.Panop.* 15.5,11,14 (26 and 29.xii).
- DD. NN. Diocletiano patre Augg. X et Gal. Val. Maximiano Aug. VII: *P.Mich.* X 592 = *ChLA V* 298 ii.15 (prov. unkn.; doc. 311-324).
- 309 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανου Λικιννίου Σεβαστου καὶ Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱου Αὐγούστων: *P.Panop.* 15.16 (16.i); *P.Stras.* VI 577.14 = *P.Sakaon* 89 (Arsin., 21.i; Σεβ.); *P.Cair.Isid.* 90.15 (Arsin., 2.iii; om. Οὐαλ. 1st time, Σεβαστου for Αὐγ.); *P.Sakaon* 16.1 (Arsin., 29.iii; Σεβαστων for Αὐγ.); *P.Oxy.* LV 3788.8 (17.iv); *P.Cair.Isid.* 8.1 (Arsin., 14.vi; κυρ., Σεβ.); *P.Oslo* III 86.5 (prov. unkn., 19.vi; βασ.); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2667.15 (22 vi.; at end βασ.); *M.Chr.* 196.15 (Oxy., 2.vii; ed. 307 wrongly, so also C. Vandersleyen, *JJurPap* 13 [1961] 121; *BL* 6.90, 7.123; *BASP* 17 [1980] 16); *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.48 (Arsin., 26.viii; Σεβ.); *P.Hib.* II 219.16 (Herakleop., viii-ix; Σεβ.); *P.Cair.Isid.* 117.8 (Arsin., 15.x; Οὐαλ. om. 2x, Σεβ. for Αὐγ.); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3270.1 (14.ix-15.x); *P.Col.* VII 141.91 (Arsin., 24.xii?; Σεβ.); *P.Berl.Leihg.* 21.13 (Kynop., 31.xii; κυρ., βασ.); *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.15 (Arsin., xii; Σεβ.); *P.Cair.Isid.* 86.13 (Arsin., Σεβ.); *SB XVIII* 13852.10,22,26 (Hibite); *P.Kell.inv.* P.17.A.1 in *P.Kell.* I Gr. 27.2n. (Mothite, om. 1st Οὐαλ., adds τὸ ιS); *BGU XVII* 2699.A.10, B.10 (Hermop., om. 1st Οὐαλ.).
- τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικιννίου Σεβαστου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου υἱου Σεβαστων: *SB XVI* 12289.24 (Arsin., I.viii; formula in line 1 frag.); *P.Cair.Isid.* 91.15 (Arsin., i-v).
- τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστων τὸ αS: *P.Ryl.* IV 616.a.ii.12-13 (Eastern Delta?; order reversed in retrospect; doc. 312 or later? see *BL* 11.190).
- 310 p.c. 309 formula 1, not said to be p.c.: *P.Cair.Isid.* 95.11 (Arsin., 12.i.310 acc. edd.).
- Τατίου Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Πομπηίου Πρόβου τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐπαρχῶν: *P.Sakaon* 1.1 (Arsin., 27.ii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 50.13,29,44 (Arsin., 16.v); *P.Heid.* IV 323 A.12, B.14, C.14 (prov. unkn., 15-24.v); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 41.20 (Mothite, 12.vii; Στατίου); *P.Cair.Isid.* 127.14 (Arsin., 29.vii); 118.9 (Arsin., v-xii); *P.Col.* VII 141.99 (Arsin., 18.x; Στατίου); *P.Panop.* 3.12 (x-xi); *P.Bodl.* I 44.11 (prov. unkn., xi-xii; Στατίου); *P.Cair.Isid.* 69.32 (Arsin.); *P.Panop.* 20.15 (after 27.x; Στ.; om. τῶν ... ἐπ.); *P.Panop.* 24.4 (doc. ca 323-326; Στ.; om. ἐπ.). *SB XIV* 12167.4 (Upper Egypt; frag.; om. Τατ., Πομπ.; doc. 314).
- 311 μ.τ.ὐ. Τατίου Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Πομπηίου Πρόβου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB XVI* 12735.10 (prov. unkn., 2-5.i; cf. *BL* 9.291).
- τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανου Σεβαστου τὸ η' καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου Σεβαστου τὸ β': *P.Cair.Isid.* 119.9 (Arsin., 23.ii); *P.Oxy.* LXV 4480 (26.ii); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1708.20 (3.iv; om. Γαλ. Οὐαλ. 2x, Αὐγούστων at end instead of Σεβ. 2x); *P.Cair.Isid.* 146.1 (Arsin., 14.iv; om. Σεβ. at end); *SB VI* 9214.1 (Oxy., vii); *P.Bodl.* I 167 (Hibite, vii); *P.Col.* X 284.1-2, *SB XXII* 15769 = *P.Heid.* V 344.1 (both

- Oxy., 24-29.viii); *P.Athen.* 40.3 (prov. unkn.; *BL* 6.171); *P.Coll.Youtie* II 79.15 (Arsin.; om. Σεβ. 2x); *P.Vind.Eirene* 7.1 = *SB* XXIV 16095 (Oxy.).
- τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ β': *P.Cair.Isid.* 120.10 (Arsin., 26.viii).
- τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Μαξιμίνου τὸ β': *P.Corn.* 13.24 (Oxy., 12.vii; see *ZPE* 6 [1970] 181-82, 22 [1976] 46 n. 13 and *BL* 7.40; κυρίου for δεσπ.); *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2668.23 (22.viii); *BGU* III 928.24 (Herakleop.; see refs. for *P.Corn.* 13); *P.Rain.Cent.* 83.13 (Hermop.).
- Μαξιμίνου τὸ β': *P.Cair.Isid.* 13.25,32; 16.3 (both Arsin., 4.xii).
- D.N. Galerio Valerio Maximino Augusto II: *P.Mich.* X 592 = *ChLA* V 298 ii.18 (prov. unkn.; doc. 311-324).
- 312 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννιανοῦ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ β': *P.Sakaon* 18.1 (Arsin., 28.iv; cf. *BASP* 17 [1980] 12); *P.Princ.Roll* i.19 (Arsin., 22.v); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3732.1, 3733.1, 3734.1, 3735.1 (all 25.v); *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.93,106 (Arsin., 15.viii in 106; in 93, Λικ. Λικ. reversed); *PSI* VII 820.1 (Arsin., 29.viii); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3737.1, 3738.1, 3739.1, 3740.1 (all 27.ix); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3736.1.
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβ. τὸ β': *P.Flor.* I 31.13 (Hermop., 22.ii; adds αὐτοκρ. bef. Σεβ.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3981.21 (ii-iii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 94.17 (Arsin., 4.v); *P.Sakaon* 5.62 = *P.Stras.* I 45 (Arsin., 22.viii); *P.NYU* 4a.13 (Arsin., 4.xi); *P.Cair.Isid.* 121.11 (Arsin., 17.ix); 52.8 (20.x); *P.Cair.Isid.* 11.69 (Arsin., 4.xii; κυρίων); *P.Princ.Roll* ii.16 (Arsin., viii-xii); *P.Athen.* 40.8-9 (prov. unkn.; cf. *BL* 6.171); *CPR* XVIIA 1.1 (Hermop.).
- DD. NN. Constantino et Licinio Augg.: *P.Sakaon* 38 = *ChLA* XXV 778.31 (Arsin., 17.viii.312).
- 313 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου καὶ Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστῶν τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3305.1 (16.iii); *P.Princ.Roll* iii.1 (Arsin., 17.vi; om. Γαλ. Οὐαλ., Φλ. Οὐαλ.); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3144.1 (23.vii); *P.Sakaon* 6.13 = *PSI* IX 1038 (Arsin., 28.vii; om. Γαλ. Οὐαλ., Φλ. Οὐαλ.); *P.Ryl.* IV 619.7 (Hermop.; frag.).
- τοῦ δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Φλ. Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγ. τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* LIV 3741 introd.
- τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ γ': *P.Cair.Isid.* 103.20 (Arsin., 13.ix); *BGU* II 408.19 (Arsin., 22.xi; Λικιννιανού; om. τὸ γ'); *P.Bodl.* I 103 (prov. unkn., 24.xi); *BGU* II 409.13 (Arsin., 25.xi; Λικιννιανού?); *BGU* I 349.14 (Arsin., 26.xi; Λικιννιανού).
- 314 μ.τ.ὐ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ γ': *P.Cair.Isid.* 54.15 (Arsin., 15.i); *P.Lond.* III 975.20 (p. 230) (Hermop./Antinoop., 15.i; *BL* 1.290); *PSI* VII 820.43 (Arsin., 17.ii); *P.Amst.* I 44.1 (Oxy.).
- Ῥουφίου Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου Ἀννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Cair.Isid.* 16.46 (Arsin., 19.ii); *PSI* VII 820.31 (Arsin., 23.ii); *SB* XXIV 15914.18 (Arsin., 28.ii); *CPR* I 233.11 = *W.Chr.* 42 (Hermop., 19.iii); *ZPE* 133 (2000) 177 no. 4.13 (3.iv); *PSI* VII 820.46 (Arsin., 16.iv); *SB* XIV 12167.13 (Upper Egypt, 30.iv); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3982.16 (5.v), 3983.1,12 (7.v); *P.Harrauer* 38.7 (Hermop., 17.v); *BGU* II 411.9 (Arsin., 27.v); *P.Gen.*² I 13.8 (Arsin., 9.vi); *P.Select.* XIII 7 A.14 (Oxy., 14?.vi); *P.Princ.Roll* iv.20 (Arsin., 24.vi); *P.Cair.Isid.* 128.18 (Arsin., vi-vii); *CPR* XVIIA 3.38 (Hermop., 23.viii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 13.57 (Arsin., 31.vii); *CPR* VIII 22.3 (Hermop., post 10.ix; adds τὸ α'); *P.Princ.Roll* iii.10 (Arsin., 1.viii); *P.Col.* VII 141a.1 (Arsin., 9.viii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 55.7 (Arsin., 20.viii); *PSI* VII 820.81 (Arsin.,

- 14.ix); *SB XVI* 13004.1 (Mendesian, 17.ix); *P.Panop.* 4.18 (19.x); *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.7 (Arsin., 5.xi); 55.12 (Arsin., 18.xi); *P.Sakaon* 49 = *P.Flor.* I 54.16 (Arsin., 2.xii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 92.15 (Arsin., 11.xii); 53.28 (Arsin., 29.viii-31.xii; ed. rest. at end ἐπάρχων); *CPR XVIIA* 4.1 (Hermop., 29.viii-31.xii); *SB XVI* 12705.11 (prov. unkn.); *P.Panop.* 23.15 (314?).
- Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Ἀννιανοῦ: *SB XIV* 12167.36 (Upper Egypt, 30.iv); *P.Panop.* 21.16 (16.vii; doc. 26.v.315). Ρουφίου καὶ Ἀννιανοῦ: *PSI VII* 820.72 (Arsin., 8.viii).
- 315 μ.τ.ὑ. Ρουφίου Οὐολουσιανοῦ καὶ Πετρωνίου Ἀννιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Hamb.* I 21.15 (Oxy., 30.i).
- τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ δ': *P.Princ.Roll* v.1 (Arsin., 12.ii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 84 = *JJurPap* 30 (2000) 74-75.26 (Arsin., 27.iii); *P.Panop.* 21.1 (26.v); *P.Lond.* III 976.11 (p. 230) (prov. unkn., i-v); *P.Princ.Roll* v.6 (Arsin., 4.vii); vi.10 (Arsin., 27.vii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.19 (Arsin., 28.vii); *P.Col.* X 285.i.1, ii.30-31 (Oxy., 6.viii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 57.31 (Arsin., 12.ix); 58.20 (Arsin., 17.ix); *P.Sakaon* 19.13 (Arsin., 1.x); *P.Princ.Roll* viii.1 (Arsin., 11.x); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2585.1 (x-xi); XLV 3255.1 = *P.Coll.Youtie* II 80 (7.xi); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 34.19 (Mothite, 27.xi); *P.Mert.* II 91.19 (Arsin., 27.xii; doc. 31.i.316, cf. *BL* 6.79). *PSI VIII* 893.1 (Arsin.; or restore p.c.?); *SB XVI* 12340.10 (Hermop.; cf. *ZPE* 115 [1997] 210).
- DD.NN. Constantino et Licinio Aug. IV: *P.Cair.Isid.* 74.21 (Arsin., 27.xii).
- 316 μ.τ.ὑ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβ. τὸ δ': *P.Oxy.* XVII 2113.27 (i). Καικινίου (or Καικίνα) Σαβείνου καὶ Οὐεττίου Ρουφίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Princ.Roll* ix.1 (Arsin., 22.i); *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.7 (Arsin., 26.i); *P.Mert.* II 91.4 (Arsin., 31.i, cf. *BL* 6.79); *P.Harrauer* 45.7 (Hermop., 5.ii; Καικίνα); *SB III* 6003.14 (Oxy., 21.ii); *P.Oxy.* I 53.12 (25.ii); *P.Princ.Roll* iv.27 (Arsin., 27.ii); *P.Oxy.* VI 896.19, 35 (1.iv); *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.17 (Arsin., 14.iv); *SB XIV* 11278.13 (Oxy., 15.iv); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2124.18 (i-iv); *CPR XVIIA* 5a.10 and 5b.10 (both Hermop., 20.v; Καικίνα); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2232.16 (v-vi); *P.Princ.Roll* vi.21 (Arsin., 1.viii); *P.Gen.*² I 10.20 (Herakleop., 8.viii; cf. *BL* 1.157-58); *P.Oxy.* XVII 2114.18 (10.viii); *P.Oxy.* I 103.22 (13.x); *P.Mich.* IX 573.25 (Arsin., 19.x); *P.Bad.* II 27.11 (Hermop.?, 28.x); *P.Oxy.* I 84.19 (1.xi); *CPR XIX* 1.5 (Hermop.; Καικίνα); *P.Stras.* IV 278.1 (prov. unkn.); *P.Laur.* IV 176.19 (Oxy.?). *PSI VII* 771.6 (Oxy.; doc. 321). For the variation in the spelling of Caecina, see *CPR XVIIA* 5a.10-11n.
- Σαβείνου καὶ Ρουφίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Cair.Isid.* 76.8; *P.Col.* VII 169.3, 170.9 (all Arsin., ii-iii; docs. 318, om. τῶν λαμπρ.); *SB XVIII* 13108.14 (prov. unkn., 21.v); *P.Cair.Isid.* 75.22 (Arsin., 24.x); *P.Sakaon* 19.29 (Arsin.).
- Sabino et Rufino: *PSI I* 112 = *ChLA XXV* 781.8 (Oxy.).
- 317 Ὀουινίου Γαλλικανοῦ καὶ Καισιωνίου Βάσσου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Col.* X 286.10 (Oxy., 24.iv; cf. *Historia* 16 [1967] 252-254); *P.Princ.Roll* viii.20 (Arsin., 2.vii; cf. *BL* 6.138); *P.Vind.Worp* 8.15 = *CPR XVIIA* 7 i.14 (Hermop., 22.viii); *CPR XVIIA* 7 ii.15 (Hermop., 25.viii); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3742.14 (26.xi); *P.Lond.* III 1290 (p. lxxi; cf. p. 336) (prov. unkn.).
- Γαλλικανοῦ καὶ Βάσσου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Sakaon* 50.8 (Arsin., 8.i; error for p.c.?); *P.Giss.* 102.14 (prov. unkn., i); *P.Cair.Isid.* 123.11 (Arsin.).
- Gallicano et Basso vv. cc.: *SPP XX* 284 = *CEpist.Lat.* 221 (prov. unkn.).

- 318 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κρίσπου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α': *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2675.1 (15.i); *P.Oxy.* XII 1425.1 (13.iv); *SB* X 10728.1 (Oxy., 19.iv); *P.Harr.* II 211.14 (Oxy., 26.iv); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4124 i.1, ii.1 (iv-v); *P.Cair.Isid.* 59.25, 31 (Arsin., 9 and 17.vii); *P.Col.* VII 170.6 (Arsin., 16.vii); *P.Cair.Isid.* 76.5 (Arsin., 16.vii); 82.16 (Arsin., 26.vii); *P.Got.* 5.11 (Panop., 12.viii; ed. 19.viii; cf. *BL* 7.61); *P.Princ.Roll* x.11 (Arsin., 13.viii); *P.Sakaon* 39.21 (Arsin., 7.ix); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3257.1 (10.xi); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3743.1; 3744.1; 3745.1; *CPR* XXIII 24.7 (Herakleop.).
- 319 μ.τ.ὑ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Λικιννίου Σεβ. τὸ ε' καὶ Κρίσπου τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ α': *P.Col.* VII 185.17 (Arsin., 21.i).
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Λικιννίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α': *P.Sakaon* 20.11 (Arsin., 19.i); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3746.18,44 (23-25?.iii); LIV 3748.1, 3749.1, 3750.1, 3751.1, 3752.1, 3753.1 (all 26.iii, om. ἐπιφ.); *PSI XVII Congr.* 28.1 (Oxy.?, prob. i-v); *P.Princ.Roll* x.23 (Arsin., 25.vi); *SB* XVI 12530.19 (Mothite, 4.vii; adds ἀηττήτου bef. Σεβ.); *P.Oxy.* LXII 4341.1 (24.vii); *SB* XIV 11496.13 (Oxy., 16.x); *P.Cair.Isid.* 60.17 (Arsin., 2.xii); *P.NYU* 4a.17 (Arsin., 21.xii); *SB* VI 9219.1,7 (Hermop., 27.xii); *P.Sakaon* 21.9,38 (Arsin., 30 and 31.xii); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3258.1 (αὐτοκρ. for Σεβ.), 3259.1 (both 30.viii-31.xii); *SB* XIV 12013 (prov. unkn.; uncert. rest.); *SB* XX 14585.1 (prov. unkn.).
- 320 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α': *PSI* V 454.1 (Oxy., i-ii); *P.Sakaon* 21.20 (Arsin., 9.ii); *SB* V 7667.20 (prov. unkn., 17.ii); *SB* XX 14379.1 (Arsin., 14.iii); *P.Col.* VII 188.1 (Arsin., 14.iii); *CPR* XVIIA 9b.1 (Hermop., 7/17.iv); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 37.15 (Mothite, 15.v or 19.ii?); *P.Genova* 21.24 (Mothite, 25.vii; τοῦ ἀηττήτου); *P.Sakaon* 7.14 (Arsin., 23.viii; om. τοῦ ἐπιφ.); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3755.19 (27.ix); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 51, intro. (Mothite, 1.x?; much restored), 52.8 (1.x); *P.Lips.* I 19.1 (Hermop., 25.x; uncert. rest.); *P.Panop.* 11.11 (27.xi); *CPR* V 8.1 (Hermop., 29.viii-31.xii); *CPR* XVIIA 10.1 and 11.1 (both Hermop., ix-xii), 12.00, 13.000 (both Hermop., ix-xii; both rest.); *CPR* XVIIA 14.1 (Hermop.); *P.Cair. Isid.* 77.31 (Arsin., om. τοῦ ἐπιφ.); *P.Sakaon* 21.55 (Arsin., rest.); *P.Princ.Roll* xi.7 (Arsin., rest.); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3754.1; *P.Oxy.* LX 4076.1 (mostly restored); *SB* XXII 15778.6 (Arsin.; very fragm.); *CPR* XXIII 26.12 (Hermop.).
[DD. NN. Constantino Aug. VI et Constantino no]b. Caes. I: *ChLA* IV 254 = *P.Sakaon* 33.1 (Arsin., 3.vi.320; very fragm.; *ChLA* restores Const. Aug. VI and Licin. Caes. I [319] but dates to 321).
- 321 μ.τ.ὑ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφαν. Καίσαρος τὸ α': *P.Kell.* I Gr. 21.23 (Mothite, 6.i).
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Λικιννίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β': *CPR* XVIIA 15.14 (Hermop., 22.ii; doc. written later in year); *P.Got.* 6.16 (Panop., 10.iii); *P.Vind.Worp* 3 = *CPR* XVIIA 16.8 (Hermop., 29.iii); *SB* XXII 15799.2 (Hermop., 23.v or 22.vi?); *SB* I 4223.11 (Koptite, 26.v; inscr.; cf. *SEG* 34 [1984] 1598); *SPP* XX 80 = *CPR* XVIIA 17a and 17b.12 (Hermop., 29.v); *SB* XII 11154.1 (Oxy., v-vi); *P.Princ.Roll* xii.7 (Arsin., 5.vii); *CPR* XVIIA 18.1 (Hermop., 24.vii); *P.Oxy.* VI 900.1 (30.vii); *SB* VI 9544.14 (Panop., 24.viii; see *BL* 7.210); *SPP* XX 78 = *CPR* XVIIA 19.1 (Hermop., 20.xii); *P.Sakaon* 67.18 (Arsin., viii-xii); *PSI* VII 771.1 (Oxy.; year uncert.; 322?); *P.Vind.Tand.* 7.5

(Hermop.?, year uncert.: 322?); *P.Cair.Preis.* 8 = *CPR* XVIII 22.1 (Hermop.); *SPP* XX 79.4 (Hermop.); *CPR* XVIII 20.1 and 21.1 (both Hermop.).
 DD. NN. Licinio Aug. VI et Licinio nob. Caes. II: *P.Sakaon* 34.1 (Arsin., 12.xii).

322-324 During these years an era dating from the postconsulate of the Licinii was in use; references are given below for each year. The formulas found differ between the Thebaid and the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite. The following table, adapted from *ZPE* 10 (1971) 124 shows the geographical divisions.

Year	Thebaid	Arsinoite/Oxyrhynchite
322	Postconsulate of the Licinii + μέλλουσιν υπάτοις δευτέρα άμοιβή	(Postconsulate of the Licinii +) τοίς άποδειχθησομένοις υπάτοις τὸ β'
323	τρίτον μέλλουσιν υπάτοις τρίτον έσομένοις υπάτοις	(Postconsulate of the Licinii +) τοίς άποδειχθησομένοις υπάτοις τὸ γ'
324	τέταρτον μέλλουσιν υπάτοις	τοίς έσομένοις υπάτοις τὸ δ'

322 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ήμ. Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καί Λικιννίου τοῦ έπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ β', μέλλουσιν υπάτοις δευτέρα άμοιβή: *P.Panop.* 26.15 (28.ii); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3123.16 (29.iii; cf. *P.Oxy.* XLV, p. xviii); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4125 i.1, ii.1 (29.iii); *SB* XX 15026 (Hermop., 18.iv); *P.Princ.Roll* xii.17 (Arsin., 14.viii; ... τοίς άποδειχθησομένοις ... τὸ β'); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3122.1 (... τοίς άποδειχθησομένοις ... τὸ β'); *CPR* XVIII 23.1 (Hermop., n.d.); *AnalPap* 10-11 (1998/9) 73.1 (Oxy.; or 323?; largely rest., numeral lost; om. έπιφ.); *P.Harr.* II 212.1 (Oxy.; numeral lost; or 323?); *SB* XIV 11611.1 (Thebaid?).
 τοίς άποδειχθησομένοις υπάτοις τὸ β': *P.Col.* VII 143.12 (Arsin., 2.vii).

323 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ήμ. Λικκιννίου Σεβ. τὸ ε' καί Λικκιννίου τοῦ έπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ β', τοίς άποδειχθ. υπάτοις τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* I 42.8 (18.i). *AnalPap* 10-11 (1998/9) 72-73.1 (Oxy.; largely rest., 322 poss.; ... [τοίς άποδειχθησομένοις] υπάτοις τὸ [.]].
 τοίς άποδειχθησομένοις υπάτοις τὸ γ': *P.Col.* VII 143.20 (Arsin., 28.ii); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2767.1 (29.iii); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3194.1 (29.iv); *P.Cair.Isid.* 61.7, 22 (Arsin., 17.v), 24, 31 (24.v), 36 (27.vii); *P.Oxy.* I 60.12 (17.viii); *P.Oslo* III 138.1 (Oxy., 17.xii); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3260.1 (30.viii-31.xii); *XLI* 2969; *P.Princ.Roll* xiii.7 (Arsin.; numeral rest.); *SB* XXII 15800.16 (Hermop.).

τρίτον μέλλουσιν υπάτοις: *P.Panop.* 27.25 (iv-v).
 τοίς έσομένοις έκ τρίτου υπάτοις: *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2771.1 (24.vi).
 τοίς έσομένοις υπάτοις τὸ γ': *P.Neph.* 48.1 (Herakleop., 15.ix, cf. *BL* 9.174; largely restored).
 τρίτον έσομένοις υπάτοις: *P.Herm.* 18.2 (6.xii).
 τής [τρίτον] έσομένης μετά ταύτην υπατείας: *P.Vind.Sal.* 8.23 (Hermop., 1.i; cf. p.203. Doubtful rest.).

323 or 324 — μέλλουσιν υπάτοις: *PSI* XII 1233.30 (Panop., 6/7.ix; cf. *BL* 7.241).

324 τοίς έσομένοις υπάτοις τὸ δ': *P.Cair.Isid.* 78.19 (Arsin., 30.i); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 22.2 (Mothite, 6-12.ii); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 44.1 (Oxy., ii-iii; cf. *BL* 8.276); *P.Sakaon* 51.28 (Arsin., 6.v); *SB* XX 14300 = *PSI* IV 300.1 (Oxy., 8.v); *P.Mert.* II 92.25 (Arsin., 31.v); *P.Col.* VII 171.21 (Arsin.,

- 6.vi); *P.Princ.Roll* xiv.11 (Arsin., 29.vi); *P.Oxy.* XII 1430.1 (31.vii); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4359.1-2 (16.viii); *P.Sakaon* 22.12, 24, 30, 40, 42 (Arsin., 5-8.ix); *BGU* II 586.29 (Arsin.; cf. *BL* 7.13); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 56.3 (Mothite); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3261.1.
- τέταρτον μέλλουσιν ὑπάτ.: *P.Ant.* I 39.1 (7.ii; cf. *BL* 4.2, 7.6, *ZPE* 10 [1973] 122); *P.Panop.* 16.6; *P.Harr.* II 214 i.1 (Oxy.; cf. ii.14).
- τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* VI 889 = *SB* XVI 12306.11 (12.xii; mostly rest., see *AncSoc* 7 [1976] 301-08); *P.Sakaon* 23.13 (Arsin., 24.xii); *SEG* XLI (1991) 1612 = *SB* XX 14508.1 (Thebes, 27/28.xii; inscr.; adds εὐγενεστάτων bef. ἐπιφ.); *SB* XVI 12673.1 (Hermop.?; or p.c., i-ii.325); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3758.203 (retrosp., doc. d. 15.iii.325); *ZPE* 128 (1999) 154.1 (Thebaid, prob. Hermop.; or p.c., i-ii.325).
- 325 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισάρων τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* X 1261.1 (13.i).
- Πρόκλου καὶ Παυλίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Oxy.* LIV 3756.26 (i-ii; om. τῶν λαμπρ.); 3758.39 (3.iii; om. τῶν λαμπρ.); 3758.132 (17.iii?); XLIII 3125.9 (iii-iv; see ed. note).
- Οὐ[αλερίου Πρόκλου καὶ Ἀνικίου Παυλίνου] τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* XVI 12306.11 = *P.Oxy.* VI 889 (24.v).
- Ἀνικίου Παυλίνου καὶ Καίωνιου Ἰουλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Stras.* III 138.17 (Hermop., vi-vii; cf. *BL* 9.325); *P.Charite* 13.39 (Hermop., 23.ix; cf. *BL* 9.56); *P.Stras.* III 137.19 (Hermop., 27.ix; cf. *BL* 9.325).
- Παυλίνου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LIV 3757.1 (13.iii; later copy); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1626.23 (26.v); *P.Haum.* III 55.18 (Arsin., 16.vi); *P.Sakaon* 24.11 (Arsin., 28.vi); *P.Oxy.* I 52.1 (vii-viii; cf. *BL* 7.126); *P.Col.* VII 176.18 (Arsin., 8.ix); *P.Vind.Sijp.* 3.18 (Hermop., 21.ix; cf. *BL* 5.61); *P.Sakaon* 68.26 (Arsin., 2.x); *P.Lond.* III 977.17 (p. 231) (Antinoop., 21.vi; doc. 330).
- 326 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α': *P.Oxy.* LI 3620.1 (2.ii); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3265.1 = *P.Coll.Youtie* II 81 (vi-vii; om. Σεβ.); *P.NYU* II 23.17 = *ZPE* 140 (2002) 129 (Arsin., 13.viii); *P.Sakaon* 52 = *P.Stras.* III 177.23 (Arsin., 19.viii; om. τοῦ ἐπιφ.); *SB* XIV 11385.1 (Arsin., 7.ix; ἀνδριστάτου); *SB* XX 14301 = *P.Col.* X 287 i.19, ii.37 (Oxy., 19.ix); *SB* XVIII 14056.1 = *P.Stras.* 296 (Hermop., 19.xi); *P.Col.* VII 177.20 (Arsin., 31.xii); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3249.1 (ix-xii; Αὐγ.); *P.Amh.* II 138.20 (Arsin., late 326, see *BL* 7.5); *SB* XVI 11938, p. 360 bottom = *SB* XX 14884 (Hibite, various dates); *P.Stras.* 316 recto (prov. unkn.); *P.Princ.* II 79.1 (Oxy.); *Baillet* 1889 (Thebes, om. τῶν δεσπ., ἐπιφ.). Cf. below, s.a. 354, for *P.Laur.* IV 169.
- 327 Φλ. Κωνσταντίου καὶ Οὐαλερίου Μαξίμου τῶν λαμπρ. ἐπάρχων: *P.Oxy.* LX 4078.1 (9.ii); *SB* XVI 12543.17 = *PSI* IV 309 (Oxy., 11.ii; om. ἐπ.); *Pack*² 2731 (prov. unkn., 24.iv); *P.Sakaon* 72 = *P.Flor.* I 53.1 (Arsin., 24.vi; cf. *BL* 2.2.57); *SB* IV 7444.17 (Oxy., 3.ix; cf. *ZPE* 132 [2000] 183-184); *P.Sakaon* 25.11 (Arsin., 30.viii; om. Φλ., Οὐαλ.), 13 (7.ix; om. Φλ., Οὐαλ., ἐπ.), 30 (12.ix; om. ἐπ.); *P.Sakaon* 43.30 (Arsin., 7.xi; cf. *BL* 2.2.119; om. ἐπ.); *P.Harr.* II 215 r.1 (Oxy., 29.x-27.xi); *P.Col.* VII 178.16 (Arsin., 20.xii).
- 328 μ.τ.ύ. Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξίμου τῶν λαμπρ. ἐπάρχων: *P.Oxy.* I 83.23 (17.i; frag.; cf. *P.Oxy.* LX 4079 introd.); *P.Sakaon* 62.12 (Arsin., 22.i).

- 321 Φλ. Ἰανουαρίνου καὶ Οὐεττίου Ἰούστου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Kell.* I Gr. 59.1 (Mothite, 27.iii-26.iv; ed. wrongly Φλ(αουίωv) instead of Φλ(αουίου)); *SB* XVIII 13260 (Herakleop., 4.iv); *P.Oxy.* LX 4079.19, 4080.20 (both 3.v); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3126 1.22 (19.viii); *SPP* II, p. 33.16 (Hermop., 24.viii); *P.Sakaon* 65.21 (Arsin., 11.ix; cf. *BL* 8.302); *P.Sakaon* 73.20 (Arsin., 28.ix); *P.Sakaon* 66 = *P.Flor.* I 14.16 (Arsin., 1.x); *PSI* IV 316 (Oxy., ix-x; cf. *BL* 8.397); *P.Sakaon* 26.1 (Arsin.); *SB* XII 11024.21 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 8.365).
- 329 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ δ': *P.Oxy.* LI 3621.1 (10.v); *P.Panop.* 28.15 (9.vii; Αὐγ.); *P.NYU* 22.19 (Arsin., 1.ix); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2570 ii.1, iii.1 (27.x; Αὐγ.); LIV 3766.23, 49, 77 (all 27.x); *P.Stras.* V 316 v.8 (prov. unkn.); *P.Lond.* III 1291 (p. lxxi, cf. p. 336; Hermop.; Σεβ. αὐτοκρ.); *P.Harr.* II 236.1 (Oxy.); *P.Dubl.* 20.22 (Panop.); *P.Neph.* 30.1 (Herakleop.).
- 330 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ δ': *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3350.1 (12.i).
- 330 Φλ. Γαλλικανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερίου Τυλλιανοῦ Συμμάχου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 86.26 (Hermop., 31.i; om. Συμμ.); *BGU* XIII 2252.13 (Arsin., 16.ii; om. Συμμ.); *P.Sakaon* 26.3 (Arsin., i-ii; 2nd consul rest.); *PSI* III 224.5 (Oxy., 4.ix; om. Τυλλ.); *P.Oxy.* LX 4082.1 (9.ix; om. Τυλλ.); *SB* V 7666.9 (Panop., 27.x; 2nd consul given as Αὐρηλίου Συμμ.); *P.Col.* X 288.19-20 (prov. unkn., 31.xii; om. Τυλλ.); *P.Lond.* III 977.1 (p. 231) (Antinoop.; 2nd cos. rest.).
- 331 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Γαλλικανοῦ καὶ Αὐρηλίου Συμμάχου: *P.Kell.* I Gr. 29.1 (Mothite).
- 331 Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλ. Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπρ. ἐπάρχων: *P.Sakaon* 69.26 (Arsin., 14.i; cf. *BL* 8.302); *SB* XXII 15796.2 (Arsin., 10.iii); *P.Stras.* III 129.15 (= III 149.17, see *P.Stras.* III, p.185) (Hermop., 23.iii; om. ἐπ.); *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3384.1 (14.iv); *P.Col.* X 289.1 = *SB* XVI 12335 (Oxy., iii-iv); *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3195.1, 24 (13-14[?].vi); *P.Oxy.* VI 990 (21.viii); *PSI* VII 767.1 (Oxy., 7.xi; [λ.]; om. ἐπ.); *P.Bad.* II 28.1 (Hermop., 30.xi; cf. *BL* 7.8); *P.Oslo* II 41.1 (Oxy., 2.xii); *P.Lond.* III 978.18 (p. 232) (Hermop., 7.xii); *CPR* VII 36.13 (Hermop., 22.xii); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 4.17 (Mothite, 29.xii or 1.x); *P.Hamb.* IV 264.1 (prov. unkn.); *P.Panop.* 30.23, 34 (23.x; doc. 5.viii.332).
- 332 μ.τ.ύ. Ἰουνίου Βάσσου καὶ Φλ. Ἀβλαβίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Kell.* I Gr. 57.1 (Mothite, ii-iii; or cos. of 331?).
- 332 Παπίου Πακατιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Μεκλίου Ἰαριανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* XIV 11711.25 (Hermop., i-ii); *P.Panop.* 22.5 (17.iii; doc. 25.iii.336); *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3128.1 (29.vi); *P.Panop.* 29.20 (1-24.vii); 30.2 (5.viii); *P.Sijp.* 46a.8, 46b.9, 46c.7 (Hermop., 4.ix); *P.Oxy.* XII 1426.1 (cf. *BL* 7.138); XLIII 3127.1 (both om. τοῦ ἱερ. πραι.); *ZPE* 135 (2001) 160.28.
- 332 [Pacatiano v.c. praef. praet. et Hilar]iano v.c.: *P.Harrauer* 46.1 (Hermop., 14-31.viii; frag.).
- 333 Φλ. Δαλματίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγ. καὶ Δομυτίου Ζηνοφίλου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XIV 1716.1 (9.iv); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 38.a.19, 38.b.19 (both Mothite, 28.x or I.viii).

- 334 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Δαλματίου ἀδελφ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγ. καὶ Δομιτίου Ζηνοφίλου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Vind.Sal.* 12.11 (Hermop., early 334; ed. 334/5; cf. *BL* 7.279).
 Φλ. Ὀπτάτου πατρικίου καὶ Ἀνικίου Παυλίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Lond.* VI 1913.1 (Herakleor., 19.iii); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3769.1 (ii-iii); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3770.18 (26.iii); *PSI* V 469.1 (Oxy., 18.ix); *P.Panop.* 5.8 (12?.xi); *P.Sakaon* 45.21; 45a.24 (both Arsin., 7.xii); *SB* VIII 9848.1 (prov. unkn.; mostly rest.).
- 335 Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγ. καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* I 247.20 (Herakleor., 7.iv; cf. *BL* 5.26); *P.Oxy.* IX 1206.1 (iii-iv); *P.Neph.* 31.14 (Herakleor.?, 12.vi; om. Κωνσταντίνου); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4354.1 (2.x); *PSI* VI 706.1 (Oxy., 26.x); *P.Würzb.* 15.6,16 (Arsin.; Ῥουφίνου; doc. 28.vi.341); *P.Harrauer* 47.7 (Kainop.); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 13.12 (Mothite); *SB* V 8265 (Arsin.?, ed. ca. 335 or 345; a p.c. in 336 is also possible; cf. *BL* 7.198).
 Iulio Constantio v.c. patricio fratre domini nostri [: *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3129 = *ChLA* XLVII 1419.10 (14-30.ix).
- 336 μ.τ.ύ. Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου πατρ. ἀδελφ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγ. καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XII 1470.1 (ii-iii; om. τῶν λαμπρ., adds τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις); *P.Panop.* 22.1 (25.iii); *P.Oxy.* X 1265.1 (26.iii).
 Οὐρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* VI 5.8 (Arsin., 22.iv); *PSI* X 1106.1; 1107.1 (both Oxy., 26.iv); *P.Oxy.* VI 901.1 (1.v); LIV 3771.1 (1.v); LXVI 4528.1 (6.v); *CPR* XIX 2.1 (prov. unkn., 20.v); *SB* III 6294.1 (Oxy., 25.x); *P.Col.* VII 178a.18 (Arsin., 5.xii; Ἰουρίου); *P.Panop.* 6.12; *P.Laur.* IV 167.1 (Oxy.).
 Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Col.* VII 142.1, 9 (Arsin., 6 and 8.xii); *P.Sakaon* 4.26 (Arsin., 15.xii).
- 337 μ.τ.ύ. Οὐρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τεττίου Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Flor.* I 96.6,13 (Hermop., 18.ii; cf. *BL* 8.126); *PSI* VII 804.14 (prov. unkn., 4.iii; cf. *BL* 7.237); *P.Matr.* I 5.1 (Oxy., ii-iii; or cos.?).
 Φλ. Φηλικιανοῦ καὶ Φαβίου Τιτιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XLV 3266.1 (13.viii; = *P.Coll.Youtie* II 82); *P.Dub.* 21.4 (Panop., 4.ix; om. Φλ., Φαβ.); 22.8 (Panop., 6.ix; om. Φλ., Φαβ.); *SPP* XX 88.17 (Hermop., 23.xii; cf. *BL* 7.261); *P.Panop.* 12.9 (xi-xii); *P.Oxy.* LX 4083.1; *P.Kell.* I Gr. 58.4 (Mothite, Τεττίου Τιτιανοῦ).
- 338 Φλ. Οὐρσου καὶ Φλ. Πολεμίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* VI 892.13 (13.i; Φλ. only at start); *P.Oxy.* I 67.1, 86.1, XLVIII 3386.1 (28.iii; Φλ. at start); *P.Lips.* I 97 i.7; xxxiv.23 (Hermonth., 25.iv; om. Φλ. 2x); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2571.22 (27.vii; Φλ. at start); *P.Panop.* 19 viii.a.5 (12.viii; Φλ. om. 2x); *P.Ryl.* IV 660.8 (prov. unkn., 23.viii; Φλ. at start); *P.Thomas* 23.15,34,45,66 (Panop., 7.ix; om. Φλ. 2x); *P.Panop.* 8.15 (7.ix; om. Φλ. 2x); *P.Lond.* III 651 (p. xxii) (prov. unkn., ix-x); *P.Bodl.* I 25.9 (Arsin., 6.xi; Φλ. at start); *P.Sakaon* 70.16 (Arsin., x-xi); *SB* XVI 12648 = *P.Oxy.* I 85 ii.19; iv.18 (26.xi; Φλ. at start); *P.Vind.Sijp.* I i.20; ii.19 (Hermop., 24.xii; cf. *BL* 5.60; om. Φλ. 2x).
- 339 μ.τ.ύ. Οὐρσου καὶ Πολεμίου: *P.Panop.* 19 vi.a.3 (3.ii); *P.Bodl.* I 154.10 (prov. unkn., Φλ. Οὐρσου). Coss. of 338, no indic. of p.c.: *P.Panop.* 19 iv.a.4 (10.i).

- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ β' καὶ Κώνσταντος Αὐγ. τὸ α': *P.Panop.* 9.10 (20.iii; instead of Αὐγ. 2x, τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγγ. at end); *SB XVI* 12692.2 = *P.Col.* VII 175 (Arsin., 17.v; Αὐγγ. at end); *P.Oxy.* LX 4084.1 (6.v; Αὐγγ. at end), 4085.1 (7-25.v. Αὐγγ. at end), *P.Ant.* I 32.4 (vi; om. Αὐγ. 2x); *CPR XVIIA* 35.1 (Hermop., 7.viii); *P.Münch.* III 89.1 (Hermop., 28.ix); *PSI* III 215.1 (Oxy., 8.xii; Αὐγγ. at end); *P.Panop.* 13.11 (23.xii; like *P.Panop.* 9); *CPR V* 9.1 (Hermop.); *BGU XIII* 2296.7 (Arsin., Αὐγγ. at end); *P.Lond.* III 1257 (p. lxviii) (prov. unkn.); *P.Harrauer* 42.1, 43.1 (both Hermop.).
- Κωνσταντίου τὸ β' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ α': *P.Panop.* 19 viii.b.4 (30.iii).
τὸ β' καὶ τὸ α': *P.Panop.* 19 iv.b.3 (3.ix); 19 viii.c.3.
- 340 μ.τ.ύ. τὸ β' καὶ τὸ α': *P.Panop.* 19 ix.b.4 (16.ii).
- Σεπτίμιου Ἀκινδύνου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτ. καὶ Ποπολωνίου Προκοῦλου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Col.* VII 148.7, 22 (Arsin., 21.iii); *CPR XVIIA* 36.17 (Hermop., ii-iii); *SB XVI* 12826.1 (Hermop., 18.iv); *CPR VII* 16.13 (Hermop., 3.v); *P.Col.* VII 149.9 (Arsin., 15.vi); *P.Vind.Sijp.* 4.15, *CPR XXIII* 30.15 (both Hermop., 9.vii; for date see *CPR XXIII*, p. 181, n. 2); *BGU I* 21 i.14 (Hermop., 13.viii); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 12 i.19 (Hermop., 15.viii); *SB XXIV* 16333.19 (16.viii); *P.Vind.Sijp.* 5.15 (Hermop., 24-28.viii); *CPR XVIIA* 32.18 (Hermop., 10.xii; no individual titles but τῶν λαμπρ. at end); *CPR XVIIA* 31.14 (Hermop.); *P.Oxy.* LIX 3984.1, 43.
- Ἀκινδύνου καὶ Προκοῦλου: *P.Panop.* 19 iii.a.6 (26.viii); 19 vi.b.3.
Cf. also *P.Oxy.* LV 3793.18n. (5.viii).
- 341 Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 13.16 (Hermop., 1.iv); *P.Oxy.* VI 991 (5.iv); *P.Charite* 26.12 (Hermop., 4.v); *P.Flor.* I 17.19 (Hermop., 30.v[?]; Προβιανού); *SB XXII* 15845.6 (3-4.vi); *P.Würzb.* 15.22 (Arsin., 28.vi); *P.Oxy.* XII 1559.1 (13.xi); *P.Nag Hamm.* 63.12 (Diosp.Parva?, 20.xi); *P.Oxy.* L 3575.1 (x-xi); 3576.1 (30.xi); *P.Panop.* 19 viii.d.2; *P.Oxy.* LIV 3774.1; *SB XXIV* 16270.8 (Oxy.).
Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Προβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Panop.* 10.8 (21.ix).
- 342 μ.τ.ύ. Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Προβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Panop.* 19 xi.5 (12.i).
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου τὸ γ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ β' Αὐγούστων: *P.Bodl.* I 16.12 (Arsin., 5.iii); *P.Oxy.* L 3578.1 (ii-iii); *P.Oxy.* I 87.1 (ii-iii); *P.Sakaon* 46.21 (Arsin., 29.iii); *P.Abinn.* 44.20 (Arsin., 29.iii); *P.Flor.* I 34.1 (Hermop., 8.iv; Αὐγ. after each; year uncert.); *P.Oxy.* LXII 4344.1 (bef. 26.iv); *P.Harr.* I 65.1 (Oxy., 5.v); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3775.1 (1.vii); *P.Col.* VII 150.10 (Arsin., 20.vii); 150.35 (28.vii); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1627.1 (12.viii); *P.Panop.* 19 vi.c.4 (9.ix; om. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ.; adds τῶν αἰωνίων before Αὐγ.); *P.Col.* VII 181.1 = *P.Coll. Youtie* II 78 (Arsin., 18.x); *BGU IV* 1049.1 (Arsin.); *SB XII* 10988.3 (Konstantine?; frag.).
DD.NN. Constantio Aug. III et Constante Aug. II: *P.Oxy.* L 3577 = *ChLA XLVII* 1421.9 (28.i).
- τὸ γ' καὶ τὸ β': *P.Panop.* 19 vi.d.3 (23.xi); 19 i.a.4; 19 iv.c.4; *P.Col.* VII 174.56 (Arsin.).
- 343 Φουρίου Πλακίδου καὶ Φλ. Ῥωμόλου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3389.1 (14.iii; Plac. is τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ.); *P.Sakaon* 48.27 (Arsin., 6.iv); *P.Harr.* II 216.1 (Oxy., 17?.vi); *P.Abinn.* 45.23 (Arsin., 23.vi; Φλ. Πλακ.); *SPP* II, p. 34.23 (Hermop., 7.vii); *P.Oxy.* LIV 3776.32 (24.vii); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 14.13 (Hermop., 11.viii); *P.Mil.* I 66.5 (Nilop., 1.ix; cf. *BL* 8.207, 11.128); *P.Panop.* 19 i.b.5 (13.ix); 19 i.c.2 (19.ix; om. 2nd cos.); *P.Abinn.* 46.9

- (Arsin., 22.ix; Φρομόλλου); *SB XIV* 11548.15 (Hermop., Φουρίου not cert.; p.c. also possible, cf. *BL* 9.274); *SB XVI* 12974 = *P.LeedsMus.* 25 (Arsin.?).
Πλακ. καὶ Ῥωμ.: *P.Panop.* 19 i.d.3 (6.x). Cf. under 358.
- 344 Φλαυίων Λεοντίου ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Σαλλουστίου κόμιστος: *P.Neph.* 32.1 (Herakleop., 17.iv; Sallustius is only τοῦ λαμπρ.); *P.Princ.* II 81.1 = III 181 (Oxy.).
Λεοντίου καὶ Σαλλουστίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Panop.* 19 i.e.3; x.a.6 (both viii-ix; om. τῶν λαμπρ.); *P.Panop.* 19 iii.b.4 (xi-xii).
Fl. Leontio praef. praetorio et Fl. Sallustio magistro peditum vv. cc.: *P.Abinn.* 2 = *CEpist.Lat.* 227.10 (Arsin.?).
- 345 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λεοντίου καὶ Ἰουλίου Σαλλουστίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Abinn.* 58.1 (Arsin., 1.ii); 59.19 (Arsin., 2.ii; Φλ. for Ἰουλ.; adds ἐπάρχων); *P.Oxy.* LX 4086.1 (Leontius is ἐπ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ., Φλ. Σαλλ.).
Φλαυίων Ἀμαντίου καὶ Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Wisc.* I 12.1 (Oxy., 30.v); *P.Lond.* III 1248.24 (p. 226) (Hermop., 24-28.viii?; cf. *BL* 8.188); *P.Genova* I 22.1 (Oxy., 15.viii); *P.Lond.* III 1246.23 (p. 224) (Hermop., 20.viii); 1247.26 (p. 225) (Hermop., 25.viii); *P.Harr.* I 82.1 (Oxy., viii-ix); *P.Panop.* 19 ii.4 (15.x; om. Φλ.); 19 x.b.4 (30.xi; om. Φλ.); *P.Princ.* III 183.1 (prov. unkn.).
Fl. Amantio et Albino vv.cc.: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4369 = *ChLA* XLVII 1429.11.
- 346 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἀμαντίου καὶ Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB XIV* 12088.1 (Oxy., 5.iii); *P.Lond.* III 1249.22 (p. 227) (Hermop., 5.v; cf. *BL* 1.290).
τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου τὸ δ' καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ γ' Αὐγ.: *P.Abinn.* 47.20 (Arsin., 1.v); 48.21 (Arsin., 29.vi); 49.26 (Arsin., 5.vii); *P.Herm.* 21.1 (20.vii; Αὐγ. after each cos.); 54.1 (prob. a copy); *P.Abinn.* 60.25 (Arsin., 28.vii; Αὐγ. 2x); 50.26 (Arsin., 30.vii); 61.12 (Arsin., 21.viii; 21.ix ed.; cf. *BL* 7.2; Αὐγ. 2x); 51.21 (Arsin., 26.viii); 52.23 (Arsin., 29.viii); *P.Oxy.* LXI 4128.1 (24.ix); *P.Nag Hamm.* 64.1 (Diosp. Parva, 21.xi); *P.Lond.* III 979.1 (p. 234) (Hermop., 22.xii; Αὐγ. 2x); *P.Abinn.* 53.19 (Arsin., 27-31.xii); 54.32 (Arsin.); *P.Oslo* III 113.1 (Hermop.; Αὐγ. 2x); *P.Oxy.* VI 897.1; *P.Harr.* II 217.1 (Oxy., p.c. poss.); *O.Wilck.* 1309 (prov. unkn.; confused).
τὸ δ' καὶ τὸ γ': *P.Panop.* 19 vii.4 (x-xi).
- 347 Οὐολκακίου Ῥουφίνου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ. καὶ Φλ. Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπρ. κόμιστος: *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3146.1 (10.v); *P.Oxy.* IX 1190.15 (22.vi); *P.Ant.* I 31.14 (24.vii); *P.Charite* 7.22 (Hermop., 22.x; om. κόμ.); *SB XXII* 15728.1 (31.xii; om. all titulature except τῶν λαμπρ.); *P.Athen.* 34.28 (Herakleop., om. τοῦ ... πραιτ., τοῦ λαμπρ., perh. at end τῶν λαμπρ.; see *BL* 7.230).
Volcacio Rufino v.c. praef. praet. et Fl. Eusebio v.c.: *ChLA* XI 472.8 (Hermop.).
- 348 Φλ. Φιλίππου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλ. Σαλιᾶ τοῦ λαμπρ. μαγίστρου ἱπέων: *BGU* II 405.1 (Arsin., 6.iii); *P.Sijp.* 22.19 (Hermop., 31.iii); *SB XIV* 11877.1 (Arsin., 1.iv); *P.Charite* 8.20 (Hermop., 27.v); *BGU* III 917.1 (Arsin., ca i-vi); *P.Nag Hamm.* 65.15 (Diosp. Parva, 7.x); *P.Ammon* I 6 = *SB XIV* 11929.18 (Panop., 9.xii).

- 349 Φλ. Λιμενίου και Κατυλλίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Würzb.* 16.14 (Arsin., 10.x); *P.Amh.* II 140.19 (Hermop.; om. Φλ.).
- 350 μ.τ.ύ. Οὐλπίου Λιμενίου και Ἀκοντίου Κατυλλίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Abinn.* 62.1 (Arsin., 5.ii; om. Οὐλπ., Ἀκοντ.); *P.Amh.* II 139.21 (Hermop., 28.ii).
Φλ. Σεργίου και Νιγρινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Sijp.* 11b.20 (Mothite, 8.iii or 9.ix; restore [ὑπατείας] in l. 19 contra edd.); *P.Amh.* II 141.20 (Hermop., 7.iv); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2233.1 (7.vi; om. Φλ.); *P.Harr.* II 218.1 (Oxy.); *P.Oxf.* 6.25 (Herakleop.).
Sergio et Nigriniano vv. cc.: *P.Abinn.* 63 i.1,4 = *ChLA* XVIII 661 (Alexandria, 6.x, 13.xi).
- 351 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Σεργίου και Νιγρινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Abinn.* 55.17 (Arsin., 11.ii); *PSI* VI 707.1 (Oxy., ii-iii; cf. n.1 for another frag. with same coss.); *CPR* V 12.8 (Arsin., 5.vii); *P.Oxy.* LX 4089.1 (x-xi).
- 352 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ ε' και Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος: *P.Stras.* I 9.6 (Arsin., 27.iii; cf. *P.Princ.Roll*, pp. 27 ff., *BL* 9.323); *P.Oxy.* LX 4090.1 (12.iv); 4091.1; *P.Kell.* I Gr. 24.9 (Mothite; Constantius Caesar τὸ α').
DD.NN. Constantio Aug. V et Constantio nob. Caesare: *P.Lond.* V 1825 = *ChLA* III 210.1 (Panop.; cf. *BL* 8.83).
- 353 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ ε' και Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ β': *P.Prag.* I 15.17, 16.14 (both Kynop., 11.vii; om. Αὐγ.); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1632.1 (25.vii); *P.Coll.Youtie* II 83.1 (Oxy., 12.xii); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 23.30 (Mothite).
- 354 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ ζ' και Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ γ': *PSI* IX 1077.1 (Oxy., 13.ii; or restore p.c., 355 [suggestion of J. R. Rea]); *P.Stras.* 329.4 (prov. unkn., 12.v; om. ἐπιφ.); *P.Ant.* I 36.1 (Antinoop., 6.vi); *P.Laur.* IV 169.4 (prov. unkn., 14-30.ix; om. ἐπιφ.; cf. *BL* 9.122 for the date to 354, but S. Corcoran, *Empire of the Tetrarchs*, 197 n. 16, supports 326, cf. *BL* 11.106-107); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4370.1 (7.xi); *P.Mich.* XX 800.1 = *P.Laur.* IV 162 (Oxy., v-xiii; frag.).
- 355 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ ζ' και Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* IV, p. 202.1 = *M.Chr.* 361 (Elephantine, 12.i); *PSI* IX 1077.1 (Oxy., 13.ii; or restore cos., 354); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 48.16 (Mothite); *CPR* XXIV 1.13 (Herakleop.).
Φλαυίων Ἀρβετίωνος και Λολλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Dubl.* 31.21 (Panop., 3.ix; om. Φλ.); *P.Oxy.* LX 4092.1 (1.x).
- 356 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ η' και Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνδριοτάτου και ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ α': *P.Oxy.* LI 3622.1 (29.viii; adds αἰων. bef. Αὐγ.); *PSI* IX 1078.1 (Oxy., 25.xi); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 14.1 (Mothite; Κλαυδ. Ἰουλ. Καίσ. τὸ α'; p.c. possible).
- 357 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ θ' και Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* I 66.1 (2.vii); *SPP* XX 101.7 (prov. unkn., 22.ix; cf. *BL* 7.251; om. τοῦ ἐπιφ.); *SB* XX 14510.1 = *SEG* XLI (1991) 1614 (Thebes, 27-28.xii; fragm. inscr. with problematic restoration); *P.Lond.* III 1245.12 (p. 228) (Hermop.; adds Κλαυδίου bef. Ἰουλ.; cf. *BL* 9.141); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 15.17 (Mothite; adds Κλαυδίου, om. ἐπιφ.).

- DD.NN. Constantio Aug. IX et Claudio Iuliano nob. Caes. II: *ChLA* V 285.13 (prov. unkn.; cf. *BL* 8.83).
- 358 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ θ' καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρισιτάτου καὶ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* LXI 4129.1 (11.v), 4130.1 (11?.v); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 28.1 (Arsin., 24.ii; Iul. omitted, no indication of p.c.; ed. 343 or 358, but formula more likely that of 357).
- 372 Κηνσωρίου Δατιανοῦ πατρικίου καὶ Νηρατίου Κερεαλίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *SB* XXIV 16266.3 (18.xii).
- 359 μ.τ.ύ. Κηνσωρίου Δατιανοῦ πατρικίου καὶ Νηρατίου Κερεαλίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Oxy.* LI 3624.18, 3625.17 (25.i); see also at 3626.
Φλ. Εὐσεβίου καὶ Φλ. Ὑπατίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *BGU* III 909.30 (Arsin., 24-29.viii; cf. *BASP* 17 [1980] 116 [not recorded in *BL*]; om. Φλ. 2x); *P.Oxy.* LI 3623.1 (ca 30.viii?); *P.Mich.* XX 801.1 (Oxy., 1.x; Φλλ.); *BGU* I 316.1 (Askalon [Phoenicia], 12.x).
- 360 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Εὐσεβίου καὶ Ὑπατίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Mert.* I 36.1 (Oxy., early 360); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1103.1 (12.ii).
τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Κωνσταντίου Αὐγ. τὸ ι' καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσ. τὸ γ': *SB* XXII 15797.2 (Arsin., 30.vii; om. ἐπιφ.); *P.Oxy.* XIV 1695.1 (19.xii); XX 2267.1; *P.Bingen* 120B recto 17 (Mothite; frag.); perhaps *P.Ross.Georg.* V 29.35 (prov. unkn.; uncert.).
- 361 Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Fuad Univ.* 16.7 (Herakleop.; cf. *BL* 9.88-89; date may be later than 361, cf. *BL* 11.82; perhaps add Φλλ. to restoration?).
Φλλ. Ταύρου καὶ Εὐσεβίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3479.1 (ed. 361?; cf. *BL* 9.203); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4600.2 (14.vi), 4601.2 (22.vi), 4605.2 (29.vi), 4598.1 (10.vii), 4606.1 (viii-ix), 4603.1 (17.x), 4602.1 (x-xi), 4604.2.
- 362 Φλ. Κλαυδίου καὶ Φλ. Νεβιέττα τῶν λαμπρ. τῆς ἰπικῆς παρατάξεως: *P.Flor.* I 30 = *SB* XXII 15286.25 (Arsin., fall).
Κλαυδίου Μαμερτίνου καὶ Φλ. Νεβιέττα τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4608.1, 4609.1 (v-xii).
Μαμερτίνου καὶ Εἰουίττα τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* XVI 12384.16, 12385.19 (both Hermop., 22.vii); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 8.13 (Mothite, viii-ix; Νεβουιέττα); *P.Cair.Preis.* 2.1, 3.1 (both Hermop.); *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 15.1 (Hermop.).
- 363 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἰουλιανοῦ Σεβ. τὸ δ' καὶ Φλ. Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου: *SB* XX 15096.1 (Oxy., 16.iii?; very fragm., p.c. possible); *P.Lond.* V 1651.1 (Hermop., 20.iv; τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. for Σεβ.); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 30.1 (Mothite, 22.v); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4610.1 (13.vi; αἰων. Αὐγ. for Σεβ.); *BGU* III 939.1 (Herakleop., 7.viii; om. τοῦ λαμπρ.); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4612.1 (vii-viii; very fragm.); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1116.1 (viii-ix; om. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ., Σεβ., Φλ.); *P.Stras.* 131.1 (Arsin.).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἰουλιανοῦ αἱ[. . .]: *P.Munch.* III 90.7 (prov. unkn.).
- 364 μ.τ.ύ. Ἰουλιανοῦ τὸ δ' καὶ Φλ. Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ.: *P.Ryl.* IV 662.1 (Antinoop., 13.ii); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 42.28 (Mothite, 15.ii); *PSI* I 90.1 (Oxy., 17.x; om. τὸ δ' and title, adds τῶν λαμπρ.).

- μ.τ.ύ. Ἰουλιανού [αἰωνίου Αὐγ.] καὶ Φλ. Σαλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Mich.* XX 802.1 (Oxy.).
- Φλ. Ἰουσιανού Αὐγ. καὶ υἱοῦ Φλ. Οὐαρρωνιανού: *P.Lips.* I 13.1 (Hermap., 22.x; cf. *BL* 10.95); Ἰ<ο>ου<ι>ανού καὶ υἱοῦ Βαρωνιανού παιδὸς αὐτοῦ: *P.Kell.* I Gr. 32.17 (Mothite, 28.x).
- τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἰουσιανού αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ α' καὶ Οὐαρρωνιανού τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου: *SB* XXII 15768.1 (Small Oasis); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4613.1 (fragm.).
- Ἰουσιανού καὶ Οὐαρρωνιανού: *CPR* X 107.9 (Herakleop., 26.vii).
- 365 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντιανού καὶ Οὐάλεντος αἰωνίων Αὐγ.: *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3393.1 (8.vi); *SB* III 6612.2 (Oxy., 22.x).
- 366 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντιανού καὶ Οὐάλεντος αἰωνίων Αὐγ.: *P.Leid.Inst.* 61.1 (Oxy.).
- Γρατιανού τοῦ ἐπιφ. υἱοῦ τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντιανού Αὐγ. καὶ Δαγαλαίφου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Hamb.* IV 263.1 (Oxy., 27.viii; τῶν δεσπ. [sic], Δαλαγατίου); *P.Mich.* XX 803.1 (Oxy., 25.xi; αἰωνίου before Αὐγ.); *SB* XIV 12186.1 = *P.Flor.* I 84 (Hermap., frag.); *P.Harr.* I 133.1 (Oxy.?.; cf. *BL* 11.91).
- 367 Λουπικίνου κόμιτος ἰπικῆς τε καὶ πεδικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Ἰοβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Mich.* XX 804.1 (Oxy.).
- Φλ. Λουπικίνου καὶ Φλ. Ἰοβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Mich.* XX 805.1 = *P.Wash.Univ.* II 82 (Oxy.).
- 368 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λουπικίνου κόμ[ι]τος ἰπικῆς τε καὶ πεδικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Φλ. [ca. 8: vacat?] Ἰοβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Lond.* III 1113 (p. lvii; cf. p. 336) (Hermap.; see *BL* 7.88).
- μ.τ.ύ. Φλαουίων Λουπικίνου καὶ Ἰοβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4376.1 (25.iii).
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντιανού] καὶ Οὐ[άλεντος] κ[αί] Γρατιανού τῶν αἰων. Αὐγο[ύστ]ων τὸ β': *ChLA* XII 525 = *P.Lips.* I 33 ii.1 (Hermap., before 18.viii; cf. *BL* 9.124).
- 369 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντιανού καὶ Οὐάλεντος τὸ β' καὶ Γρατιανού τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β': *P.Stras.* IV 272.1 (Hermap.).
- Οὐαλεντιανού νέου τοῦ ἐπιφ. υἱοῦ τοῦ θειοτάτου δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλεντος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. καὶ Φλ. Οὐίκτωρος τοῦ λαμπρ. στρατηλάτου: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4377.1 (iii-iv; om. νέου, τοῦ αἰων.); 4378.1 (13.v; om. νέου, θειοτ., τοῦ αἰωνίου, Φλ.); 4379.1 (3.ix; om. νέου, θειοτ., τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ.); *P.Mich.* XX 806.1 (Oxy., 24.ix; partially publ. as *SB* XIV 12099, where dated 367; om. νέου, θειοτ., αἰων.); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4380.1 (x-xi; om. νέου, θειοτ., στρατηλάτου); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 33.23 (Mothite, 21.xi; om. υἱ. τοῦ θειοτ. δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλ. τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ.); *SB* XX 15035.1 (Hermap.; om. θειοτ.).
- 370 μ.τ.ύ. Οὐαλεντιανού νέου τοῦ ἐπιφ. υἱοῦ τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλεντος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. καὶ Φλ. Οὐίκτωρος τοῦ λαμπρ. μαγίστρου: *P.Matr.* 4.1 (Antinoop.?.; cf. *BL* 10.118, restoring νεωτέρου).
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντιανού καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ': *ZPE* 140 (2002) 163.1 (Herakleop., 17.iv).
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντιανού καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ Γρατιανού τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* XVII 2110.1 (6.x); *P.Flor.* I 43.1 (Hermap.).

- 371 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος Αὐγ. τὸ γ': *CPR VIII* 38.1 (Hermop., 10.i).
 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β' καὶ Φλ. Πρόβου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ.: *P.Stras.* IV 243.5 (prov. unkn., 23.vii; om. Φλ.); *P.Lips.* I 46.1 (Panop., 22.viii); 58.21 (Lykop., 8.x; om. Φλ.); 45.1 (Panop.?); 59.1 (Panop.).
- 372 Δομιτίου Μοδέστου τοῦ ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ. καὶ Φλ. Ἄρινθέου τοῦ στρατηλάτου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Lips.* I 47.17 (Hypsel., 27.vii); *P.Lips.* I 48.20 (Hypsel., 28.vii; λαμπρ. with each, om. Φλ.); 51.19 (Hypsel., 17.viii; like *P.Lips.* 48); 49.22 (Hypsel., same as prec.).
P.Lips. I 50.20 (Ptolemais, 7.viii; adds τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτ., om. Arinth. entirely).
 Δομιτίου Μοδέστου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ. καὶ Φλ. Ἄρινθέου τοῦ λαμπρ. κόμιτος καὶ μαγ. τῆς πεδικῆς δυνάμεως: *P.Col.* VII 182.21 (Arsin., 4.ii; or cos. error for p.c.? cf. *BL* 9.60); *SB XVIII* 13251.21 (Hermop., 29.vii; Arinth. μαγ. στρατιωτῶν); *BGU IV* 1092.1 (Hermop., 1.ix; Arinth. μαγ. στρατ.); *P.Col.* VII 183.1 (Arsin., 23.xi); 184.1 (Arsin., 17.xii).
 Φλ. Μοδέστου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτ. καὶ Φλ. Ἄρινθέου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Mich.* XX 807.1 (Oxy., 1.ix); XX 808.1 (Oxy., 3.ix; om. Φλ. before Ἄρινθέου, adds στρατηλάτου at end); XX 809.1 (Oxy., 6.xi; adds στρατηλάτου); XX 810.1 (Oxy., ?6.xi; Φλ., adds after Ἄρινθέου, τοῦ λαμπρ. κόμιτος καὶ μαγίστρου τῆς πεδικῆς παρατάξεως).
 Δομιτίου Μοδέστου καὶ Ἄρινθέου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Lips.* I 52.19; 53.20 (both Thebaid).
 Φλαοίου Μοδέστου καὶ Ἄρινθέου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Mich.* XX 811.1 (Oxy.).
- 373 μ.τ.ύ. Δομιτίου Μοδέστου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ Φλαοίου Ἄρινθέου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου στρατηλάτου: *P.Vind.Sijp.* 13.1 (Herakleop., 3.i; cos. for p.c.; cf. *BL* 7.97, 9.152, and above, p. 37; om. Δομιτίου, τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου; has στρατῶ πεζῶν for στρατηλάτου); *P.Lips.* I 85.1 (Hermop., 3.i; cf. *BL* 9.124; Arinth. also μαγ. τῆς πεδικῆς δυνάμεως; cos. for p.c.); *P.Lips.* I 86.2 (Hermop., 5.i); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3308.1 (17.i; Φλ. at start, omits titles exc. τοῦ λαμπρ.); *P.Lond.* V 1648.1 (= 1822); 1649.1 (both Hermop., i-iv); 1650.5 (Hermop.); 1828 (Hermop., could belong to 372 acc. descr., but index places under 373; cf. p. viii); *SB XIV* 11298.1 (prov. unkn., Φλ. at start, om. Δομ., om. all titles exc. τῶν λαμπρ.).
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ': *P.Col.* VII 168.11 (Arsin., 11.iv); *P.Mich.* XX 812.2 (Pelusium, 17.v; partially publ. as *SB XIV* 11615); *P.Mich.* XX 813.1 (Oxy., 10.vii); XX 814.1 (Oxy., 10.vii); *P.Mert.* I 37.1 (Arsin., 3.ix); *P.NYU* 24.15 (Arsin., ix-xii); *P.Flor.* III 320.1 (Hermop., ix-xii); *P.Lips.* I 34 verso 13 (Hermop., doc. 375-378, cf. *ZPE* 139 [2002] 139-142); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3309.1; *SB XXII* 15605.1 (Arsin. or Herakleop.; adds regnal formula).
- 374 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ': *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3310.1 (i-ii; year uncert.); *SB XX* 14378.9 (15.iv; Φαρμουῦθι a misprint for Φαρμουῦθι κ).
 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Γρατιανοῦ Αὐγ. τὸ γ' καὶ Φλ. Ἐκυτίου τοῦ λαμπρ. κόμιτος: *P.Mich.* XX 816.9 = *P.Turner* 45 (Oxy., ref. to 4 and 10.iv; adds αἰων.); *SPP XX* 102.1 (prov. unkn., 2.v; could be p.c., cf. *BL* 9.345, om. Φλ., κομ.); *P.Gen.*² 66.20 (Arsin., 2.v; om. numeral, κόμ.; Ἐκυσίου); *P.Lips.* I 23.1 (Hermop., 24.ix; cf. *BL* 8.170, 9.123); *BGU XIII* 2332.1 (Arsin., 12.xi); *SB VI* 9311.1 (Arsin., late 374; adds τοῦ αἰων., om. κόμ.; cf. *BL* 8.343 and 9.256); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 43.32 (Mothite; or 387?).

- 374 or 375 *CPR* XIX 3.13 (Augustamnica, 25.iv).
(Oxy.)
- 375 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ' καὶ Ἐκυτίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Flor.* I 95.17 (Hermop., 1.iv); 95.2 (Hermop., 5.x); *P.Lips.* I 61.1 (Antinoor., 11.xi); *BGU* XII 2148.1 (Hermop., ix-xii; p.c. not indic.; cf. *BL* 7.24; rest.).
p.c. D.N. Gratiani perp. Aug. III et Equitii v.c. comitis: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4381 = *ChLA* XLVII 1431.1 (3.viii).
- 376 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλεντος τὸ ε' καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ νέου τὸ α' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *SB* XX 14378.35 (Arsin., 15.iv); *P.Flor.* I 95.29 (Hermop., 21.vi); *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4529.1 (22.vi); *P.Flor.* I 95.53 (Hermop., v-vi), 70, 90 (Hermop., x-xi); *BGU* III 941.1 (Herakleor., x-xi); *P.Flor.* I 52.1 (Hermop.); *P.Stras.* VI 596.15 (prov. unkn., om. τὸ α' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.).
P.Lips. I 36.12 can belong either to 376 or to 378 (Hibite, numeral lost).
- 377 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλεντος τὸ ε' καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ νέου τὸ α' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Lips.* I 54.18 (Hermop., 9.ii; cf. *BL* 10.95); *SB* XIV 12109.1 (Arsin., 13.ii).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ' καὶ Φλ. Μεροβαύδου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* XIV 12021.5 (Oxy., 21.iii; doc. prob. later. Read [Μερο]υβαύδου τοῦ λαμπρο(τάτου)); *P.Flor.* I 95.82 (Hermop., 17.vi); *P.Lips.* I 17.1 (Hermop., 10.ix); *PSI* IV 287.1 (Oxy., 29.xii).
- 378 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλεντος τὸ ε' καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ β' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *BGU* XIII 2339.1 (Oxy., 5.i); *P.Grenf.* I 54.1 (Arsin., 10.xi). Cf. under 376.
- 379 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλεντος Αὐγ. τὸ ε' καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ β' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Munch.* III 78.6 (Hermop., before 30.xi).
- 380 μ.τ.ύ. Αὔσονίου καὶ Ὀλυβρίου τῶν λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ.: *CPR* VII 19.1 (Hermop., 6.v); *P.Stras.* VIII 749.1 (Hermop., Ἐρμογενιανοῦ instead of Ὀλυβρίου, adds τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ. at end).
τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Γρατιανοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ α' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Flor.* I 75.1 (Hermop., 11.x); *BGU* III 974.12 (Antaior., 26.xii).
DD.NN. Fil. G[ra]tiano [V et Theodosio Augg. coss.: *ChLA* XI 470.1 (Thebaid; cf. *BL* 8.83-84; uncertain reading).
- 381 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Γρατιανοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ α' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Mich.* XVIII 793.11 (prov. unkn., 5.v).
Φλαυίων Εὐχαιρίου καὶ Σαυαγρίου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 86.1 (Herakleor., 25.ii); *P.Lips.* I 20.1 (Hermop., 2.iv; om. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ.; cf. *BL* 1.205); *P.Oxy.* VII 1041.1 (9.vi; only τῶν λαμπρ.); *PSI* X 1108.1 (Oxy., 2.ix; like prec.; see *BL* 7.239); *SB* XXII 15798.1 (Arsin., 21.xii); *P.Lips.* I 28.1 (Hermop., 31.xii; adds τοῦ λαμπρ. after Εὐχ., om. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ.).
ὑπατεία[ς Φλαουίου?] Σαυαγρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου: *P.Col.* VIII 237.1(5.vi; or date to 382? ed. 395?).
τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐάλεντος καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Flor.* I 43.1 (Hermop.,

- 382 μ.τ.ύ. Εὐχαίριου καὶ Συναγρίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Gen.*² 67.1 (Arsin., 19.1; cf. *BL* 1.166; possibly 383, cf. indiction); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 44.19 (Mothite, 26.iv; om. Φλ. 2x); *P.Gen.*² 68.20 (Arsin., 8.v); *SB* IV 7445.1 (Oxy., 12.vii; adds Φλ. at start); *P.Lond.* III 980 (p. 1 descr.) (Hermop., adds Φλ. at start).
Φλαυίων Ἀντωνίου τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ Συναγρίου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ.: *P.Lips.* I 21.1 (Hermop.). Cf. 381.
- 383 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἀντωνίου καὶ Συναγρίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4382.1 (23.vii); *SB* XX 14293.1 (Mothite).
Φλαυίων Μεροβαύδου τὸ β' καὶ Σατορνίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 104.5 (prov. unkn.).
- 384 μ.τ.ύ. Μεροβαύδου τὸ β' καὶ Σατορνίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Gen.*² I 12.1 (Arsin., 2.iv; cos. error for p.c.; Βαρωβάδου, Σαταρνείλου); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4383.1 (24.x); *P.Lips.* I 62 i.1, 15 (Hermop.).
- 385 μ.τ.ύ. Ῥιγγομήρου καὶ Κλεάρχου τῶν λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ.: *P.Lips.* I 62 i.24 (om. ἐπ.), ii.1 (om. ἐπ.), 17 (Hermop., 4.xi); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4384.1 (26.xi).
- 386 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. καὶ Φλ. Βαύτονος τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Gen.*² 69.1 (Arsin., i-iv); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4385.1 (22.v); *SB* XVIII 13916.1 (Oxy., 26.vi).
Φλ. Ὀνωρίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. καὶ Φλ. Εὐδοίου: *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2715.1 (29.viii; 30.viii edd.); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 45.24 (Great Oasis; cf. *ZPE* 140 [2002] 151-153; om. Φλ. 2x; Honorius is ἐπιφ. Καίσαρ).
- 387 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ὀνωρίου τοῦ ἐπιφ. παιδὸς καὶ Φλ. Εὐδοίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* XIV 11285.1 (prov. unkn., 28.v; cf. *ZPE* 18 [1975] 308); *P.Kell.* I Gr. 43.32 (prov. uncertain: Great Oasis or Antaior.?.; or 374?).
- 388 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β' καὶ Φλ. Κυνηγίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Lips.* I 63.1 (Antinoor., 14.vi); *SB* VIII 9907.1 (Hermop., 19.ix; om. τὸ β'); *P.Lips.* I 22.1 (Hermop., 1.x); *SB* VIII 9825.1? (Oxy., 393 also poss.).
- 389 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β' καὶ Κυνηγίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Lips.* I 37.1 (Hermop., 5.v; cf. *BL* 1.207); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 30.1 (Hermop.).
[p.c. D.N. Theodosii perp. Aug. II et] Cynegii v.c.: *P.Kell.* I Gr. 26 ii.1 (Thebaid; uncertain; see *BiOr* 54 [1997] 378, *P.Kell.* V, p. 343).
Τιμασίου καὶ Προμώτου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Lips.* I 38.4 = *ChLA* XII 520 (Hermop., 16.xii; doc. III 19.ix.390, cf. *BL* 1.207); *BGU* III 943.1 (Herakleop.).
- 390 μ.τ.ύ. Τιμασίου καὶ Προμώτου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Sipp.* 11a.23 (Mothite).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ' καὶ Φλ. Νεωτερίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *W.Chr.* 434.1 = *P.Münch.* III 99 (Hermop.; prob. v-xii; om. Φλ.); *P.Lips.* I 39.1 (Hermop., 23.xii); 65.1 (Hermop.; om. Φλ.).
D.N. Valentiniano iunior semper Augusto III et Fl. Neoterio v.c.: *P.Lips.* I 38.17 = *ChLA* XII 520 (Hermop., 19.ix; cf. *Jur.Pap.* 91 and *BL* 9.124, 439).

- 391 Φλ. Τατιανού τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ. καὶ Φλ. Συμμάχου τοῦ λαμπρ. ἀποεπάρχου: *P.Lips.* I 42.1 (Hermop., iii-iv; cf. *BL* 8.171); 14.1 (Hermop., 29.v); *P.Ross.Georg.* V 60 recto, p. 176 (Hermop., 10.vi; frag.); *PSI* XV 1566.1 (Oxy., 13.x; Φλ. at start, τῶν λαμπρ.); *P.Stras.* III 142.1 (Arsin., 16.x; om. ἱερ., ἀπο.).
- 392 μ.τ.ῦ. Φλαβίων Τατιανού καὶ Συμμάχου τῶν λαμπρ.: *PSI* VI 698.1 (Oxy., 25.i; 24.i edd.). τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἀρκαδίου αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β' καὶ Φλ. Ρουφίνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Gron.* 9.19 (Arsin., 20.iv; adds Θεοδοσίου καὶ bef. Ἀρκ., om. αἰων. Αὐγ., has τὸ α'; cf. *BL* 7.63); *P.Herm.* 19.18 (6.x; om. Φλ.; adds κόμιτος καὶ μαγίστρου); *P.Oxy.* VII 1033.1 (18.x).
- 393 μ.τ.ῦ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἀρκαδίου τὸ β' καὶ Φλ. Ρουφίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Rein.* II 92.1 (Oxy., iii-iv; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 276 n.28 and *BL* 7.169). Cf. under 388.
- 394 μ.τ.ῦ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ' καὶ Φλ. Ἀβουνδαντίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4386.1.
- 394 μ.τ.ῦ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ' καὶ Φλ. Ἀβουνδαντίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XIV 1712.1.
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἀρκαδίου τὸ γ' καὶ Ὀνωρίου τὸ β' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Herm.* 22.1.
- 395 p.c. DD. NN. Arcadii ter et Honorii iterum perpetuorum Augustorum: *CEpist. Lat.* 231.11 = *ChLA* XLIII 1248 (2) (prov. unkn., 17.iv).
- 396 μ.τ.ῦ. Φλαβίων Ὀλυμβρίου καὶ Προβίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* VIII 1133.1 (24.iii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 88 = *CPR* X 107a.1 (Herakleop., 25.vii).
- τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἀρκαδίου τὸ δ' καὶ Ὀνωρίου τὸ γ' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Flor.* I 39.1 (Oxy., 29.viii).
- 397 DD. NN. Arcadio IV et Honorio III perpetuis Augustis: *ZPE* 56 (1984) 80.9 = *CEpist. Lat.* 232.9 = *ChLA* XLIII 1248 (1) (prov. unkn.); *P.Sijp.* 23.10 = *ChLA* XLV 1249 (Herakleop.?).
- 397 μ.τ.ῦ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου: *SB* XII 10932.1 (prov. unkn., 6.iii; cf. *BL* 8.364); *P.Stras.* IV 255.17 (Hermop.?, 403 also possible, cf. *BL* 9.326).
- Φλαβίων Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀττικοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2408.5 (Alexandria, 16.vii-13.viii); *PSI* I 34.1 (Hermop., 2.ix); *P.Giss.* 52.1 (Hermop., prob. 27. xii; om. Φλ.; cf. *BL* 9.93); *P.Stras.* VIII 713.1 (Hermop.).
- 398 μ.τ.ῦ. Φλαβίων Καισαρίου καὶ Ἀττικοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Lips.* I 56.1 (Hermop., 28.i); *P.Flor.* I 66.1 (Arsin., 10.iii); *P.Herm.* 52.1; 53.1 (4.vii; cf. *BL* 7.68).
- τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ' καὶ Φλ. Εὐτυχιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ.: *BGU* III 940.24 (Herakleop., 2.xi).
- 399 μ.τ.ῦ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ' καὶ Φλ. Εὐτυχιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Giss.* 104.1 (Hermop., 30.vi).
- p.c. D.N. Honorii perpetui Augusti quater et Eutychiani v.c.: *CPLat.* 199 = *ChLA* XLV 1328-1330 (1328 = *SB* XX 14675; prov. unkn., 18-19.iii; cf. *BL* 8.478).
- Φλαβίων Εὐτροπίου καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* X 108.1 (Arsin., 16.viii; cf. *BL* 9.73).

- 400 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Θεοδώρου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203.1 (vi-vii); *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95.3 (Herakleop.; om. τοῦ λαμπρ.; school exercise).
- 401 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Στελίχωνος καὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* VI 9359 = *P.Lund.* VI 10.1 (Arsin.; cf. *BL* 8.205).
- 401 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Στελίχωνος καὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* VIII 9774.1 (prov. unkn.).
Φλαυίων Βικεντίου καὶ Φραβίττα τῶν λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 113.11 (prov. unkn., 26.ix).
- 401 μ.τ.ύ. Fl. Vincentio et Fravitta vv.cc.: *CEpist.Lat.* 233.8 = *ChLA* XLIII 1248 (3) (Arsin.?).
- 402 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Οὐνκεντίου καὶ Φραουίττα τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Grenf.* II 80.1 (Hermop., 4.viii; cf. *BL* 1.191).
- 403 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Grenf.* II 81.1 (Hermop., 26.v). Cf. under 397.
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. καὶ Φλ. Ῥουμορίδου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* X 1319.1 (7.ix); *P.Grenf.* II 81a.13 (Hermop., 27.x; cf. *ZPE* 56 [1984] 129).
- 404 Ὀν[ωρίου καὶ Ἀρισταινέτου?]: *P.Stras.* VII 695.3 (prov. unkn.; as restored by *BL* 8.430; absence of τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. would be surprising, and doubtful reading of second letter may allow 373 to be considered).
- 405 Φλαυίων Στελί[χω]νος [τὸ β'] καὶ Ἀνθεμίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* VIII 9931.1 (Hermop., 22.ix; cf. *BL* 6.161).
- 406 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Στελίχωνος τὸ β' καὶ Ἀνθεμίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Prag.* I 51.1 (Arsin., 7.iv).
- 407 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ε' καὶ Φλ. Πρόβου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* VIII 1122.1 (9.vi).
τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου τὸ ζ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ β' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγούστων: *SB* XVIII 13948.14 (Memph., 14.ix); *CPR* X 110.1 (Arsin., 2.xii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 89.1 (Arsin.?, p.c. poss.).
- 408 Φλαυίων Βάσσου καὶ Φιλίππου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4677.1 (26.ix).
- 409 μ.τ.ύ. Βάσσου καὶ Φιλίππου: *SB* I 1540.8 (19.iii; inser.).
τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ η' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ γ' τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4678.1 (18.x); *SPP* XX 115.1 (Arsin.; very frag.; p.c. possible).
- 410 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ η' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ γ' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Herm.* 69.1 (5.v; cf. *BL* 7.68).
- 411 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Οὐαράνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LV 3803.1 (16.viii).
τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ θ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ δ' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *SPP* XX 117.1 (Herakleop., 9.xii; cf. *BL* 2.2.164, 7.262).

- 412 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ θ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ δ' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Oxy.* LI 3639.1 (11.ix); *P.Mich.* XI 611.1 (Oxy., 27.ix).
 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ θ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ ε': *P.Oxy.* LV 3796.1 (10.xii).
 413 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ θ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ ε' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Heid.* IV 306.1 (Oxy., 16.xii).
 414 Φλ. Κωνσταντίου καὶ Φλ. Κώνσταντος τοῦ λαμπρ. ἐπάρχ. πραιτωρίου: *P.Rain.Cent.* 90.1 (frag.; p.c. poss.; dated earlier in *BL* 9.223 on specious grounds).
 415 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Κώνσταντος τῶν λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 90.1 (Arsin. or Herakleop., 15.vi; cf. *BL* 7.261, 8.467); *P.Mich.* XI 613.1 (Herakleop., 19.viii; om. Φλ.).
 416 τοῦ δεσπ. [ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ζ' καὶ τοῦ] δηλωθησομένου: *SB* XX 15137.1 (Oxy.).
 417 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ζ' καὶ Φλ. Παλλαδίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Prag.* I 52.2 (prov. unkn., 10.iii; or cos. from 416?); *P.Got.* 39.1 (Arsin., 8.v; cf. *BL* 7.61); *P.Berl.Zill.* 5.1 (Hermop., 15.vi; adds ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱερ. πραιτ. τῆς Ἰταλίας).
P.Vind.Sijp. 9.19 (Herakleop.) has Theodosius VII plus Φλ. Κωνσταντίου τοῦ λαμπρ., the consul of 414, 417 and 420; indiction does not match, and date is uncertain.
 Honorius Aug. XI et Fl. Constantius comes v. magnif. et patricius (in Hebrew, written in Aramaic characters): *Pap.Colon.* XII (Antinoop., 15.xi).
 418 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ια' καὶ Φλ. Κωνσταντίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Köln* II 102.1 (Oxy., 30.iii or 9.iv; om. the expected τὸ β' after λαμπρ.); *CPR* X 111.1 (Herakleop.; same omission?).
 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου τὸ ιβ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ η' τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγουστῶν: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4679.1 (21.xii).
 419 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ ιβ' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ η' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *SB* XXII 15801.1 (Arsin., 14.v); *PSI* XIII 1365.2 (Oxy., 6.vii); *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4681.1 (10?.viii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 91.13 (prov. unkn.).
 420 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Μοναξίου καὶ Πλίντα τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1973.1 (15.ii); *PSI* XIII 1340.1 (Oxy., 18.xi); *CPR* X 38.1 (Herakleop.); *P.Rain.Unterricht* 63.38 (Herakleop.; school text or writing exercise; breaks off after Monaxius). Cf. under 417.
 421 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ θ' καὶ Φλ. Κωνσταντίου τοῦ λαμπρ. πατρικίου τὸ γ': *P.Oxy.* VIII 1134.1 (3.iii); *P.Select.* 8.1 (Oxy., 22.iv; λαμπρ. πατρ. τὸ γ' rest.); *P.Select.* 13.18 (Herakleop., 25.vi; om. πατρ.); *SPP* XX 114.1 (Alexandria, 25.vii; cf. *BL* 7.262; om. πατρ.? see *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4682.1n.); *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4682.1 (9?.x; om. πατρ.).
 Φλαυίων Εὐσταθίου καὶ Ἀγρικόλου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* XVI 12260 = *SB* XVIII 13882.1 (Oxy., 20.xii).

- 422 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Εϋσταθίου και Ἀγρικόλου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 118 (Herakleop., 29.viii).
 423 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Ὀνωρίου τὸ γ' και Θεοδοσίου τὸ ι' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4388.1 (28.i); *PSI* I 87.1 (Oxy., 29.vi); *P.Köln* III 151.1 (Cynop., 24.vii); *PSI* VI 689.1 (Oxy.).
 424 μ.τ.ύ. Ἀσκληπιοδότου και Μαρινιανοῦ τῶν μεγαλοπρεπ. και ἐξοχοτάτων ἐπάρχων τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων: *P.Rain.Cent.* 92.1 (pron. unkn.).
 424 μ.τ.ύ. Ἀσκληπιοδότου και Μαρινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* XXII 15620.1 (Antinoop., 28.vii; cos. error for p.c.; adds τῶν μεγαλοπρεπ. ἐπάρχ. τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου; cf. *BL* 11.240); *SB* XII 11023.1 (pron. unkn.; ed. 423-425; should Φλ(αυίων) be restored? cf. *BL* 7.224).
 425 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ια' και Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφ. Καίσι. τὸ α': *P.Stras.* VII 639.1 (Hermop., 24.xii; numerals rest.).
 426 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τὸ ια' και Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ α' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *BGU* III 936.1 (Oxy., 30.iv; τὸ ι'); *P.Oslo* II 35.1 (Oxy., 6.x; cf. *BL* 7.124); *P.Laur.* IV 159.1 (Oxy.).
 426 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τὸ ιβ' και Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ β' τῶν αἰων.: *BGU* XII 2137.1 (Hermop., 2nd half of 426); *P.Rain.Cent.* 93.1 (Hermop.?, p.c. poss.).
 427 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τὸ ιβ' και Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ β' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1880.1 (25.ii); 1881.1 (13.iii); *CPR* X 112.1 (pron. unkn., 14.iv); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1967.1; *P.Leid.Inst.* 66.1 (Oxy.).
 427 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἰερίου και Ἀρταβουρίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* X 113.1 (pron. unkn., 14.x; or p.c., 13.x.428).
 428 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἰερίου και Ἀρταβουρίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Flor.* III 314.1 (Hermop., 27.iv); *P.Vind.Tand.* 6.13 (Herakleop., epith. lost).
 429 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Φήλικος και Ταύρου τῶν λαμπρ.: *PSI* III 245.1 (Hermop., 16.i; cos. for p.c.); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 36.1 (Oxy., 9.v; cos. also poss. but less likely); *P.Rain.Cent.* 122.1 = *SB* XVIII 13883 (Oxy., 19.ix).
 430 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Φλωρεντίου και Διονυσίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1957.1 (28.iii); *PSI* XII 1239.1 (Antinoop., 18.ix); *BGU* XII 2138.1 (Hermop., 16.xi); *P.Mich.* XV 730.1 (Oxy.); *P.Prag.* I 53.3 (pron. unkn.).
 431 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τὸ γ' και Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ γ' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Palau Rib.* I 14.1 (Oxy.?, i-ii); *P.Rain.Unterricht* 95.21 (Herakleop., 6.vii; writing exercise or school text); *P.Köln* V 234.1 (Oxy., 1.ix); *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4684.1.
 432 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἀντιόχου και Βάσσου τῶν λαμπρ.: *BGU* XII 2139.1 (Hermop., v); *PSI* XVII *Congr.* 29.1 (Oxy., 31.viii); *SB* XXIV 16261.5 (fr. a) (Herakleop.).
 432 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίου Οὐαλερίου [: *BGU* XII 2140.1 (Hermop., xi-xii; cf. ed. note ad loc.).
 433 no papyri.

- 434 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ιδ' καὶ Φλ. Μαξίμου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Lond.* V 1777.1 (Oxy., 7.ix; cf. p.viii); *SB* XVIII 14017 (prov. unkn.; frag.).
 Fl. Areobindo et Ardabure v.c.: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1879 = *ChLA* XLVII 1409.1 (prob. 7.ix-31.xii, cf. *BL* 8.250).
- 435 μ.τ.ύ. Φλλ. Ἀρεοβίνδου καὶ Ἄσπερος τῶν λαμπροτάτων: *P.Select.* 15.1 (Herakleop., 26.i); *P.Stras.* I 1.1 (Hermop., 20.viii; cos. for p.c., cf. *BL* 8.413); *SB* XXII 15493 = *P.Flor.* III 315.1 (Hermop., ix-x?).
 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τὸ ιε' καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ δ' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *CPR* X 114.1 (Herakleop.?, p.c. possible).
- 436 μ.τ.ύ. τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τὸ ιε' καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ δ' τῶν αἰων. Αὐγ.: *PSI* VI 708.1 (Oxy., 2.xi; Theodosius' numeral corr. from 14).
- 437 no papyri.
- 438 [μ.τ.ύ.] Φλλ. Ἀετίου τὸ β [καὶ Σιγισβούλδου τῶν λαμπρ.]: *P.Wash.Univ.* I 37.1 (Oxy.?, 14.ix; we prefer this reading to those reported in *BL* 8.510 and *P.Wash.Univ.* II, p. 244).
 τῶν δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ις' καὶ Φλ. Φαύστου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Köln* II 103.1 (Oxy., xi-xii).
- 439 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ις' καὶ Φλ. Φαύστου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Haun.* III 58.1 (Arsin., 15.v; om. τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ.; cf. *BL* 10.83); *SPP* XX 121.1 (Hermop., 6.vii; see *BL* 7.262-263); *CPR* VI 6.1 (Hermop., 8.vii).
- 440 Φλ. Ἀνατολίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Harr.* I 87.1 (Oxy., 27.vi); *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4686.1 (5.ix); *P.Mil.* I 64.1 (Oxy., 6.xii; prob. restore p.c., but written in error for cos.; see *BL* 7.103, *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4688.2n.).
- 441 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ ε' καὶ Φλ. Ἀνατολίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4687.1 (26.v).
 Φλ. Κύρου (Ἰέρακος) τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 94.1 (Herakleop., 4.ix; adds Ἰέρακος); *BGU* II 609.1 (Arsin., 12.xi).
- 442 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Κύρου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* XIV 11434.1 (Antinoop., ii-iii; p.c. necessary rest.); *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4688.2 (1.v-24.vi); LXVIII 4689.2 (29.viii); LXVIII 4690.1 (10.ix).
- 443 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Εὐδοξίου καὶ Διοσκόρου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* XX 14425.1 (prov. unkn.; 24.iv; gives Διονυσίου [cos. 429] instead of Διοσκόρου); *P.Oxy.* VI 913.1 (16.x; see *BL* 7.132).
 Φλ. Μαξίμου τὸ β' καὶ Πατερίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* X 39.1 (Herakleop., 13.xi; largely restored, 503 possible).
- 444 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Μαξίμου τὸ β' καὶ Πατερίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* VII 1037.2 (11.viii); *P.Harr.* I 86.15 (Oxy., 8.x); *P.Oxy.* L 3583.1 (13.xi).

- 445 ὑπατίαν (sic, evid. for μ.τ.ύ.) τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Θεοδοσίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ιη' καὶ Φλ. Ἄλβινου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 123.2 (Herakleor., 28.iii; *BL* 7.263).
- 446 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ε' καὶ Φλ. Νόμου] τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Ant.* II 102.1 (iv-v; cf. *BL* 8.9).
- 447 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ε' καὶ Φλ. Νόμου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 96.1 (Herakleor., 23.ix); *BGU* XII 2141.1 (Hermor., 17.xi; adds before Nomus' name: τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου μαγίστρου τῶν θεῶν ὀφφικίων); *P.Rain.Cent.* 95.1 (Herakleor., ix-xii; beginning lost).
- 448 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἀετίου τὸ γ' καὶ Συμμάχου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* X 116.1 (Herakleor.; space makes rest. of p.c. less likely).
- 449 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἀετίου τὸ γ' καὶ Συμμάχου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 97.1 (Theodosior., 3.xii).
- 448 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἀρδαβουρίου καὶ Ἀλυπίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Flor.* III 311.1 (Hermor., 24.vi; cf. *BL* 8.129).
- Φλ. Ζήνωνος καὶ Ποστουμιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* XVI 12948.1 (Hermor., 10.x).
- 449 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ζήνωνος καὶ Ποστουμιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* VIII 1129.1 (19.i); *P.Flor.* III 313.1 (Hermor., 12.viii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 98.1 (Herakleor.).
- Φλ. Πρωτογένους καὶ Αὐστουρίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Mil.* I 45.1 (Hermor., 7.xi).
- 450 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Πρωτογένους καὶ Αὐστουρίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* XIV 12.22 (Herakleor., 25.ii; cf. *BL* 9.76 [cos. error for p.c.]); *CPR* XXIII 32.17 (Herakleor., 20.vii).
- 451 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ ζ' καὶ Φλ. Ἀβιηνοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ.: *CPR* IX 40 B.1 (Hermor., 7.x).
- τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ α' καὶ τοῦ ἀποδειχθησομένου: *P.Rain.Cent.* 99.1 (Hermor., 24.vii).
- 452 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 100.1 (Arsin., 21.ix); *CPR* XIX 5.1 (Hermor., 9.x; adds καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου); *SB* XXII 15587 verso.3 (Herakleor., fragm.).
- 453 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Σπορακίου τοῦ μεγαλοπρ. καὶ ἀνδρειοτάτου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας δηλωθησομένου: *P. Vind.Sijp.* 11.1 (Hermor., 17.ii; see *BL* 5.61).
- μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Σπορακίου τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4691.1 (16.iv); LXVIII 4692.1 (31.vii).
- 454 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Βιγκωμάλλου καὶ Ὀπηλίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Würzb.* 17.1 (Arsin., 8.i; has ὑπατείας as error for p.c., cf. ed. introd. and note to line 1); *SPP* I, p. 7 ii.1 (Antinoor., 2.iii; Ὀπιλιωνος); *P.Lond.* V 1773.1 (Hermor., 11.iv; -ίωνος); *SB* X 10523.1 (4.viii; uncert. formula); *P.Select.* 1.1 (Oxy.).

- 446 Φλ. Ἀετίου καὶ Στουδίου [: *PSI* X 1114.1 (Oxy.).
- 455 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἀετίου καὶ Στουδίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SPP* I, p. 8 iii.1 (Apollonop. Heptak., 13.ii; cf. *BL* 7.254); *P.Gron.Amst.* 1 = *SB* XXIV 15970.1 (Oxy., 14.iii); *P.Prag.* II 131.1 (Arsin., 21.ix; see editor's note ad loc.).
- 456 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τὸ η' καὶ Φλ. Ἀνθεμίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Monac.* III 102.2 (Hermop., 20.ix).
- 457 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Φλ. Ἀνθεμίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Yale* I 71.1 (Oxy., 28.viii).
- 458 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Φλ. Ἀνθεμίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Bodl.* I 52.1 (pron. unkn., 11.iii; ed. 15.iii.456, cf. *ZPE* 138 [2002] 140).
- 459 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ῥούφου τῶν μεγαλοπρεπ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 101.1 (Herakleop., 29.ix); *BGU* XII 2146.1 (Hermop., 3-13.xi).
- 460 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ῥούφου τῶν [λαμπρ.]: *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2718.1 (5.vi).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Λέοντος αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ α': *PSI* IX 1075.14 (Oxy., 3.viii).
- 461 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Λέοντος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. Αυτόκράτορος τὸ α': *P.Rain.Cent.* 102.1 (Herakleop., ix-xii).
- 462 Φλ. Ἀπ[ολλωνίου τοῦ λαμπρ. (καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου?)]: *P.Oxy.* L 3599.1 (9.xii).
- 463 p.c. Apollonii v.c. et qui nuntiatus fuerit: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1878 = *ChLA* XLVII 1408.1 (Herakleop., I.ix).
μ.τ.ύ. Φλα[οῦίου Λέον]τος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ α': *CPR* XIV 8.6 (Herakleop., 16.xi [suggestion of N. Gonis]; or date as ed. to 476, q.v.).
- 464 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Δαγαλαίφου καὶ Σευηρίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *PSI* III 175.1 (Oxy., 20.ix).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ β' καὶ [: *M.Chr.* 71.19 (Hermop., 7.x?; month, day, and indiction all problematic to varying degrees; rest. of lacuna uncert.; iteration numeral makes 466 difficult; see *BL* 8.225, 10.170, *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4694.1-2n.).
- 465 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Λέοντος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β': *SPP* XX 127.1 (Herakleop., 3.ii); *P.Vind.Sijp.* 7.1 (Herakleop., cf. *BL* 8.199).
- 466 Φλ. Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Rain.Cent.* 103.1 (Hermop., p.c. poss.).
- 467 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ ἀποδειχθησομένου: *SB* XVIII 13596.1 (Oxy., 17.iii); *BGU* XII 2147.1 (Hermop., 7.x; cf. ed. note to line 1).
- 468 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βιβιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Oxy.* VI 902.19 (Cynop., 20.xi; adds τὸ β' after Vivianus. Cf. supra, p. 89).
- 469 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ῥουστικίου καὶ Ὀλυμβρίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* I 4821.1 (Arsin., 3.iv; adds Νεστορίου after Ῥουστικίου; cf. *BL* 8.316); *PSI* VII 768.19 (Hermop., 23.vii; cf. *ZPE* 26

- [1977] 279); *P.Heid.* IV 331.1 (Oxy., 16.x).
- 466 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βιβιανού τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Prag.* I 37.1 (Arsin., 14.i; ed. dates to 465, but the crops of the 5th indiction [466/67] are mentioned in line 11, and in line 2 one can read δ instead of γ as the indiction number, cf. pl. XXXIX).
- 467 Φλαούων Βασιλίσκου καὶ Ἑρμενεριχ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4693.1 (27?.ii; cos. for p.c.).
- 468 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Λέοντος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ γ' καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4694.1 (14.xii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 104.2 (prov. unkn.; adds αὐτοκρ.). See also 462 on *M.Chr.* 71.19.
- 467 no papyri.
- 468 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Πουσαίου καὶ Ἰωάννου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Wisc.* I 10.1 (Oxy., 10.x; cf. *BL* 7. 100).
- 469 Φλαυίων Ζήνωνος καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2724.1 (19.x); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4390.1 (14.xii).
- 470 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ζήνωνος καὶ Μαρκιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *BGU XII* 2149.2 (Hermop., 19.ix); *SB XVI* 12486.2 (Hermop., 30.ix); *SB XXIV* 15905 A.1, B.1 (Oxy.).
- 471 Φλαυίων Ἰορδάνου καὶ Σεουήρου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Herm.* 61.1 (3.xii).
- 471 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἰορδάνου καὶ Σεουήρου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Bad.* IV 91 b.14 (Hermop., 24.iii).
Φλ. Λέωνος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ' καὶ Προβινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Lond.* V 1793.2 (Hermop., 1.x.ii; p.c. for cos., cf. *BL* 8.193, *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4695.2-3n.).
- 472 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λέοντος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ δ' καὶ Προβινιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Stras.* III 148.1 = *SB V* 8752.1 (Hermop., i-ii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 105.1 (Hermop., 24.vii).
- 473 Φλ. Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ ἀποδειχθησομένου: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4695.2 (31.viii); *BGU XII* 2150.1 (Hermop., 8.xi).
- 473 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Oxy.* LIX 3985 (9.v); *SB XVIII* 13620.1 (Hermop., 14.ix; cf. *BL* 9.304).
- 474 no papyri.
- 475 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Νέου Λέοντος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ α': *CPR V* 14.1 (Herakleop., 25.i); *SB XX* 15027.1 (Oxy., i-viii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 106.1 (Herakleop.); *APF* 45 (1999) 41.1 (Oxy.).
- 476 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Νέου Λέοντος τὸ α': *CPR XXIV* 10.1 (Hermop., 13.vi; cf. above, p. 121).
- 476 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Νέου Λέοντος τὸ α': *P.Oxy.* XVI 1899.1 (8.v; cf. supra, p. 89, n. 2); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1958.1 (19.viii; om. τὸ α'); *BGU XII* 2151.2 (Hermop., 19.x); *CPR XIV* 8.6 (Herakleop., 16.xi; reading μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ν[έου Λέον]τος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ α'; or more probably date to 461?).

- 475 or 476 *SB* XIV 11425 = *P.Palau Rib.* 15.1 (Oxy.; very fragmentary but cf. Νέος).
- 477 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Βασιλίσκου τὸ β' καὶ Ἀρμάτου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Köln* III 152.1 (Arsin., 28.i; has cos. for p.c.); *CPR* XIX 7.2 (Hermop., 17.ii).
- 478 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσποτοῦ ἡμῶν Φλ. Ζήνωνος καὶ Ἀρμάτου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου: *SB* III 7167.2 (Hermop., 4.x; cf. *BL* 7.191, 8.325).
- μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Ἀρμάτου: *CPR* V 15 = *P.Rain.Cent.* 123.1 (Herakleop., 15-23.vi).
- 479 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἰλλου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4392.1 (14.i).
- 480 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ζήνωνος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ': *PSI* VI 703.2 (Hermop., 28.i; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 272).
- 481 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ζήνωνος τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ': *SB* XXII 15461.1 (Herakleop., 17-25.iii; *SB*: 480 or 481); *P.Princ.* II 82.1 (Lykop., 27.iii); *CPR* XIX 8.1 (Lykop.?, 27.iii or 3.iv); *BGU* XVII 2675.1 (Hermop., 15.ix); *BGU* XVII 2682.1 (Hermop., 29.viii-27.ix; adds αὐτοκρ. bef. τὸ γ').
- Φλ. Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *BGU* XII 2155.2 (Hermop., 18.x; acc. ed. introd., cos. is error for p.c.; om. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου); *SB* XX 14535.1 (Arsin., ed.: 19.x.541?, but perhaps from 481, cos. for p.c. and omitting καὶ κτλ., as in *BGU* XII 2155.2 [so N. Gonis in *ZPE* 132 [2000] 184-186?]); *CPR* X 117.2 (Herakleop.?, or p.c., 482; or 542-566?).
- 482 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Lond.* III 991.1 (p. 258) (Hermonthis, 22.vi; cf. *ZPE* 123 [1998] 197: 22.vi.482? and *ZPE* 132 [2000] 185 n.10: 22.vi.483?); *CPR* X 118.2 (Hermop., 13?.x). Cf. also under 481.
- 483 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Τροκόνδη τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Lond.* V 1896.1 (Hermop., vi-vii); *SB* XX 15134.2 (Oxy., 11.vii; om. καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου); *BGU* XII 2156.2 (Hermop., 27.viii); *BASP* 37 (2000) 71-81 no.3.1 (prov. unkn.; or 484?).
- For the genitive of the name Trokondas see *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4435.21n.
- 484 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Τροκόνδη τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 107.1 (prov. unkn., 14.ii); *P.Oxy.* VIII 1130.1 (4.v; see *BL* 7.135 and 8.241); *BASP* 37 (2000) 71-81 no. 3.1 (or 483?).
- Φλ. Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4696.2 (2.ix); *PSI* III 183.1 (Herakleop., ix-x); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1969.1 (20.ix; cf. *BL* 3.140); *P.Rain.Cent.* 108.1 (Herakleop.; p.c. 485 or 486 poss.).
- 485 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Coll.Youtie* II 89.1 (Hermop., 28.vi); *BGU* XII 2157.1 (Hermop., 21.ix); 2159.1 (Hermop., 4.xii); *P.Laur.* IV 141 verso = *SB* XVI 12587 (prov. unkn.; or 486).
- 486 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Θεοδωρίχου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* VI 914.1 (30.i); *CPR* V 16.2 (Hermop., 16.ix).
- Φλ. Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* XVIII 14001.1 (Arsin., prob. after 16.ix; cf. *BL* 9.310).

- 487 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1961.2 (14.iv); *SPP* XX 128.1 (Arsin., 23.v); *P.Amh.* II 148.1 (Arsin., 19.viii); *CPR* IX 36.1 (Hermop., 487 or 488).
- 488 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Lond.* V 1794.2 (21.vi; cf. *BL* 8.193); *BGU* XII 2160.1 (Hermop., 21.ix).
- 489 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* XIV 11601.1 (Oxy., 3.iii; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 283; or 504?); *P.Flor.* III 325.1 (Oxy., 20.v; cf. *BL* 7.53).
Φλ. Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4697.2 (27-31.xii; or cos. for p.c., i.490?).
- 490 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 109.1 (prov. unkn., bef. 1.ix); *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4698.2 (3.x).
Φλ. Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ. τὸ β': *P.Rain.Cent.* 110.2 (Herakleop., 16.xii).
- 491 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ. τὸ β': *BGU* XII 2162.1 (Hermop., 20.ii); *CPR* X 119.1 (Arsin., 19.iii [HGV; ed. pr.: 16.iii]); *P.Flor.* I 94.1 (Hermop., 18.x).
- 492 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Λογγίνου τοῦ λαμπρ. τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3512 (27.ii).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. καὶ Φλ. Ρούφου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου: *SB* XVIII 13953.1 (Herakleop., 17.vi); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4394.35f. (Alexandria, 22.viii); *CPR* VII 40.1 (Hermop., 2.ix; adds αὐτοκρ. after Αὐγ.); *P.Rain.Cent.* 124.1 (Herakleop., 9.x; om. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ.). For *P.Hamb.* IV 266 + *BGU* XVII 2688, cf. under 507.
- 493 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. καὶ Φλ. Ρούφου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Grenf.* I 55.1 (Arsin., 25.ii); *P.Prag.* II 164.1 (Arsin., 8.iii); *P.Lond.* V 1855.1 (Syene, 26.iv; part of *P.Münch.* I 15, cf. *BL* 8.227; Φλ. only at start).
- 494 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπρ. τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* LIX 3986.2 (8.iii); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4394.7-8 (Alexandria, 13.vii; also contains dates to 24 and 25.vi in lines 50-52 and 110-112); *BGU* XII 2164.1 (Hermop., 13.xii).
- 495 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπρ. τὸ β': *CPR* XIX 9.1 (Hermop., 12.xi); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1891.1 (29.xi).
- 496 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Εὐσεβίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* VIII 9776.1 (Hermop., 15.i; see *BL* 7.214; om. the expected τὸ β').
μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βεάτορος τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1889.2 (22.xi; see *ZPE* 23 [1976] 168); 1975.1 (30.xi).
- 497 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Παύλου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 129.17 (Herakleop., 4.ii).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β': *SB* V 7758.2 (Hermop., 20.viii; adds αὐτοκρ. after Αὐγ.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1982.1 (1.x); *P.Oxy.* X 1320.1 (23.x).
- 498 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* XIX 2237.1 (15.i); *P.Lond.* I 113, 5a.1 (p. 210) (Arsin., 23.iii); *BGU* XII 2173.17 (Hermop., iii-iv).

- 405 Φλ. Ἰωάννου καὶ Παυλίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB XIV* 12050.1 (Hermop., xi-xii?); *SB XX* 14712 (Hermop.; epithet lost).
- 477 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ημε. Φλ. Βασυλίσκου τοῦ β' καὶ Ἀρμάτου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Köln III* 152.1
- 499 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ἰωάννου καὶ Παυλίνου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Mich. XV* 731.1 (Oxy., vi-vii).
 Φλ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξ. καὶ ὑπερφουεστάτου στρατηγοῦ: *P.Oxy. LXIII* 4395.156 (27.vii; only λαμπρ.); *P.Oxy. XVI* 1959.1 (30.viii).
- 478 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ημε. καὶ Ἀρμάτου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB III* 2167.2
- 500 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *BGU XVII* 2676.1 (Hermop., 5.i; τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ ἐνδοξ. στρατηγοῦ +?; cf. *ZPE* 142 [2003] 188); *P.Herm.* 79.2 (14.i; cf. *BL* 5.46); *P.Oxy. LXIII* 4394.256 (Alexandria, 15.ii; cos. error for p.c.); 4395.130 (24.ii; cos. error for p.c.).
- 419 Φλαυίων Πατρικίου καὶ Ὑπατίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB XVI* 12583.1 (Oxy., 15.ix); *P.Stras. IV* 273 = *V* 471.1 (Hermop., 3.xii; Patricius is τοῦ λαμπρ. στρατηγοῦ, Hyratius τοῦ λαμπρ.).
- 480 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ημε. καὶ Ἀρμάτου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB III* 2167.2
- 501 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Πατρικίου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὑπάτου καὶ τοῦ δηλωθησομένου: *P.Amsl. I* 45.2 (Hermop., 7.vii; cf. note *ad loc.*).
 [Φλ.?] Πομπηίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Bingen* 129.1 = *P.Lond. V* 1797 (Oxy., 10?.vii); *BGU XII* 2174.1 (Hermop., 23.ix).
 [Φλλ.? Πομπηίου] καὶ Ἀβιηνοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR XXIV* 18.1 (Aphrodit(espolis) [Aphroditopolite nome?]; ed. 502, restoring [ὑπατείας Φλ(αυίων) Πρόβου] καὶ Ἀβιηνοῦ).
- 502 Φλ. Πρόβου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB XVI* 12786.1 (pron. unkn.; v-viii).
 Φλαυίων Πρόβου καὶ Ἀβιηνοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Stras. IV* 229.1 (Panop., ed. vi-ix; viii most likely, cf. *BL* 7.242); *P.Oxy. L* 3600.1 (1.xii).
- 503 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Πρόβου καὶ Ἀβιηνοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Ross.Georg. V* 31.1 (Arsin., 8.iii).
- 482 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βασυλίου τοῦ λαμπρ. καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Φλ. Βασυλίσκου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB III* 2167.2
- 503 [] Βολουσιανοῦ τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Herm.* 28.1 (Hermonthis, x-xi).
- 504 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Δεξικράτους τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB XII* 11601.1 (Oxy., 3.iii; or 489?); *P.Oxy. LXII* 4349.1 (20.viii); *P.Ross.Georg. III* 32.1 (Arsin., 12.ix); *BGU XII* 2180.1 (Hermop., 25.ix; ἐνδοξ.); *SB XVI* 12378.1 (Hermop., 12.x; Δεξικράτορος?); *P.Oxy. XVI* 1884.16 (27.x; ἐνδοξ.).
 Φλ. Κεθήγου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.David* 17.1 (= *SB X* 10287) (Hermop., 29.x); *P.Oxy. LXVIII* 4700.1 (18.xi; ἐνδοξ.); *XVI* 1883.12 (21.xii; ἐνδοξ.).
- 481 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ημε. καὶ Ἀρμάτου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB III* 2167.2
- 505 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Κεθήγου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 111.1 (13.i?); *P.Oxy. XVI* 1966.1 (24.v; ἐνδοξ.); *SPP XX* 130.1 (Herakleop., 26.v; cf. *BL* 8.468); *P.Stras. V* 471 bis = *P.Flor. I* 73.1 (Hermop., 16.vii); *P.Stras. VI* 578.2 (Hermop., 25.viii; cf. *REG* 113 [2000] 408-412).
 Φλαυίων Σαβινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν ἐνδοξ.: *P.Oxy. XVI* 1994.1 = *SB XXIV* 15924 (17.vii); *P.Oxy. LXVII* 4615.2 (3.ix); *LXVIII* 4701.1 (or p.c., 506?; λαμπρ.).
 Sabiniano et Theodoro viris clarissimis: *P.Ryl. IV* 609 = *ChLA IV* 246.8 (Hermop.).
- 485 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ημε. καὶ Ἀρμάτου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB III* 2167.2
- 506 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Σαβινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB XVI* 12864.1 (Hermop., 20.iii); *P.Cair.Masp. I* 67100.1 (Antaiop., 27.vii); *P.Stras. VII* 656.1 (Hermop., 30.viii); *CPR XIV* 48.20; *P.Rain.Unterricht* 62.6 (Herakleop., om. Theod.; exercise). Cf. 507.
 Φλ. Διογένη τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB XVIII* 14001.1 (Arsin., prob. after 16.ix; cf. *BL* 9.310).

- 507 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Σαβινιανού και Θεοδώρου τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Heid.* V 357.1 (Hermop., 14.ii).
 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. αὐτοκράτορος τὸ γ': *P.Lond.* III 992.1 (p.
 253) (Hermop., vi-vii); *P.Hamb.* IV 266.1 + *BGU XVII* 2688 (Hermop., 25.xi; see *APF* 48
 [2002] 143-146; much restored); *P.Lond.* III 1313.2 (p. 256) (Hermop., 1.xii).
 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. αὐτοκράτορος τὸ γ' και Βηναντίου τοῦ
 λαμπρ.: *SB XVIII* 13947 (Oxy., 1.x).
- 508 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ γ' και Βηναντίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.*
 XVI 1890.11 (27.xi); *CPR VI* 8.2 (prov. unkn.; αὐτοκρ. τὸ δ'; adds Φλ., om. τοῦ λαμπρ.).
 Φλαυίων Κέλερος [και Βηναντίου τῶν λαμπρ.]: *P.CrumST* 405 (Hermonthis?, 21.ix).
- 509 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Κέλερος και Βηναντίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *BGU XII* 2181.1 (Hermop., 4?.v; cf. *BL*
 8.53).
 Φλ. Ὀππορτόνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Vind.Sal.* 9.2 (Hermop., 25.ix); *P.Lond.* III 1307 (p. lxxii
 descr.; cf. p. 337) (Hermop., 30.ix); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1885.19 (29.xi); *P.Rain.Cent.* 112.1 (Arsin.,
 5.xii).
- 510 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ὀππορτόνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Berl.Frisk* 5.1 (Hermop., 14.v); *BGU XII* 2182.1
 (Hermop., 2.vi); *SB I* 5941.7 (prov. unkn., 21.ix; school exercise, cf. *BL* 7.189 and *ZPE* 53
 [1983] 247 n.11).
- 511 Φλαυίων Σεκουνδίνου και Φήλικος τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Ness.* 15.1 (Rhinokoroura, 30.v; cf. *BL*
 9.59); *SB XVIII* 13860.1 (Arsin., vii-viii; restore Φλ. in line 1, cf. *BL* 7.263 at *SPP XX* 135);
P.Oxy. XVI 1960.1 (17.viii); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67101.2 (Antaiop., 29.x; ἐνδοξ.; cf. *ZPE* 26
 [1977] 272).
- 512 Φλαυίων Παύλου και Μοσχιανού τῶν λαμπρ.: *BGU XII* 2185.1 (Hermop., 27.vi; ἐνδοξ.
 almost entirely restored); *SB IV* 7369.2 (Hermop., viii-ix; no epithet?); *P.Dubl.* 32.2 (Arsin.,
 7.ix); *P.Stras.* V 483.1 (Hermop.).
- 513 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Παύλου και Μοσχιανού τῶν λαμπρ.: *P.Dubl.* 33.1 (Arsin., 9.vii).
 Φλαυίων Κλημεντίνου και Πρόβου τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων: *P.Coll.Youtie* II 90.2 (Hermop., 4.ix);
SB XIV 11373.1 = *BGU XVII* 2683 (Hermop., 19.ix; ὑπερφυεστάτων); *P.Erl.* 78.1 (Oxy.,
 8.x; epithet rest. as ἐνδοξ; cf. *BL* 7.47).
- 514 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Κλημεντίνου και Πρόβου τῶν ἐνδοξ.: *P.Lond.* III 993 (p. li descr.) (prov.
 unkn., 8.1; exact formula not published); *P.Mich.* XI 612.1 (Oxy., 27.vi); *P.Wash.Univ.* I
 17.1 (Oxy., viii-xii; λαμπρ.); *P.Flor.* III 279.1 (Antaiop., 15.x); *BGU XII* 2186.1 (Hermop.).
 Φλ. Σενάτορος τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67001.2 (Antaiop., 28.xii); *P.Flor.* III 280.1
 (Antaiop., 29.xii).
- 515 Φλ. Ἀνθεμίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *SPP XX* 126.1 (Hermop., 14.ix; cf. *BL* 7.263, 9.346);
P.Cair.Masp. III 67306.1 (Antaiop., 11.x; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 272); *CPR XIX* 6.1 (Herak-
 leop., ix-xii, λαμπρ.; or from 455?).

- 516 no papyri.
- 517 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Πέτρου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Lond.* III 994.2 (p. 259) (Hermop., 24.ii; see *BL* 7.87); *SB* XX 14964.1 (Oxy., 25.iii; λαμπρ.).
Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ εὐκλεεστάτου: *P.Flor.* III 281.2 (Antaiop., 14.ix).
- 518 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SPP* XX 131.1 (Arsin., 3.ii; cf. *BL* 7.263); *P.Leid.Inst.* 70.1 (Oxy.).
Φλ. Μάγνου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *PSI* V 466.1 (Oxy., ix-x).
- 519 τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος: *P.Oxy.* LVII 3914.1 (14.vi; adds τὸ α'); *P.Stras.* III 133.1 (Lykop.; doubtful; see *BL* 5.131).
- 520 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Oxy.* LXVIII 4702.1 (5.ii).
Φλ. Βιταλιανοῦ (Οὐίτ-) τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Lond.* V 1699.1 (Antaiop., 11.viii; λαμπρ.); *P.Flor.* III 282.1 (Antaiop., 31.viii; cf. *BL* 7.52); *PSI* IV 296.1 (Hermop.; line 6, rest. prob. [πεντεκαίδεκάτης]).
Φλ. Ῥουστικίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *BGU* XII 2187.1 (Hermop., 3.x; cf. ed. introd.).
- 521 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ῥουστικίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *CPR* XIX 10.2 (Hermop., 3.viii; name of consul abbreviated; note overlap with consulate of this year).
Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ πανευφήμου: *P.Stras.* VI 579.1 (Hermop., 24.v); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67328 *passim* (Antaiop., 5-14.vii; ἐνδοξ. καὶ ὑπερφουεστάτου; cf. above, p. 121, n. 19); *P.Prag.* I 45.1 (Antinoop., 30.x; very fragm.; or p.c.?).
- 522 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Prag.* I 46.1 (Antinoop., 15.ii).
Φλαβίων Συμμάχου καὶ Βοηθίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *SB* XVI 13037.2 (Hermop., 23.x.522 [cos.] or 24.x.523 [ind.]); *SPP* XX 137.1 (Herakleop., 23.xi); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 33.1 (Antaiop.; cf. *BL* 4.72).
- 523 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαβίων Συμμάχου καὶ Βοηθίου τῶν λαμπρ.: *CPR* X 120.1 (Arsin., 21.i).
Φλ. Μαξίμου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1984.1 (28.x; cf. *BL* 7.143); *P.Lond.* V 1687.2 (Antaiop., 16.xii); 1688.1 (Antaiop., 25.xii).
- 524 [μ.τ.ύ.] Φλ. Μαξίμου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *SB* V 8264.1 (Oxy., 5-14.iv; cf. indiction for date; ὑπατεία] ed., but see *BL* 7.198).
τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. τὸ β' καὶ Φλ. Ὀπιλιωνοῦ τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67117.27 (Antaiop., vi-vii); *P.Flor.* III 342.1 (Antaiop., 5.x; adds αὐτοκρ. after Αὐγ.; Ὀπιλιανοῦ τοῦ λαμπρ.); *PSI* VIII 931.1 (Antaiop., 6.x; adds αὐτοκρ.; Ὀπιλιανοῦ); *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 14.2 (Antaiop., 23.x; cf. *BL* 8.503). Cf. under 453.
- 525 Φλ. Φιλοξένου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Flor.* III 323.1 (Hermop., 15.iv; ἐνδοξ., cf. *BL* 7.53); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67125.2 (Antaiop., 14.vii); *BGU* II 673.1 (Hermonthis, 18.ix; [-]); *BGU* IV 1094.17 (Hermop., 29.ix; ἐνδοξ.); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4616.1 (30.ix); *P.Lond.* III 1306 (p. lxxii descr., cf. p. 337) (Hermop., 5.x; ἐ.); *P.Iand.* III 43.1 (Oxy., 14.x); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67254

- (Antaiop., 30.x; é.); *P.Rain.Cent.* 113.1 (Herakleop., p.c., 526, poss.); *P.Mert.* III 134.1 = *SB* XVI 12472 (Oxy., p.c., 526, poss.).
- 526 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Φιλοξένου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *Proc.Congr.* 18 I 92 (Hermop., 28.iii; cos. error for p.c.; exact formula not given); *P.Michael.* 43.1 (Antaiop., 8.vi); *BGU* XII 2188.2 (Hermop., 18.vii); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67102.1 (Antaiop., 25.vii); 67103.1 (Antaiop., 16.ix); *PSI* III 246.2 (Oxy., 19.ix; λαμπρ.); *PapCongr XXII* 1.478.1 (Antaiop., 26.x); *SB* XXII 15285.1 (Oxy., 3.xii); *P.Rain.Cent.* 114.1 (Arsin., ind. points to 528/9!).
- 527 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ὀλυβρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67300.2 (Antaiop., 12.vi; cos. error for p.c., see *BL* 3.36, 4.14); *P.Lond.* V 1689.1 (Antaiop., 13.vi); *P.Michael.* 44.1 (Antaiop., 19.vii); *P.Mich.* XIII 670.1 (Antaiop., 1.v-18.vii; cf. ed. introd.); *P.Lond.* V 1690.1 (Antaiop., 30.viii).
- 528 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ὀλυβρίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Bingen* 131.1 (Oxy., 10.v).
 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ.: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67091.27 (Antaiop., 2.ix; adds αὐτοκρ.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1900.1 (24.x). Neither papyrus has τὸ β', which is expected.
- 529 Φλ. Δεκίου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου: *P.Bingen* 131.1 (Oxy., 10.v; completely restored, cf. *ZPE* 134 [2001] 180-181); *P.Rain.Cent.* 115 (prov. unkn.).
- 530 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Δεκίου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Lond.* V 1722.1 (Syene, 6.iii; cf. *BL* 8.192); *P.Stras.* V 317.1 (Antinoop., 13.iii; cos. error for p.c., indiction points to 530; cf. *BL* 9.327); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 25.1 (Oxy., 25.iii).
 Φλαυίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν ἐνδοξ.: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67104.1 (Antaiop., 19.viii); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67301.2 (Antaiop., 20.viii; cf. *BL* 4.15); *P.Rain.Cent.* 116 (Herakleop.?, 30?.x; first name Horius!); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2779.1 (30.xii; λαμπρ.); *BGU* II 369.1 (Arsin., 1.vii-31.xii; cf. *BL* 1.436; λαμπρ.).
- 531 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν ἐνδοξ.: *P.Hamb.* III 233.2 (Antaiop., 22.v(?)); *SB* X 10524.2 (Antinoop., 8.vi; cf. *BL* 7.220); *SPP* XX 139.1 (Arsin., 20.vi; cf. *BL* 2.2.165 and *BL* 7.263); *CPR* XIV 5.1 (Arsin., 7-16.xii; cf. *BL* 9.76; or from 532; [λ.]).
- 532 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν ἐνδοξ.: *P.Lond.* V 1691.2 (Antaiop., 8.iii); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67105.2 (Antaiop., ix-x); *CPR* XIV 5.1 (Arsin., 7-16.xii; cf. *BL* 9.76; or from 531; [λ.]).
- 533 μ.τ.ύ. Φλαυίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν ἐνδοξ.: *P.Rain.Cent.* 117.1 (Arsin., 23.iii; [λαμπρ.]); *SPP* XX 140.1 (Arsin., 18.iv; λαμπρ.); *CPR* X 27.1 = *SB* I 4663 (Arsin., 8.x).
 τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. καὶ αὐτοκρ. τὸ γ', χρυσοῦν ἔτος: *SB* XXIV 16284.2 = *P.Bodl.* I 82 (Hermop., x-xi; om. χρυσοῦν ἔτος); *P.Stras.* V 472.2 (Hermop., xi-xii; 16.xii?; or p.c., 534?; see *BASP* 17 [1980] 31).
 Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 47 for an unpublished papyrus featuring Justinian's consulate on 20.x.533.

- 534 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰών. Αὐγ. καὶ αὐτοκρ. τὸ γ': *PSI* III 216.1 (Oxy., 17.ii; om. καὶ αὐτοκρ.); *SB* XIV 11539.1 (Oxy., i-vii; cf. *BL* 8.371); *P.Stras.* V 472.2 (Hermop., xi-xii; 16.xii?; or cos., 533?; see *BASP* 17 [1980] 31).
- 535 μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰών. Αὐγ. τὸ δ': *SB* VIII 9876.1 (Herakleop., 16.vii; see *BASP* 17 [1980] 31).
- 536 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βελισαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Giss.* I 121.1 (prov. unkn., 17.iii; cf. *BL* 7.60; om. τοῦ αἰών., καὶ αὐτοκρ., Φλ.); *SB* XXII 15322.2 = *P.Athen.Xyla* 8.2 (Hermop., 19.iii; ἐνδοξ.; "595" in *SB* is a misprint).
- 537 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βελισαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Oxy.* XVI 1893.1 (18.vii); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67296.2 (Antaiop., 23.vii); 67297.2 (Antaiop., 23.vii); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1983.1 (28.vii); *PapCongr XXII* 1.546.1 (Lykop., 17.ix); *P.Erl.* 75.1 (Oxy., epith. lost).
- 538 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βελισαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Grenf.* II 85.1 (Arsin., 21.vi; cf. *BL* 7.63; λαμπρ.); *P.Lond.* V 1841.1 (Antaiop., 10.ix); *P.Flor.* III 283.2 (Antaiop., 9.xii); *SPP* XX 141.1 (prov. unkn.).
- 539 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βελισαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Amst.* I 47.1 (Hermop., 1.ii); *P.Grenf.* I 56.1 (Hermop., 20.iv; cf. *BL* 1.183); *SB* V 8029.1 (Antinoop., 6.viii; cf. *BL* 7.197); *P.Stras.* V 473.1 (Hermop., 17.ix); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 36.1 (Antaiop., 7.x); *SB* XXII 15597.1 = *P.Lond.* III 997 descr. (Hermop., 12.x; adds τὸ β'); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67123.1 (Antaiop., 30.x).
- 540 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βελισαρίου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *SB* III 6266.1 = 6704.1 (Antaiop., 23.i); *P.Michael.* 126.1 (Herakleop., 26.ii; λαμπρ.).
- 541 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξ. ἐπάργου τῶν ἱερῶν πραιτωρίων (sic): *P.Oxy.* XVI 1887.1 (15.iv; om. ἐπ. ... πραιτ.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1974.1 (27.iv; ed. 499; cf. *BL* 7.143); *PSI* VIII 933.1 (Antaiop., 24-28.viii); *P.Stras.* V 481.1 (Hermop., 23.ix; ἐνδοξ. καὶ ὑπερφουεστ.; om. ἐπ. ... πραιτ.); *P.Flor.* III 284.2 (Antaiop., 28.ix; om. ἐπ. ... πραιτ.); *P.Lond.* III 1000 (p. 250) (Hermop., 28.xi; like *P.Stras.* V 481); *SB* XVI 12488.2 (Hermop., 2.xii; ὑπερφουεστ.; om. ἐπ. ... πραιτ.); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67252.1 (Antaiop.; om. ἐπ. ... πραιτ.).
- 542 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξ. καὶ ὑπερφουεστ.: *P.Lond.* III 1001.2 (p. 270) (Hermop., 14.ii).
- 543 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἀπίωνος τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Harr.* II 238.4 (Oxy., 4.iv); *P.Ath.Xyla* 5.1 (7.ix); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67106.1 (Antaiop., 10.x); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67255.1 (prov. unkn., v-xii).
- 544 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἀπίωνος τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Berl.Möller* 3.3 = *SB* IV 7340 (Hermop., 27.iii); *PSI* III 188.2 (Hermop., i-iv); *SB* XVI 12267.2 (Hermop., 13.vii).
- 545 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Michael.* 45.1 (Antaiop., vii-viii; ὑπερφ.); *SB* VIII 9773.4 (Herakleop., 17.x; see *BL* 7.314); *SB* XXIV 15955.1 (Oxy., ix-x).
- 546 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ ἐνδοξ.: *P.Ath.Xyla* 4.1 (Hermop., 11.ii); *SB* XVI 12639.4 (Herakleop., ii-iii; cf. *BL* 9.288); *SB* XVIII 13949.1 (Oxy., 3?.iv); *SB* XIV 12051.1 (Hermop., ix).
- 547 μ.τ.ύ. Φλ. Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπρ.: *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67126.36 (Constantinople, 7.i); *P.Stras.* VI 597.2 (Hermop., ix-xii; [ἐνδοξ.]); *P.Bingen* 132.4 (Antaiop., 8.x; πανευφ.); *SB* XX 14535.1 (Arsin., 19.x; or from 481?).

- 542-566 Years are indicated by $\mu.\tau.\acute{\upsilon}.$ Φλ. Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου/ἐνδοξοτάτου/πανευφήμου (on these honorific epithets of Basilius see *BASP* 16 [1979] 245-246), usually either followed by a year number *or* (especially in Oxyrhynchos, but cf. *CPR* X 122.3n. [Memphis]) preceded by τοῖς τὸ ... In the list below, the formula is not repeated, but for each document, where the information is preserved, the epithet is indicated by its first letter. In cases where the postconsular formula is preceded by a regnal year of Justinian or Justinus II, we have added "R +"; similarly we have added "E+" to indicate the use of an Oxyrhynchite era date. Documents not precisely datable within the period of Basilius: *BGU* XII 2198.1 (Hermop., 27.i.545/28.i.560); *SB* XVIII 13885.1 (Arsin., 10.ix.547 or 9.ix.562; λ.); *BGU* XII 2201.1 (Hermop., iii-iv.550/565); *P.Rain.Cent.* 118.1 (Herakleop.?, 3/4.ix.544/559; λ.); *BGU* III 736.1 (Arsin., 3.xi.544/559; λ.); *P.Stras.* V 487.1 (Hermop., ε.); *SB* XII 11162 (Oxy., 14.viii; λ.); *SB* XIV 12052 (Hermop., 2.xi.545/560; cf. *ZPE* 23 [1976] 169-70; π.); *SB* XVIII 13885 = *P.Vind. Sal.* 10.1 (Arsin., 547/562; λ.); *CPR* XIX 39 (Herakleop., 542/557; [-]; R+?). Cf. also under 481.
- 542 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1995.1 (9.i; λ.); LXIII 4396.1 (18.ii; R+; λ.; regnal date points to 541); *SB* XX 15090.15 (Oxy., 11.vii; R+; λ.); *P.Stras.* V 482.1 (Hermop., xi-xii; π.).
- 543 *P.Lond.* I 113,5b.1 (p. 211) (Arsin., 31.i; λ.); *P.Genova* I 30.1 (Hermop., 29.viii; cf. *BL* 7.275; ε.); *SPP* XX 142.1 (Arsin., 30.viii; λ.); *CPR* X 121.2 (Herakleop., iv-viii; R+; λ.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1985.1 (9.x; λ.); *P.Athen.Xyla* 10.2 (Hermop., 19.xi; π.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67087.4 (Antaiop., 28.xii; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 272; R+; ε.).
- 544 *P.Athen.Xyla* 9.3 (Hermop., 19.i; R+; π.); *P.Oxy.* LI 3641.2 (7.ii; cos. points to 545; R+; λ.); *CPR* XIX 12.2 (Thebaid, 3.iii; R+; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67127.3 (Antaiop., 11.iii; R+; ε.); *P.Lond.* III 1319.1 (p. 272) (Hermop., 1.vi; π.). Possibly to be dated to 544: *SB* VIII 9932 (Hermop., 4.i; cf. *BL* 8.357; or date to 598/9?).
- 544/545 *CPR* X 122.3 (Memphite, 17.ix; R+; λ.; see introd. and above, p. 123).
- 545 *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397.1 (17.iii; R+, E+; λ.; cos. date is 544); *P.Ross.Georg.* III 37.1 (Antaiop., x-xi; ε.). Cf. under 546.
- 545/546 *PSI* VII 790.24 (Oxy.; cf. *BL* 8.401; R+; λ.); *CPR* IX 26.2 (Hermop., R+; ε.).
- 546 *CPR* VIII 61.1 (Arsin., 27.iii-25.iv; λ.); *P.Princ.* III 154.1 (Oxy., 7.ix; cf. *BL* 7.169; λ.; cos. points to 545).
- 547 *P.Bad.* VI 172.1 (Oxy., 12.iv; λ.); *P.Lond.* III 1002 descr. = *SB* XVIII 13583.2 (Hermop., 30.iv; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67108.1 (Antaiop., i-iv; cos. points to 548; π.); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67128.4 (Antaiop., 27.viii; R+; cf. ed. note; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67118.4 (Antaiop., ix-x; R+; π.); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67242 (5.ix, ed. 4.ix; R+); *SB* XVIII 13297.2 = *Le Muséon* 106 (1993) 26 (Antaiop., 10.xi [ed. 9.xi]; R+; ε.; cf. *BL* 11.224).
- (cf. above, pp. 47-48).

- 548 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67095.1 (Antaiop., I.iv; cos. points to 547, cf. p. 121 n. 21; ε.); *P.Stras.* V 484.4 (Hermop., 6.vi; cf. *BL* 7.250; R+; cos. points to 549; ε.); *SB* VI 9239.23 (Oxy., 15.x; R+; λ.); *P.Lond.* V 1872.2 (Hermop., 4.xi; ε.).
- 549 *P.Lond.* V 1720.1 (Thebes, 3.ii; cf. ed. note line 2; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67129.1 (Antaiop., II 14.viii; ε.); *P.Stras.* V 485.2 (Hermop., 18.viii; R+; π.); *SB* XXIV 16312.3 (Oxy., 12.x; R+; λ.).
- 550 *P.Stras.* IV 247.2 (Hermop., iii; cf. *BL* 7.247, 11.255; ε.); *P.Oxy.* I 140.2 (26.iv; cf. 10n.; cf. *BL* 7.128; R+; λ.); *P.Stras.* V 338.2 (Hermop., viii-ix; [ε.]); *P.Oxy.* I 133.2 (19.x; cf. 2n.; R+; λ.); *CPR* XXIII 33.2 (Hermop., 12.xi; ε.); *PSI* IV 283.3 (Antaiop., 20.xii; R+; [ε.]).
- 551 *P.Stras.* I 4.1 (Hermop., 13.ii; cf. *BL* 5.128; ε.); *CPR* IX 32.3 (Hermop., 8.vii; R+; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032.3 (Constantinople, 11.vii?; R+; λ.); *PSI* I 77.1 (Oxy., 31.vii; cf. *BL* 7.232; λ.); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2238.2 (7.viii; R+; cos. points to 550; λ.).
- 551/552 *P.Herm.* 30.1 (Oxy.?.; cf. *BL* 8.149).
- 552 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67332.2 (Antaiop., 5-14.v or 6-13.vi; cf. *BL* 4.15 and cf. line 2n.; R+; cos. points to 553; ε.); *P.Flor.* III 285.2 (Antaiop., 13.vii; R+; ε.); *P.Flor.* III 286.1 (Antaiop., 1.x; ε.; see *BL* 7.52).
- 553 *SB* XIV 12131.1 (Hermop., 11.ii; cos. points to 552, cf. above, p. 121; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094.2 (Antaiop., 27-31.iii; see line 3n.; R+; [ε.]); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303.2 (Antaiop., 27.iv; R+; regnal year should be 27; ε.); *SB* III 7201.1 (Antaiop., 2.vi; cf. *BL* 8.326; [ε.]); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1965.2 (24.vi; R+; λ.); *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780.3 (16.vii; R+; λ.; cf. *BL* 8.362); *P.Lond.* III 1330b descr. (p. lxxiv) (Hermop., 22.vii; R+; ε. [*vidimus*]); *P.Lond.* V 1661.3 (Antaiop., 24.vii; R+; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67093.ii.10 (Antaiop., 11.viii; cos. points to 554; ε.); *BGU* II 364.3 (Arsin., 11.ix; R+; λ.); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67092.23 (Antaiop., 21.ix; ε.); *P.Stras.* V 398.1 (Hermop., 4.x; ε.); *P.Stras.* V 474.1 (Hermop., 11.x; see introd.; π.); *SB* VI 9284.2 (Hermop., 11.x; R+; ε.); *P.Herm.* 65.3 (22.x; cos. points to 554; R+; [ε.]); *P.Bodl.* I 60.1 (Hermop., 5.xi; R+; [ε.]); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4398.1 (28.xi; R+, E+; λ.); *P.Stras.* VI 580.1 (Hermop., 4.xii; [-]; cf. *BASP* 17 [1980] 16).
- 554 *P.Lond.* III 1330a descr. (Hermop., iii-iv; cf. *BL* 8.189); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1970.4 (8.vi; R+; regnal year should be 28?; λ.); *P.Lond.* V 1765.1 (Hermop., vi-vii; or read ἐπ[αγο(μένων)]?; ε.); *P.Lond.* III 874 descr. (p. xlii) (Hermop., 19.xii; ε. [*vidimus*]); *SB* XIV 11982.1 (Thebaid, v-xii; R+; ε.; cf. *BASP* 17 [1980] 115, no. 82); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1895.2 (R+; [λ.]).
- 555 *P.Lond.* V 1692.a.3 (Antaiop., 3.v; cf. *BL* 7.91; R+; ε.); *SB* VI 9283.1 (Arsin., 11.v; cf. *BL* 7.206; λ.); *BGU* XVII 2684.3 (Hermop., 20.ix; R+; π.); *P.Lond.* III 1006.1 (p. 261) (Hermop., 31.x; cos. points to 556; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 279; ε.); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67302.2 (Antinoop., 31.xii; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 272; R+; ε.).
- 555/556 *SB* I 4676.1 (Herakleop.; cf. *BL* 7.185; [λ.]); *P.Lond.* V 1873 = *SB* XVIII 13587 (Hermop.; ε.).

- 556 *P.Lond.* V 1719.1 (Thebes, i-ii; ε.; cf. *BL* 8.192); *P.Lond.* V 1692.b.1 (Antaiop., [3.v]; cf. *BL* 7.91; R+; ε.); *BGU* I 305.1 (Arsin., 13.vi; λ.); *SB* XVIII 13777.1 (Memnonia, 16.xii; ε.).
- 557 *SB* XVI 12585.4 (Oxy., cf. *BL* 9.287, 27.i; R+, E+; cos. points to 556; λ.); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67130.2 (Antaiop., 25.ii; p.c. should be 16, cf. ed. note; ε.); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1980.3 (3.iii; R+; λ.); *P.Ant.* I 42 = *CPJud.* III 508.2 (26.ix; R+; ε.; cf. *BL* 8.9).
- 557/558 *SB* XX 15136.2 (Hermop., [π.]).
- 558 *P.Heid.* V 352.1 (Hermop., 10.i; cos. points to 557); *P.Lond.* III 1007 c.2 (p. 264) (Antaiop.?, 8.v?; R+; ε.; cf. *BL* 7.88).
- 559 *P.Lond.* V 1766.2 (Hermop., 14?.i; cos. points to 558, see line 1n.; ε.); *P.Michael.* 46.2 (Antaiop., 16.viii; R+; ε.). Cf. under 544.
- 560 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1972.3 (22.vii; R+; see above, p. 122; λ.); *P.Oxy.* I 125.2 (13.xii; R+; λ.); *P.Lond.* V 1767.1 (Hermop., i or xii; ε.; 561 also possible).
- 561 *P.Stras.* IV 248.1 (Hermop., 5.i; cf. *BL* 5.140, 8.416; cos. points to 560; ε.); *P.Lond.* III 1008.2 (p. 265) (prov. unkn., 21.vi; R+; one epithet should be deleted from the rest.); *BGU* XII 2200.1 (Hermop., 15.vii; ε.); *P.Grenf.* I 57.1 (Hermop., 16.ix; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 278); *P.Wisc.* I 8.1 (Oxy., 15.xii; cf. *P.Wisc.* II 61.3n.; λ.); *ChLA* XLIII 1243 (prov. unkn., prob. i-iii). Cf. under 560.
- 562 *P.Lond.* III 1003.2 (p. 259) (Hermop., vi-vii?; ε.); cf. also s.a. 547.
- 563 Fournet 2002: 401.2 (Antaiop., 9.ix; ε.).
- 564 *P.Got.* 9.1 (Oxy., 14.ii.; cf. above, p. 120, n. 8; λ.).
- 565 *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67170.1 (Panop., 16.iv); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67171.4 (Panop., 16.iv; cf. 5n., *BL* 3.35; R+; cos. points to 564, cf. above, p. 123; ε.); *BGU* XII 2202.1 (Hermop., 1.v?; ε.); *PSI* XIV 1427 (Oxy., 26.vi; λ.; see *BL* 8.411); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67109.1 (Antaiop., 18.vii; ε.), 67110.2 (Antaiop., 25.vii; ε.); *SB* VI 9085, inv. 16048.1 (Hermop., 15.ix; ε.); *P.Lond.* V 1686.4 (Antaiop., 7.xi; R+; cos. points to 564, cf. line 4n.; ε.).
- 566 *CPR* IX 33.1 (Hermop., i-ii; cos. points to 565, cf. above, p. 122; [ε.]); *P.Stras.* I 46.3, 47.3, 30, 48.1, 49.1 (Antinoop., prob. all 17.iii; ε.; R+; cf. *BL* 7.244); *CPR* XIX 13.3 (Thebaid, 8.xii; R+).
- 566-578 During this period Justinus II reckoned years by regnal count with which was often united a reckoning of a consular era. In some instances, however, the documents show a formula where the regnal count is given but the consulate is kept constant at II, while other documents are dated only by the consulate or a postconsular formula. The following formulas appear and are referred to in bold face with each document to show which one is used (cf. above, pp. 47-48):

- (1) ὑπατεία τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
 (2A) βασιλείας καὶ ὑπ. τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. (καὶ) αὐτοκρ.
 ἔτους . . . *P.Lond.* V 1872.2 (Hermop., 4 vi; a.).
- (2B) Same as above but adds καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου before ἡμ. δεσπ.
- (3) Regnal formula of Justinus, ἔτους . . . , μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ. Βασιλείου τοῦ
 ἐνδοξοτάτου ἔτους . . . (these are listed above under Basilus for 566)
- (4) Regnal formula of Justinus, ἔτους . . . , ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β'
- (5) μ.τ.ὺ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. ἔτους . . .
- 566-568 *PSI* I 58.1 (Oxy.; 2B; cf. *BL* 8.391); *P.Lond.* III 1304b descr. (p. lxxiii; Hermop.; 566/7;
 2A).
- 566-573 Year uncertain: *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67120 fr.1 (p.193; Antaiop., 2A); *P.Lond.* V 1708.1,
 1710.1, 1711.1 (all Antinoop., 2A).
- 566 *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67161.1 (Antinoop., 28.ix; 2A); *P.Lond.* V 1707 (Antinoop., 5.x; 2A; cf.
BASP 17 [1980] 113); *BGU* I 306.1 (Arsin., 11.x; 1; om. εὐσεβεστάτου, adds ἔτους
 πρώτου); *APF* 48 (2002) 226.1 (Arsin., 19.xi; 1); *PSI* VI 709.1 (Oxy., 19.xi; 2B; regnal year
 should be 2); *P.Michael.* 42B.1 (Antaiop., 30.xii; 2A).
- 567 *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67312.1 (Antinoop., 31.iii; 2A); *P.Lond.* III 775.1 (p. 279) (Oxy., 12.ix;
 2B; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 272).
- 568 *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67166.2 (Antinoop., 15.iv; 2A); 67158.1 (Antinoop., 28.iv?; 2A); 67153.1
 (Antinoop., 7.v; 2A); III 67305.1 = *SB* I 5656 (Antinoop., 9.v; 2A); II 67162.1 (Antinoop.,
 22.v; 2A); *P.Oxy.* VII 1038.1 (26.vii; 2B); *P.Lond.* III 778.1 (p. 279) (Oxy., 28.vii; 2B; cf.
BL 7.86); *SB* I 4796.1 (prov. unkn., viii-ix; 2A; cf. *BL* 7.185); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67159.1
 (Antinoop., 16.xii; cos. should be 3; 2A).
- 568/569 *P.Stras.* VII 678.1 (Hermop.; 2A; cf. *BL* 8.429).
- 569 *P.Cair.Masp.* III p. 3, 67169b.2 (Antinoop., 11.ii; 2A); *P.Mich.* XI 607.1 (Antinoop., 1.iii;
 2A); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67309.2 (Antinoop., ii-iii); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67023 = *P.Coll.Youtie* II
 V 92.1 (Antinoop., 15.v; 2A); *P.Oxy.* I 134.4 (9.vi; 4); *P.Lond.* V 1712.2 (Antinoop., 15.vii;
 2A); *P.Hamb.* I 23.1 (Antinoop., 4.ix; 2A); *P.Flor.* I 93.2 (Antinoop., 5.ix; 2A; almost
 identical to *P.Lond.* V 1713); *P.Stras.* I 40.2 (Antinoop., 27.ix; 2A; cf. above, p. 123, n. 29);
P.Lond. V 1713.3 (Antinoop., 5.x; 2A; cf. *P.Flor.* I 93); *SB* XVIII 13086.67 (Antaiop., 28.x;
 see *BL* 9.297; 2A); *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67353 A verso (Antinoop., 12.xi; 2A); II 67163.1
 (Antinoop., 30.xi; 2A; cf. 67159.1n.).
- 569/570 *P.Ross.Georg.* V 32 (Antinoop., cf. *BL* 8.292; 2A).
- 570 *P.Lond.* V 1774.2 (Hermop., 1.iii; 2A); V 1714.9 (Antinoop., 14.iii; 2A); *SPP* XX 261.1
 (Hermop., 8.ix; 2A); *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67156.1 (Antinoop., 24.ix; 2A); 67151.1, 304
 (Antinoop., 15.xi; 2A); *P.Michael.* 47.2 (Antaiop., 1.v-14.xi; cos. points to 571; 2A).

- 571 *SB XII* 11079.3 (Oxy., 17.iii; 4); *BGU XII* 2203.1 (Hermop., 7.vii; 2A); *P.Lond.* III 1327 descr. (p. lxxiv) (prov. unkn., 19.xii; 2A; cos. should be 6; *vidimus*).
- 572 *P.Michael.* 48.2 (Antaiop., 18.iii; 2A; cf. *BL* 7.106); *P.Oxy.* I 126.2 (10.v; 4); XVI 1992.6 (15.x; 4).
- 572/573 Perhaps *PSI* I 76 (Oxy., 6.v; 4?; cf. *BL* 8.392 and *P.Thomas* 29).
- 573 *SB VI* 9293.1 (Arsin., 28.vi; 5; cf. *BL* 8.343); *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67121.1 (15.ix; 2A); I 67096.2 (v-x; cf. *BL* 7.34; 2A); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1894.3 (22.xii; 3).
- 574 *P.Münch.* III 100.1 (Arsin., 3.i; 5; adds καὶ αὐτοκρ.); *P.Münch.* I 1.2 (Syene, 11.iii; 2A; adds Νέου to Justinus' name); *BGU XII* 2204.1 (Hermop., 25.vi; 2A); *P.Berl.Zill.* 7.3 (Oxy., 5.viii; cf. *BL* 7.29; 4); *P.Laur.* III 75.4 (Oxy., 29.viii - 14.xi.574; 4; cf. *BL* 8.165).
- 575 *CPR VIII* 62.1 (Herakleop., 29.vii; 5); *PSI III* 242.8 (Oxy., 30.viii-14.xi; 4).
ἡ αὐτὴ ὑπατεία: *P.Rain.Cent.* 125 (Memphite, 19.viii; lacks regnal formula, cf. *BL* 8.287, 9.223, *P.Oxy.* LVIII p. 62-63 and *Chiron* 27 [1997] 105).
- 576 *P.Oxy.* LXII 4350.2 (22.vii; 4; adds Tiberius II regnal form. 2); *SB XVI* 12865 (Hermop., 25.ix; 2A).
- 576/577 *P.Vind.Tand.* 28.1 (Hermop., 2A; adds regnal yr of Tiberius).
- 577 *P.Bad.* II 30.1 (Hermop., i-iv; 2A; cf. *BL* 8.14-15, 11.9); *CPR X* 124.1 (Arsin., 16.v; 5; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896.3 (17.v; 4; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius); *SB XII* 10934.2 (Oxy., 19.vii; 4; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius); *P.Heid.* VII 405 (Hermop., 23.x; 2A).
Regnal Justinus, τοῖς μ.τ. δευτ. ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Lond.* V 1723.2 (Syene, 7.ix; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius).
- 578 *BGU III* 838.1 (Arsin., 27.ii; 5; cos. count points to 579; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius); *P.Flor.* I 15 = *SB XX* 15008.1 (Herakleop., 6.iv; 5; om. all after Justinus; cf. *BL* 1.135).
Regnal Justinus, μ.τ. δευτ. ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους: *P.Oxy.* VII 1042.6 (10.v; cos. count points to 579; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius); *P.Münch.* I 2.12 (Elephantine, ref. to 1.i.579, but doc. v-ix.578; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius); *PSI III* 243.4 (Oxy., before 15.xi; cos. count points to 579; adds regnal yr. of Tiberius).
μ.τ. ὑ. τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως γενομένου ἡμ. δεσπ. Φλ. Ἰουστίνου ἔτους ι, τὸ β: *CPR XIV* 11 (Arsin., 20.xii; cf. *P.Harrauer* 54.1-3n.).
- 579 μ.τ. ὑ. τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως γενομένου ἡμ. δεσπ. Φλ. Ἰουστίνου ἔτους ια, τὸ β:
P.Harrauer 54.1 (Arsin., 5.ii).
ὑπ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. ἔτους . . . : *SB VI* 9596.1 (Arsin., 29.vii; cf. *BL* 7.211 and *ZPE* 26 [1977] 275).
Regnal Tiberius, ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *PSI VIII* 963.5 (Oxy., 21.x).

- 580 Regnal Tiberius, ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Hamb.* III 221.5 (Oxy., 2.ii); *SB XIV* 11617.4 (Oxy., vii-viii; cf. *BL* 8.373).
 Regnal Tiberius, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους . . . : *P.Haun.* III 59.4 (Oxy.?, 15.i; cos. error for p.c.).
 Regnal Tiberius, μ.τ.ὑ. τῆς αὐτοῦ δεσποτείας τὸ β': *P.Oxy.* I 144.20 (Herakleop.? [cf. *BL* 8.233], 22.xi; cos. points to 581).
 βασ. καὶ ὑπ. τοῦ θειοτ. ἡμ. δεσπ. καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ. Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. αὐτοκρ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Lond.* V 1725.1 (6.iii).
 ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Ant.* II 103.1 (Oxy.?, 26.viii, Tiberius' name omitted; cf. *BL* 10.5).
- 580/581 μ.τ.ὑ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. ἔτους . . . : *BGU I* 317 (= *SB I* 5332?; *Arsin.*; cf. *BL* 8.23); cf. also *CPR X* 125.1 (*Arsin.* or Herakleop.?).
- 581 Regnal Tiberius, ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *PSI VII* 786.4 (Oxy., 2.i); *CPR IX* 31.4 (Hermop., 14.iii; consular formula stops after αὐτοῦ); *SB XX* 15138.4 (Oxy., 18.vii); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1892.4 (viii-ix); *P.Lond.* V 1726.3 (Syene).
- 582 Regnal Tiberius, ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Iand.* III 48.4 (Oxy., 29.v); *P.Oxy.* I 202.1 = *SB XXII* 15364 (8.x); *P.Lond.* III 774.3 (p. 280) (Oxy., 11.x); *P.Lond.* III 777.3 (p. 281) (Oxy., 11.x); *P.Grenf.* I 60.4 (Apollinop. Magna, cf. *BL* 8.141).
 μ.τ.ὑ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ. αὐτοκρ. ἔτους . . . : *CPR X* 126.1 (*Arsin.*, 28.xi).
- 583 Regnal Mauricius, μ.τ.ὑ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότητος Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους . . . : *P.Oxy.* XVI 1976.3 (23.xi; cos. count points to 583).
- 583 Regnal Mauricius, μ.τ.ὑ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότητος Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους . . . : *P.Oxy.* I 136.2 (24.v; cos. count points to 584); *P.Genov.* I 31 (Oxy.; 584 also possible).
- 584 Regnal Mauricius, μ.τ.ὑ. τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότητος Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους . . . : *P.Oxy.* I 137.2 (11.i; cf. *BL* 10.135; cos. count points to 585); *CPR XIX* 15.1 (Arcadia, vi-vii; Νέου).
- 584-599 Papyri of the reign of Mauricius are identified below by the following formulas:
 (1) Regnal Mauricius year . . . , ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν ἔτους . . .
 (1A) same, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος, ἔτους . . .
 (2) same, with εὐσεβεστάτου before ἡμῶν δεσπότητος
 (3) μ.τ.ὑ. τοῦ δεσπ. ἡμ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου ἔτους . . .
 (4) βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότητος Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου Νέου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος, ἔτους . . .
 Next to these formulas there are attestations of an anonymous consular formula of the type:
 (5) ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν ἔτους . . .
- For the reckoning of Mauricius' consulates see J. R. Rea, *P.Oxy.* LVIII, pp. 51-57; above, p. 51.

- 584 *CPR* X 127.2 (Arsin., 28.viii; 2; regnal yr. should be 3); *PSI* III 248.4 (Oxy., x-xi; 2; cf. *AJPh* 60 [1939] 416); *P.Oxy.* VI 996 = *SB* XVI 12484.1 (20.xi; 2).
- 584/585 *P.Genov.* I 32.1 (Oxy.?, only consular formula ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης ἔτους . . .; cf. *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 59).
- 585 *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67111.2 (Antaiop., 1.v-12.viii; 2); *BGU* XVII 2685.24 (Hermop., 13.viii; 4); *P.Lond.* V 1731.2 (Syene, 20.ix; 1).
- 586 *P.Münch.* I 10.3 (Syene, 28.i; 1, consulate should be 3; cf. *BASP* 18 [1981] 37); *P.Oxy.* XX 2283.3 (7.ii; 2); *P.Herm.* 29.1 (26.vii; 4); *P.Münch.* I 11.2 (Syene, 7.x; 1).
- 587 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1987.3 (17.ii; 2); 1993 (9.iii; 2); 1898.4 (13.iii; 2); 1988.3 (29.xii; 2).
- 588 *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3204.3 (2.i; 2; ed. 1.i, cf. *BL* 8.267); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3933 (13.iv; 5); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3934.4 (14.viii; 2); *P.Lond.* V 1897 (Antinoop.?, x-xi; pap. has a regnal yr. 7 + p.c. 6 [vidimus]; cos. count points to 589, cf. *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 53).
- 589 *P.Köln* III 157 (Apollinop. Heptakomias, 14.vii; 1; om. δεσπ. ἡμ.).
- 590 *SB* VI 9561.5 (Oxy., 2.i; 2); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1989.2 (3.xi; 2); *APF* 48 (2002) 230.1 (Hermop., 30.xi; 4; om. Τιβ. Νέου).
- 590/591 *P.Münch.* I 12.1 (Syene; 1).
- 591 *P.Oxy.* XVI 1990.4 (12.i; 2); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935.4 (6.iii; 2); *P.Erl.* 67.2 (Herakleop., 17.ix; 3; *BL* 7.47); *P.Erl.* 87 + *P.Giss.Univ.* inv. 56 (Oxy., 25.xi; information from T. M. Hickey; 2).
- 591-602 *P.Laur.* IV 170.4 (Oxy.?, 26/27.x; 5; cf. *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 60); *CPR* XIX 42.4 (Herakleop.; 3; adds καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου).
- 591/592 *P. Warren* 10.4 (Oxy.; 2).
- 592 *P.Paris* 21 bis.1 (This, 14.vi; 4; adds τῆς οἰκουμένης after δεσπ., om. Τιβ. Νέου; cf. *BL* 1.339); *P.Amh.* II 150.4 (Oxy., 20.x; 2; cf. *BL* 7.5).
- 593 *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2202.3 (27.iii; 2; cf. *BL* 7.146); *P.Oxy.* I 201.2 = *SB* XXII 15363 (27.ix; 2).
- 593/594 *P.Münch.* III 98.4 (Oxy.; 2; ed. confuses form. 1 and 2).
- 594 *P.Münch.* I 13.3 (Syene, 18.i; consulate should be 11; 1A); 14.4 (Syene, 15.ii; 1A); *P.Lond.* V 1733.3 (Syene, 6.iii; 1A).
- 594/595 *CPR* X 129.4 (Herakleop.?, 3).

- 595 *PSI* I 60.5 (Oxy., 8.x; 2; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 270); *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2478.3 (27.xi; 2; cf. *BL* 5.82).
- 596 *SB* VI 9153.3 (Herakleop., 14/24.ix; 3; adds after ἡμ., καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου; cf. *BL* 8.340); *P.Stras.* V 318.1 (Herakleop., 19.ix; 3; cf. *BL* 8.418); *P.Wash.Univ.* I 26.4 (Oxy., 1.x; 2); *PSI* I 59.2 (Oxy., 3.xi; 2; cf. *BL* 1.390).
- 597 *PSI* III 244.4 (Oxy., 12.vi; 2).
- 598 *CPR* XXIV 25.3 (Herakleop., 4.ii; 3; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.); *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 1.3 (Antaiop., 23.iv; 2 restored; cf. ed.'s note); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3936.3 (5.v; 5); *SB* XXII 15487.4 (Oxy., 28.viii; 5); *P.Oxy.* XIX 2239.3 (10.x; 2); *P.Heid.* III 247 (Oxy.?, xi; 2, mostly restored; or 599?; cf. *BL* 10.84); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3937.3 (13.xi; 5).
- 599 *BGU* I 255.2 (Memphite, 15.v.; 2; cf. *BL* 8.21); *P.Köln* III 158.3 (Herakleop., 18.x; 3; Αὐγ. instead of Τιβερίου). See also 598, *P.Heid.* III 247.
- 600 *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4535.7 (14.i?; 2). Cf. also *P.Oxy.* LXI 4131.1-3n. (18.ix; 5?).
- 601 *PSI* III 239.4 (Oxy., 9.ii, ed. 10.ii [in index]; 5); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3938.5 (7.iii; 2); *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3939.2 (25.vii; 5); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1991.4 (18.ix; 5, om. αὐτοῦ; cf. *BL* 8.252 and 10.145).
- 602? ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *PSI* III 179.3 (Oxy., 25.xii; 5, cf. *BL* 10.236).
- 603-604 No consularly dated papyri.
- 605 Phocas regnal, μ.τ.ῦ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους . . . : *BGU* I 3.5 (Arsin., 7.vi; 3).
- 606 ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Laur.* III 91.4 (Oxy.?, 30.xi; lacks regnal formula).
- 607 No consularly dated papyri.
- 608 ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *SB* XII 10798.3 (Oxy., 11.vi; cf. *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 61 and *BL* 8.361 and 10.205).
- 609 Regnal Phocas, ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3948.5 (9.vi; 6).
- 608 or 609 τμητοῦτερο ἡνωσιπαδία ἡπηνχαίς ετοῦααβ Φουκα πῆρηπειωῶν ετσωτμ ατω εταμαεττε ("In the reign and consulate of our holy lord Phocas, who hears and rules"): *Mon.Epiphanius* I, p. 11 (Thebes; regnal date to year 8 [609/610] and indiction 12 [608/9] do not agree; cf. below, p. 266).

- 610 No consularly dated papyri.
- 611 Regnal Heraclius form. 3, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *CPR XXIV* 28.4 (Arsin., 4.ix); *CPR X* 130.7 (Arsin./Herakleop.?, 6.x).
- 611-619 Regnal Heraclius form. 4, ὑπ. (or μ.τ.ὑ.) τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *P.Rain.Cent.* 119.4 (Lower Egypt, see *BL* 11.184-185 and *Chiron* 27 [1997] 122-123 n. 80).
- 612 Regnal Heraclius form. 5, μ.τ.ὑ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *CPR X* 131.1 (Arsin., 5.ii, cf. *BL* 10.51).
- 613-614 No consularly dated papyri.
- 615 Regnal Heraclius form. 7, ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . : *P.Lond.* II 483.3 (p.323) (Apollinop. Heptakomias, 5.viii; regnal year points to A.D. 616; cf. *BL* 8.179).
- 616 Regnal Heraclius form. 10, consular formula uncertain: *SB XIV* 11543.2 (prov. uncertain; could be 617; cf. *BL* 10.209).
- 617/618 Regnal Heraclius form. 2, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *CPR X* 132.6 (Arsin., 5.x.617-30.vi.618).
- 618 [Regnal Heraclius form. 10], μ.τ.ὑ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. Φλ. Ἡρακλείου ἔτους . . . : *SB I* 5112.2 (Apollinop. Magna, 3.i; see notes at end of text).
Regnal Heraclius form. 6, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *P.Edfou I* 3.3 (Apollinop. Magna, 13/23.vi; cf. *BL* 8.165, 10.65; above, p. 96).
- 619-629 No consularly dated papyri; period of Persian occupation of Egypt.
- 630-641 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, [ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . .], regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *BGU I* 319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.13-14).
- 630 Regnal Heraclius form. 4, ὑπ. τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς []: *P.Ross.Georg.* III 55.3 (Arsin., 24.iv; cf. *BL* 8.292, 10.168).
- 631 Regnal Heraclius form. 4, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *CPR III* 370 = *P.Rain.Unterricht* 108.2 (Arsin., 26.vii; cf. *JJP* 23 [1993] 228 and *BL* 9.169).
- 631/2 Regnal Heraclius form. 1, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3961.3 (cf. *BL* 10.156).
- 632 Regnal Heraclius form. 2, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *SB I* 4662.2 (Arsin., 11.vii; cf. *BL* 8.312, 10.179).
- 633 No consularly dated papyri.

- 634 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμ. δεσπ. ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *SB* I 4319.2 (Hermonthis, 4.xii; cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 635 Regnal Heraclius form. 11, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *SB* XVIII 14006.5 (Oxy., 22.i-1.ix; cf. *BL* 10.224).
- 636-638 No consularly dated papyri.
- 639 Regnal Heraclius form. 2, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *P.Prag.* I 43.5 (Arsin., 5.x; cf. *BL* 9.214, 10.163).
- 639-640 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *W.Chr.* 8 = *P.Lond.* I 113 (10).2 (Arsin.; cf. *BL* 10.97).
- 639-641 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, καὶ ὑπατί[ας τοῦ αὐτοῦ --τάτου δεσπότητος ἔτους . . . , καὶ Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ ἔτους . . .] | [καὶ] μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ὑπατεῖαν ἔτους ἐνάτ[ου. : *SB* I 5318.3 (Arsin.; cf. *BL* 10.184; above, p. 97).
- 641 Regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus and Heraclius II, καὶ μ.τ.ύ. τῶν αὐτῶν [ἔτους δεκάτου, regnal Heraclius (= Constans II), David, and Mar(t)inus: *SB* VI 8986.4 (Apollinop. Magna, i-ii; cf. *BL* 10.194-195).
Regnal Heraclius II, μ.τ.ύ. αὐτοῦ ἔτους 4, regnal David, and Mar(t)inus: *CPR* XXIII 35.6 (Alexandria, 10.x).
- 642 No consularly dated papyri.
- 643 No consularly dated papyri.
- 644 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . , regnal Heraclius Novus Constantinus: *SB* I 4319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 645 Regnal Heraclius form. 4, ὑπ. τοῦ θεοτεροῦς . . . : *P.Roistère* III 252 (Amis, 25.ii.600).
- 646 Regnal Heraclius form. 11, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *SB* XVIII 14006.5 (Oxy., 22.i-1.ix; cf. *BL* 10.224).
- 647 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *SB* I 4319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 648 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *SB* I 4319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 649 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *SB* I 4319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 650 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *SB* I 4319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 651 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *SB* I 4319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 652 Regnal Heraclius form. 13, ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν εὐσεβείας ἔτους . . . : *SB* I 4319.2 (Arsin., cf. *BL* 10.177).
- 653 No consularly dated papyri.

APPENDIX E

INDEX OF CONSULAR NAMES AND EPITHETS

The list below gives in alphabetical order the names of all private persons who served as consuls between 284 and 541 (after which no such persons held this office) and for whose consulate there is an attestation in the papyri. The purpose of the list is primarily to facilitate the study of documents in which a consulate is partly preserved. The Greek form is given; Latin forms can be found conveniently in the index to *CLRE*. In general, only one spelling of each name is given, except in the case of very divergent forms. After each name is given the year in which the person was consul; references in Appendix D may be found either under this year or under a following one (postconsulate).

The names of reigning emperors and Caesars have been omitted, as the imperial consulates may easily be found in the index to *CLRE*. The name Flavius is not indexed, as it is found commonly throughout most of the period. Consuls who do not appear in the extant Greek papyri are not included. This may have its inconvenience, but we consider that it is compensated by the avoidance of including consuls who may not have been recognized in Egypt or incorrect Hellenizations of names.

An index of epithets attached to consular names has also been given to facilitate study of incomplete formulas in documents.

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 635 Βάσσος 289, 317, 331, 408, 431
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 Πρόκουλος 340
 Προμώτος 389
 Πρωτογένης 449
- Ριγχομήρης 384
 Ρουμορίδης 403
 Ρουστίκιος 464, 520
 Ρουφίνος 316, 347, 392
 Ρούφιος 314, 335
 Ρούφος 457, 492
 Ρώμουλος 343
- Σαβεΐνος 316
 Σαβινιανός 505
 Σαλιάς 348
 Σαλλούστιος 344, 363
 Σατορνίνος 383
 Σεκουνδίνος 511
 Σενάτωρ 514
 Σεουηρίνος 461
 Σεουήρος 470
 Σεπτίμιος 340
 Σέργιος 350
 Σιγίσβουλδος 437
 Σποράκιος 452
 Στάτιος 310
 Στελίχων 400, 405
 Στούδιος 454

Epithets

In the case of postconsular formulas, the year listed is that in which the epithet appears in Appendix D, not the year of the consulate itself.

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Year(s)</i>
ἀήττητος	319-320
ἀνδρειότατος	326, 356 (+ ἐπιφ.), 358 (+ ἐπιφ.), 453 (+ μεγαλοπρ.)
γαληνότατος	577, 618
ἐνδοξότατος	446 (+ μεγαλοπρ.), 492, 496, 499 (+ ὑπερφ.), 500 (+ μεγαλοπρ.), 501 (+ μεγαλοπρ.), 504, 505, 511-515, 517, 520, 521 (+ ὑπερφ.), 524-527, 530-533, 535-537, 538 (+ ὑπερφ.), 539 (+ ὑπερφ.), 540-566
ἐξοχώτατος	423 (+ μεγαλοπρ.)
ἐπιφανέστατος	294, 296, 297, 300, 302, 305, 307, 318-326, 329, 352-354, 356 (+ ἀνδρ.), 357, 360, 364, 366, 369, 386, 387, 425 (Used par excellence for Caesars and 'nobilissimi pueri')
εὐγενέστατος	324
εὐκλέεστατος	517
εὐσεβέστατος	566-599 passim, 602, 606, 608, 615, 634
θειότατος	369, 566-578 passim, 580, 586, 592, 596, 618
θεοστεφής	634
λαμπρότατος	295-565 passim
μεγαλοπρεπέστατος	423 (+ ἐξοχ.), 435, 446 (+ ἐνδοξ.), 453 (+ ἀνδρειοτ.), 457, 500 (+ ἐνδοξ.), 501 (+ ἐνδοξ.), 511, 529
πανεύφημος	521, 542-566
ὑπερφυέστατος	499 (+ ἐνδοξ.), 513, 521, (+ ἐνδοξ.), 538 (+ ἐνδοξ.), 539 (+ ἐνδοξ.), 540

In general, for the epithets of Fl. Basilius, cos. 541 (p.c. 542-565), see *BASP* 17 [1980] 245-246.

See Chamagnol 1976: 318.

² *CI. ZPE* 28 (1978) 243.

Reverse List of Consular Names

Νεβίεττα	Ὀπήλιος	Βικέντιος	Λογγίνος
Φραβίττα	Αὐρήλιος	Φλωρέντιος	Σεκουνδίνος
Δίων	Μεκόλιος	Λεόντιος	Σαβεΐνος
Ὀπίλιον	Βασύλιος	Ἀκόντιος	Λουπικίνος
Ὀπελλίον	Ἀνατόλιος	Σαλλούστιος	Μαρκελλίνος
Ἀπίον	Ἰούλιος	Τέπτιος	Ἀνουλλίνος
Ζήνων	Ἀνθέμιος	Οὐέτιος	Κατυλλίνος
Βαύτων	Πολέμιος	Δομίτιος	Παύλιος
Στελίχων	Σεπτίμιος	Ἐκύτιος	Σατορνίνος
Ἰέραξ	Νούμιος	Ῥούφιος	Ἰανουαρίνος
Φήλιξ	Ποστούμιος	Ἀνδρόνικος	Σεουηρίνος
Ἄσπερ	Λιμένιος	Ἀττικός	Κωνσταντίνος
Βεάτωρ	Καικίνιος	Τουσκός	Κλημεντίνος
Σενάτωρ	Οσούνιος	Ζηνοφίλιος	Μαμερτίνος
Σαλαξ	Ἄννιος	Πρόκλος	Ἰουστίνος
Ἀγρίκολας	Ἰούνιος	Γάλλος	Ῥουφίνος
Πλίντας	Καιώνιος	Βηγκωμάλλος	Ἀκίνδυνος
Εἰουίττας	Ἀπολλώνιος	Παύλος	Ὀππορτούνος
Ῥουμορίδης	Ποπολάνιος	Πρόκουλος	Φίλιππος
Τροκόνδης	Πετρήνιος	Ῥόμουλος	Σεουήρος
Μεροβαύδης	Καισώνιος	Μάξιμος	Διόσκορος
Ἰορδάνης	Αὐσώνιος	Νόμος	Πέτρος
Οὐαράνης	Ἀντάνιος	Βιβιανός	Ταύρος
Πρωτογένης	Μονάξιος	Φηλικιανός	Κύρος
Ἰωάννης	Εὐδόξιος	Μαρκιανός	Θεόδωρος
Ῥηγομήρης	Πάπιος	Ἀννιβαλιανός	Οὐρσος
Δεζικράτης	Οὐλίπιος	Βιταλιανός	Βάσπος
Ὀρέστης	Ἀλύπιος	Αὐρηλιανός	Ἀρμάτος
Κώνστανς	Καισάριος	Ὀπιλιανός	Ὀπτάτος
Πρόβος	Βελισάριος	Τυλλιανός	Αρισταίνετος
Κέθηγος	Ὀλύμβριος	Ἰουλιανός	Ἀκληπιόδοτος
Πλάκιδος	Συάγριος	Ποστομιανός	Μοδέστος
Σιγίσβουλδος	Ἰέριος	Ἐρμογετιανός	Φαύστος
Ἀρεοβίνδος	Οὐαλέριος	Σαβητιανός	Ἰούστος
Φακοῦνδος	Πατέριος	Προβητιανός	Προμώτος
Ἀρίνθεος	Νεωτέριος	Μαριτιανός	Δαγαλαΐφος
Πουσαίος	Εὐχαΐριος	Νηγριτιανός	Ῥούφος
Ἀβλάβιος	Οὐίριος	Ἰουστινιανός	Σύμμαχος
Φάβιος	Νεστόριος	Ἀννιανός	Θεοδώριχος
Εὐσέβιος	Ἀρδαβούριος	Ἰαριανός	Ἀντίοχος
Κυνήγιος	Ἰούριος	Τιβεριανός	Κλέαρχος
Σέργιος	Αὐστούριος	Βολουσιανός	Ἴλλους
Παλλάδιος	Φούριος	Οὐόλουσιανός	
Λαμπάδιος	Κενσώριος	Δατιανός	
Εὐόδιος	Τιμάσιος	Πακατιανός	
Κλαύδιος	Ἀναστάσιος	Τατιανός	
Στούδιος	Διονύσιος	Τιτιανός	
Βασύλειος	Δαλμάτιος	Κυντιανός	
Πομπήιος	Υγάτιος	Νεπωτιανός	
Εὐστάθιος	Νεράτιος	Μοσχιανός	
Βοήθιος	Τάπιος	Εὐτυχιανός	
Ὀβολκάκιος	Στάτιος	Γαλλικανός	
Σποράκιος	Ἀέτιος	Μάγνος	
Δέκιος	Δομίπιος	Φιλόξενος	
Ἀνίκιος	Ἀβουνδάντιος	Ἀβητίνος	
Πατρίκιος	Ἀμάντιος	Ἀλβίνος	
Ῥουστίκιος	Βηνάντιος	Ἰοβίνος	
Κερεάλιος	Κωνσταντίνος	Προβίνος	

APPENDIX F

DATINGS BY REGNAL YEARS

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DATES

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Caesar</i>	<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Abdicates/Dead</i>
Diocletianus	---	20.xi.284	Abd. 1.v.305
Maximianus	285/6	1.iii.286	Abd. 1.v.305
Constantius	1.iii.293	1.v.305	D. 25.vii.306
Galerius	1.iii.293	1.v.305	D. 5.v.311
Severus	1.v.305	25.vii.306	D. 16.ix.307
Maximinus	1.v.305	309/310	D. Summer 313
Constantinus I	25.vii.306	25.vii.306	D. 22.v.337
Licinius	---	11.xi.308	Abd. ix.324
Candidianus ¹	310/311	---	D. 313
Crispus	1.iii.317	---	D. ii.326
Constantinus II	1.iii.317	9.ix.337	D. iii-iv.340
Licinius Jr.	1.iii.317	---	Abd. ix.324
Constantius II	8.xi.324	9.ix.337	D. 3.xi.361
Constans	25.xii.333	9.ix.337	D. 18.i.350
Dalmatius	18.ix.335	---	D. by ix.337
Gallus	15.iii.351	---	D. 354
Julianus	6.xi.355	3.xi.361	D. 26.vi.363
Valentinianus I	---	26.ii.364	D. 17.xi.375
Valens	---	28.iii.364	D. 9.viii.378
Gratianus	---	24.viii.367	D. 25.viii.383
Valentinianus II	---	22.xi.375	D. 15.v.392
Theodosius I	---	19.i.379	D. 17.i.395
Arcadius	---	19.i.383	D. 1.v.408

[Intervening rulers' regnal years do not appear in dating formulas. For biographical data, see *CLRE* 93-94.]

Justinianus	---	1.iv.527	D. 15.xi.565
Justinus II	---	15.xi.565	D. 5.x.578

¹ See Chastagnol 1976: 238.

² Cf. *ZPE* 28 (1978) 243.

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Caesar</i>	<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Abdicates/Dead</i>
Tiberius II	7.xii.574	5.x.578	D. 13.viii.582
Mauricius	6.viii.582	13.viii.582	D. 23.xi.602
Phocas	---	23.xi.602	D. 5.x.610
Heraclius	---	5.x.610	D. 11.i.641
Heraclius Novus Constantinus	---	22.i.613	D. 24.v.641
Heraclius II	1.i.632	4.vii.638	D. 20.iv/24.v/26.v.641
David (Tiberius)	4.vii.638	x (?).641	
Mar(t)inus	10.x.639- 9.x-640	---	

2. THE PERIOD 284-337

Citations are arranged in sections for each change of emperor; within each such chronological unit, there are given the attested formulas. For each of them is given the citations, year by year. After all of the formulas for a period comes a section for documents with regnal year numbers assignable to this period but with no formula, arranged again by year.

Citations include both instances of *dates by a year* (e.g., "year 2 of Diocletian, Phaophi 16") and *references to a year* (e.g., "for the crop of year 2 of Diocletian"). In each year the dates to that year are given first; for each we give the exact julian date where known (if none is given, it is not known), the provenance, and any variants in the formula from the standard one under which it is located. References to a year follow; they are identifiable by "d." before the date, to show that the date which follows does not fall in the year referred to. (The references to the crop of the current year in the body of dated documents are treated as if they were dates by the current year.) Provenances are in general given only to the nome, for brevity and clarity of pattern; they are intended to indicate place of writing rather than of finding where these are different.

Where more than one version of the numbering of a given year is attested, references are separated according to the numbering used. Numberings used only retrospectively, and never during the year in question, are identified by being put inside parentheses (). Year dates without formula of which the attribution to a reign cannot be established with some probability are not included. For single year dates not included here see our discussion in *BASP* 16 (1979) 221-225.

A. Diocletian alone (284-286)

- (1) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ

- 1 (284/5) *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3295.20 (*Oxy.*, 24-28.viii.285).
 2 (285/6) *P.Mil.* II 52.i.16; ii.17 (*Oxy.*, 22.x.285; cf. *BL* 6.76). *SB* VI 9216.6 (formula lost exc. end), 18 (*Hermop.*, 20.xi.285). *SB* IV 7443.23 (*Oxy.*, 30.xii.285).

- (2) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Διοκλητιανού Σεβαστοῦ
 ? *BGU* II 624.27 (Arsin., 7.xii.?).
- (3) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανού Αὐτοκράτορος
 1 (284/5) *P. Michael.* 21.13 (Arsin., 10.ii.285); cf. *BL* 5.68, *P. Oxy.* XLII, p. 142).
- (4) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανού Σεβαστοῦ
 1 (284/5) *P. Oxy.* XXXVIII 2872.7 (Oxy., 285).
- (5) Διοκλήτορος
 1 (284/5) *P. Oxy.* XLII 3055.7 (Oxy., 7.iii.285).
- (6) Διοκλητιανού
 1 (284/5) *O. Mich.* I 408.1 (Arsin.; see *BL* 10.294: date 1.viii.285 or 2.ii.286?). *P. Oxy.* XXII 2338.49 (Oxy., d. after 289; cf. *BL* 7.146-148f.). *P. Oxy. Astr.* 4259.3 (9.xii; horoscope, d. of casting unknown).
 2 (285/6) *P. Oxy.* XXII 2338.50,63 (Oxy., retrosp.).
 3 (286/7) *P. Oxy.* XXII 2338.69,71,74,87 (Oxy., retrosp.). Baillet 354 (Thebes, inscr.).
 4 (287/8) *P. Oxy.* XXII 2338.76 (Oxy., retrosp.).
 5 (288/9) *P. Oxy.* XXII 2338.84 (Oxy., retrosp.).
 9 (292/3) *P. Oxy. Astr.* 4262.1 (horoscope, d. of casting unknown).
 12 (295/296) Baillet 762 (Thebes, inscr.).
 16 (299/300) *P. Oxy. Astr.* 4264.2 (18.iv; horoscope, d. of casting unknown).
- For Diocletian alone cf. also *SB* XII 11153 recto.10, perhaps a writing exercise.
 See Chapter 8 for the continuation of Diocletian's regnal years in his era-reckoning.
- (7) Dates with no regnal formula
 1 (284/5) *P. Fay.* O.22.5 (Arsin., 10.iii.285?; cf. *BL* 2.1.13). *P. Oxy.* XLI 3056.4 (Oxy., ii-iii.285). *O. Oslo* 19.4 (Arsin., 10.iv.285?). *O. Mich.* I 405.5 (Arsin., 30.iv.285; cf. *BL* 3.264, 10.294). *BGU* III 922.3 (prov.unkn., d. 24.v.286). *O. Oslo* 20.2 (Arsin., d. 14.ix.286).
 2 (285/6) *P. Mil.* II 52 i.11; ii.12 (Oxy., 22.x.285; cf. *BL* 6.76). *O. Mich.* I 407.5 (Arsin., 6.xii.285? accepted by H.C. Youtie, *ZPE* 18 [1975] 263). *O. Mich.* IV 1130 = *SB* XIV 11517 (Arsin., d. 26.xi.286[?]). *O. Mich.* I 409.1 (Arsin., d. 27.xi.286).

		B. Diocletian and Maximian (286-293)	
Emperor			
Tiberius II	7.xii.574	5.x.578	D. 13.viii.582
(1)	Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν		
Heracles		5.x.610	D. 11.i.641
Heracles Novus			
Consul	2-1 (285/6)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1260.20 (Oxy., 12.vi.286). <i>PSI</i> III 162.24 (Oxy.; om. Οὐαλ. 2nd time; cf. <i>BL</i> 8.393).	
Heracles			
David	3-2 (286/7)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LXI 4120.34 (Oxy., 1.i.287; adds Γερμανικὸς μέγιστος after Diocletian's name). <i>PSI</i> III 164.20 (Oxy., 10.v.287). <i>P.Grenf.</i> II 70.1 (Great Oasis, 16.viii.287; cf. <i>BL</i> 1.190).	
Mercurius			
	4-3 (287/8)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1690.16 (Oxy., 19.ix.287). <i>SB</i> XIV 11386 (Arsin., 17.i.288). <i>P.Lond.</i> III 957 descr. (p. xlix).	
	5-4 (288/9)	No documents.	
	6-5 (289/290)	<i>BL</i> I 18-19 = <i>BGU</i> I 94.1 (Arsin., 4.xii.289; Μαξιμιανοῦ pap.; om. Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ).	
	7-6 (290/1)	No documents.	
	8-7 (291/2)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XVII 2136.1 (Arsin., 21.x.291; om. Αὐτ. Καίσ. 2nd time, Εὐσ. Εὐτ.: or assign to formula 2 below, though with the epithet Germ.max. omitted? Cf. <i>BL</i> 9.193).	
(2)	Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν		
	5-4 (288/9)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXVII 2477.14 (Oxy., iii-iv.289; cf. <i>BL</i> 5.82; cf. 2475.15: also a date formula of this year?).	
	6-5 (289/290)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> X 1252 recto 38 (Oxy., 15.ix.289; doc. d. after 294/5). <i>P.Stras.</i> I 29.22, 47 = VI 555.21 (Hermop., 7.x.289). <i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1702.19 (Oxy., 20.vi.290). <i>P.Oxy.</i> LXI 4121.25 (Oxy., betw. 29.viii.289 and 10.i.290). <i>P.Laur.</i> IV 157.1,6,10 (Oxy., post 26.vi.290?). <i>SB</i> XVI 13059.11 (Arsin., 30.vi.290, but doc. probably later, cf. below sub "year lost").	
	7-6 (290/1)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> IX 1208.1 (Oxy., i-ii.291). <i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXVIII 2855.18 (Oxy., 4.iv.291). <i>P.Oxy.</i> IX 1205.14 (Oxy., 14.iv.291). <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLVI 3296.17 (Oxy., 10.vi.291). <i>P.Corn.</i> 18.19 (Oxy., 24.vii.291). <i>P.Stras.</i> VI 539.18 (Hermop.). <i>PSI</i> XIV 1417.21 (Oxy.).	
	8-7 (291/2)	<i>PSI</i> III 178.11 (Oxy., 19.ix.291). <i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIII 3136.9 (Oxy., 21.vi.292). <i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1715.18 (Oxy., 25.vi.292).	
	9-8 (292/3)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXIV 2712.25 (Oxy.; uncertain if all of Max.'s titulature present, cf. <i>JEA</i> 70 [1984] 189-190).	
	year lost	<i>SB</i> XVI 13059.1 (Arsin., later than 30.vi.290?).	
	Form 1 or 2:	<i>SB</i> VI 8971.1 (Oxy., 284/5; cf. <i>BL</i> 8.337 and <i>JEA</i> 70 [1984] 190).	

- (3) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 2-1 (285/6) *BGU* IV 1090.34 (Hermop., 31.iii.286; cf. *ZPE* 61 [1985] 99 n. 2).
- (4) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 2-1 (285/6) *BGU* III 922.1 (prov.unkn., 24.v.286). *I.Akoris* 30 (Tenis, 9.viii.286; inscr.).
 3-2 (286/7) *P.Mich.* XII 650.1 (Arsin.?, 8.viii.287). *BGU* XI 2074 ii.10 (Hermop., ref. to viii-ix.286; d. after 27.ix.287). *P.Col.* X 281 = *SB* XVI 12829.25 (Arsin., vii-viii.287; τοῦ κυρίου 2x). *P.Vind.Bosw.* 12.10 (Hermop.).
 4-3 (287/8) *P.Oxy.* VI 888.6 (Oxy., ix-x.287). *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2476.50 (Oxy., 26.vii.288; cf. *BL* 5.82; adds Εὐσ. Εὐτ. bef. Σεβ.).
 5-4 (288/9) *SB* XII 10982.25 (Arsin., 10.x.288). *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4530.38-39 (Herakleop., 18.xi.288?). *O.Mich.* I 134.1 (Arsin., 12.vii.289; cf. *BL* 8.526). *P.Coll.Youtie* II 73.18 (Panop., 27.viii.289). *P.Oxy.* XIV 1642.10 (Oxy., 289; has τοῦ κυρίου 2x; cf. date of 19.iii.289 in line 19). *P.Oxy.* XII 1503.1 (Oxy.). *P.Oxy.* X 1252 recto 12 (Oxy.; cf. *BL* 11.148).
 6-5 (289/290) *P.Oxy.* IX 1208.26 (Oxy., 5.vii.290, doc. d. i-ii.291; adds Αὐτοκρ. after ἡμῶν). *I.Akoris* 34 (Tenis, 5.viii.290; inscr.).
 7-6 (290/1) *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.1 (Arsin., 20.i.291). *P.Fuad Univ.* Cat. 92 A.1, C.1 (prov.unkn., 7.vii.291).
 8-7 (291/2) *P.Michael.* 22.27 (Arsin., 30.ix[?].291[?]; cf. *BL* 4.51). *P.Stras.* VI 557.13 (Hermop., 7.x.291; τοῦ κυρίου 2x). *BGU* XI 2069.23 (Arsin., 21 or 25.i.292). *P.Oxy.* I 59.19 (Oxy., 11.ii.292). *P.Oxy.* X 1255.22 (Oxy., 13.vi.292). *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3183.18 (Oxy., 26.vii.292). *I.Akoris* 35 (Tenis, inscr.).
 9-8 (292/3) *SB* XVI 13065.3 (Oxy., 15.xii.292; τοῦ κυρίου 2x). *P.Mich.* XII 650.14 (Arsin.?, 21.i.293).
 lost *P.Oslo* III 135.26 (Oxy.; mostly restored). *P.Laur.* IV 157.14 (Oxy., doc. d. after 26.vi.290).
- (5) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 5-4 (288/9) *BGU* I 13.18-20 (Mareote, 29.vii.289; cf. *ZPE* 61 [1985] 97 n. 1).
 6-5 (289/290) *P.Laur.* IV 166, B.2 (Oxy.?, fragm.); *P.Stras.* VII 672.25 (Hermop.; cf. *BL* 8.428; om. Αὐτοκράτορος 2x, om. Καίσαρος, adds Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν bef. Σεβαστῶν).

- (6) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Μαξιμιανοῦ
 8-7 (291/2) *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2704.15 (Oxy., 4 or 14.ii.292).
- (7) Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεβαστῶν
 2-1 (285/6) *BGU* III 922.9 (prov.unkn., 23.viii.286; cf. *BL* 8.37; om. τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν).
 3-2 (286/7) *P.Oxy.* L 3571.17 (Oxy., 6.x?. 286).
 4-3 (287/8) *P.Sijp.* 17.5, 8, 22 (Lykop., after 27.xii.287).
 5-4 (288/9) *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4530.18-19 (Herakleop. 17.xi.288?).
 6-5 (289/290) *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2587.11 (Oxy., 17.ix.289; om. τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν).
 8-7 (291/2) *SB* V 8199.8 (Medamoud, 17.x.291; inscr.). *PSI* III 184.19 (Herakleop., 5.vii.292).
- (8) Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 2-1 (285/6) *P.Oxy.Astr.* 4290 (ed.pr.: 16.ix.285; horoscope; no regnal years preserved, but they should be 2-1).
 3-2 (286/7) *O.Mich.* I 159.2 (Arsin.).
 6-5 (289/90) *SB* XVIII 13107.5 (prov. unkn., fragm.).
 21 (304/5) Baccani, *Oroscopi greci* 18.14 (3.xi.304; 4.xi ed.).
- (9) Dates with no regnal formula
 2-1 (285/6) *BGU* III 922.11 (prov.unkn., 23.viii.286). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4120.6 (Oxy., d. 1.i.287). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 19.11 (Oxy., d. iv-viii.287). *P.Oxy.* XII 1410.5 (Oxy.; cf. *BL* 7.137). *O.Mich.* I 410.1 (Arsin.; crop; date unc.). *P.Giss.* I 35.6 (Oxy.). *P.Oxy.* IV 669 recto (Oxy.; see introd.). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 18.4 (Herakleop.?, d. after 3.xii.286).
 3-2 (286/7) *O.Oslo* 20.6 (Arsin., 14.ix.286). *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2417.3 (Oxy., x-xi.286). *O.Mich.* I 409.4 (Arsin., 27.xi.286). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 18.12 (Herakleop.?, after 3.xii.286). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4120.6 (Oxy., 1.i.287). *PSI* III 164.4 (Oxy., 10.v.287). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 19.12 (Oxy., iv-viii.287). *P.Col.* X 281 = *SB* XVI 12829.2 (Arsin., vii-viii.287). *O.Mich.* I 411.2 (Arsin., d. 1.x.287?). *P.Köln* IX 380.1 (Arsin., d. 15.x.287). *BGU* VII 1701.2 (Arsin., d.14.vii.288). *O.Mich.* I 413.1 (Arsin.). *BGU* VII 1702.2 (Arsin., crop). *P.Oxy.* IV 669 recto (Oxy.; see introd.).
 4-3 (287/8) *P.Köln* IX 380.6 (Arsin., 15.x.287). *SB* XIV 11386.13 (Arsin., 17.i.288). *P.Oxy.* XXII 2343 = *SB* XVIII 13932.1,14 (Oxy., 31.xii.287). *O.Mich.* I 412.5 (Arsin., 25.i.288). *BGU* VII 1701.8 (Arsin., 14.vii.288). *O.Mich.* I 235.7, 236.6 (Arsin., 4.viii.288). *O.Mich.* I 414.1 (Arsin., d. viii-ix.289; cf. *BL* 8.527). *O.Mich.* I 415.2, 416.2 (Arsin., d. 7.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 417.2 (Arsin., d.

- xii.288-i.289). *O.Mich.* III 1061.2 (Arsin., d. 31.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 418.2, III 1062.2 (Arsin., d. 2.ii.289). *O.Mich.* I 419.2 (Arsin., d. iii-iv.289). *P.Oxy.* XIV 1744.3,9,11 (Oxy.).
- 5-4 (288/9) *P.Oxy.* I 58.27 (Oxy., 13.ix.288). *O.Mich.* I 415.6, 416.6 (Arsin., 7.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 417.7 (Arsin., xii.288-i.289). *O.Mich.* III 1061.5 (Arsin., 31.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 418.6, III 1062.6 (Arsin., 2.ii.289). *O.Mich.* I 419.6 (Arsin., iii-iv.289). *O.Mich.* II 889.5 (Arsin., 17?.vi.289). *O.Mich.* II 890.5 (Arsin., 23.vi.289). *P.Amh.* II 137.7,14,18,22,28 (Hermop., 30.vii.289, x-xi.288, iii-iv.289, ? .289, 4.vii.289). *P.Coll.Youtie* II 73.11 (Panop., ref. to v-vi.289, d. 27.viii.289). *P.Prag.* I 117.15 (Arsin., d. 289/90). *O.Mich.* I 420.1 (Arsin., d. 13.ii.290?). *O.Mich.* I 421.2, 422.2 (Arsin., d. 15.iii.290). *O.Mich.* II 891.2 (Arsin., d. 28.iii.290). *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.4,8 (Arsin., d. 20.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 433.1 (Arsin., d. 6.ix.292). *O.Oslo* 21.2 (Arsin.). *CEMG* 1026 (cf. *BL* 10.45 ad *CEML* 599).
- 6-5 (289/290) *O.Mich.* I 414.5 (Arsin., viii-ix.289; cf. *BL* 8.527). *P.Oxy.* X 1252 verso 5 (Oxy., 27.ix.289, doc. d. after 294/5). *O.Mich.* I 420.5 (Arsin., 13.ii.290?). *O.Mich.* I 421.8, 422.7 (Arsin., 15.iii.290). *PSI* V 461.13 (Oxy., ii-iii.290). *O.Mich.* II 891.10 (Arsin., 28.iii.290). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4121.8 (Oxy.; crop; d. 289/290). *O.Mich.* I 423.2 (Arsin., d. 22.x.290). *O.Mich.* I 72.2 = *P.Sakaon* 78 (Arsin., d. 19.xii.290; cf. *BL* 8.302). *O.Mich.* I 424.1 (Arsin., d. 19.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 425.2 (Arsin., d. 22.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 426.2, II 892.2 (Arsin., d. 23.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 427.1 (Arsin., d. 15.iv.291). *O.Mich.* I 429.2 (Arsin., crop; year uncert.).
- 7-6 (290/1) *O.Mich.* I 16.1 (Arsin., viii-ix.290). *O.Mich.* I 423.6 (Arsin., 22.x.290). *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2422.105 (Oxy., 16-19.xii.290). *O.Mich.* I 72.5 = *P.Sakaon* 78 (Arsin., 19.xii.290; cf. *BL* 8.302). *O.Mich.* I 424.6 (Arsin., 19.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 425.6 (Arsin., 22.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 426.6, II 892.7 (Arsin., 23.i.291). *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2855.13 (Oxy., 4.iv.291). *O.Mich.* I 427.6 (Arsin., 15.iv.291). *O.Mich.* I 428.2,6 (Arsin., 21.v.291). *P.Prag.* I 98 (prov. unkn., 26.v.291; horoscope). *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3296.7 (Oxy., ref. to i-ii.291; d. 10.vi.291). *P.Corn.* 18.3,11,12,14,15 (Oxy., 24.vii.291). *O.Mich.* I 430.2 (Arsin., d. 14.v.292). *O.Mich.* I 431.3 (Arsin., d. 16.v.292). *O.Mich.* II 893.2 (Arsin., d. 26?.vi.292). *O.Mich.* I 432.2 (Arsin., d. 28.vi.292). *O.Mich.* I 434.2, III 1064.2 (Arsin., d. 7.xii.292). *O.Mich.* I 435.2 (Arsin., d. 21.xii.292).
- 8-7 (291/2) *P.Stras.* VI 557.5 (Hermop., 7.x.291). *P.Oxy.* I 59.23 (Oxy., 11.ii.292). *O.Mich.* I 430.4 (Arsin., 14.v.292). *O.Mich.* I 431.7 (Arsin., 16.v.292). *O.Mich.* II 893.6 (Arsin., 26?.vi.292). *O.Mich.* I 432.6 (Arsin., 28.vi.292). *O.Mich.* III 1001.1 (Arsin., 19.vii.292). *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3183.3 (Oxy., 26.vii.292). *P.Köln* II 116.1,4 (Arsin., 7.viii.292). *O.Mich.* I 436.2 (Arsin., d. 26.i.293). *O.Mich.* I 437.1, 438.2, 439.1, 440.2 (Arsin., d. 29.iii.293). *O.Mich.* I 441.2 (Arsin., d. 28.v.293). *O.Mich.* I 443.1 [rest.], II 894.2 (Arsin., d. 28.vi.293).

- (6) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Μαξιμιανοῦ
 8-7 (291/2) *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2704.15 (Oxy., 4 or 14.ii.292).
- (7) Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεβαστῶν
 2-1 (285/6) *BGU* III 922.9 (prov.unkn., 23.viii.286; cf. *BL* 8.37; om. τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν).
 3-2 (286/7) *P.Oxy.* L 3571.17 (Oxy., 6.x?. 286).
 4-3 (287/8) *P.Sijp.* 17.5, 8, 22 (Lykop., after 27.xii.287).
 5-4 (288/9) *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4530.18-19 (Herakleop. 17.xi.288?).
 6-5 (289/290) *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2587.11 (Oxy., 17.ix.289; om. τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν).
 8-7 (291/2) *SB* V 8199.8 (Medamoud, 17.x.291; inscr.). *PSI* III 184.19 (Herakleop., 5.vii.292).
- (8) Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 2-1 (285/6) *P.Oxy.Astr.* 4290 (ed.pr.: 16.ix.285; horoscope; no regnal years preserved, but they should be 2-1).
 3-2 (286/7) *O.Mich.* I 159.2 (Arsin.).
 6-5 (289/90) *SB* XVIII 13107.5 (prov. unkn., fragm.).
 21 (304/5) Baccani, *Oroscopi greci* 18.14 (3.xi.304; 4.xi ed.).
- (9) Dates with no regnal formula
 2-1 (285/6) *BGU* III 922.11 (prov.unkn., 23.viii.286). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4120.6 (Oxy., d. 1.i.287). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 19.11 (Oxy., d. iv-viii.287). *P.Oxy.* XII 1410.5 (Oxy.; cf. *BL* 7.137). *O.Mich.* I 410.1 (Arsin.; crop; date unc.). *P.Giss.* I 35.6 (Oxy.). *P.Oxy.* IV 669 recto (Oxy.; see introd.). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 18.4 (Herakleop.?, d. after 3.xii.286).
 3-2 (286/7) *O.Oslo* 20.6 (Arsin., 14.ix.286). *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2417.3 (Oxy., x-xi.286). *O.Mich.* I 409.4 (Arsin., 27.xi.286). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 18.12 (Herakleop.?, after 3.xii.286). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4120.6 (Oxy., 1.i.287). *PSI* III 164.4 (Oxy., 10.v.287). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 19.12 (Oxy., iv-viii.287). *P.Col.* X 281 = *SB* XVI 12829.2 (Arsin., vii-viii.287). *O.Mich.* I 411.2 (Arsin., d. 1.x.287?). *P.Köln* IX 380.1 (Arsin., d. 15.x.287). *BGU* VII 1701.2 (Arsin., d.14.vii.288). *O.Mich.* I 413.1 (Arsin.). *BGU* VII 1702.2 (Arsin., crop). *P.Oxy.* IV 669 recto (Oxy.; see introd.).
 4-3 (287/8) *P.Köln* IX 380.6 (Arsin., 15.x.287). *SB* XIV 11386.13 (Arsin., 17.i.288). *P.Oxy.* XXII 2343 = *SB* XVIII 13932.1,14 (Oxy., 31.xii.287). *O.Mich.* I 412.5 (Arsin., 25.i.288). *BGU* VII 1701.8 (Arsin., 14.vii.288). *O.Mich.* I 235.7, 236.6 (Arsin., 4.viii.288). *O.Mich.* I 414.1 (Arsin., d. viii-ix.289; cf. *BL* 8.527). *O.Mich.* I 415.2, 416.2 (Arsin., d. 7.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 417.2 (Arsin., d.

- xii.288-i.289). *O.Mich.* III 1061.2 (Arsin., d. 31.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 418.2, III 1062.2 (Arsin., d. 2.ii.289). *O.Mich.* I 419.2 (Arsin., d. iii-iv.289). *P.Oxy.* XIV 1744.3,9,11 (Oxy.).
- 5-4 (288/9) *P.Oxy.* I 58.27 (Oxy., 13.ix.288). *O.Mich.* I 415.6, 416.6 (Arsin., 7.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 417.7 (Arsin., xii.288-i.289). *O.Mich.* III 1061.5 (Arsin., 31.i.289). *O.Mich.* I 418.6, III 1062.6 (Arsin., 2.ii.289). *O.Mich.* I 419.6 (Arsin., iii-iv.289). *O.Mich.* II 889.5 (Arsin., 17?.vi.289). *O.Mich.* II 890.5 (Arsin., 23.vi.289). *P.Amh.* II 137.7,14,18,22,28 (Hermop., 30.vii.289, x-xi.288, iii-iv.289, ? .289, 4.vii.289). *P.Coll.Youtie* II 73.11 (Panop., ref. to v-vi.289, d. 27.viii.289). *P.Prag.* I 117.15 (Arsin., d. 289/90). *O.Mich.* I 420.1 (Arsin., d. 13.ii.290?). *O.Mich.* I 421.2, 422.2 (Arsin., d. 15.iii.290). *O.Mich.* II 891.2 (Arsin., d. 28.iii.290). *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.4,8 (Arsin., d. 20.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 433.1 (Arsin., d. 6.ix.292). *O.Oslo* 21.2 (Arsin.). *CEMG* 1026 (cf. *BL* 10.45 ad *CEML* 599).
- 6-5 (289/290) *O.Mich.* I 414.5 (Arsin., viii-ix.289; cf. *BL* 8.527). *P.Oxy.* X 1252 verso 5 (Oxy., 27.ix.289, doc. d. after 294/5). *O.Mich.* I 420.5 (Arsin., 13.ii.290?). *O.Mich.* I 421.8, 422.7 (Arsin., 15.iii.290). *PSI* V 461.13 (Oxy., ii-iii.290). *O.Mich.* II 891.10 (Arsin., 28.iii.290). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4121.8 (Oxy.; crop; d. 289/290). *O.Mich.* I 423.2 (Arsin., d. 22.x.290). *O.Mich.* I 72.2 = *P.Sakaon* 78 (Arsin., d. 19.xii.290; cf. *BL* 8.302). *O.Mich.* I 424.1 (Arsin., d. 19.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 425.2 (Arsin., d. 22.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 426.2, II 892.2 (Arsin., d. 23.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 427.1 (Arsin., d. 15.iv.291). *O.Mich.* I 429.2 (Arsin., crop; year uncert.).
- 7-6 (290/1) *O.Mich.* I 16.1 (Arsin., viii-ix.290). *O.Mich.* I 423.6 (Arsin., 22.x.290). *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2422.105 (Oxy., 16-19.xii.290). *O.Mich.* I 72.5 = *P.Sakaon* 78 (Arsin., 19.xii.290; cf. *BL* 8.302). *O.Mich.* I 424.6 (Arsin., 19.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 425.6 (Arsin., 22.i.291). *O.Mich.* I 426.6, II 892.7 (Arsin., 23.i.291). *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2855.13 (Oxy., 4.iv.291). *O.Mich.* I 427.6 (Arsin., 15.iv.291). *O.Mich.* I 428.2,6 (Arsin., 21.v.291). *P.Prag.* I 98 (prov. unkn., 26.v.291; horoscope). *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3296.7 (Oxy., ref. to i-ii.291; d. 10.vi.291). *P.Corn.* 18.3,11,12,14,15 (Oxy., 24.vii.291). *O.Mich.* I 430.2 (Arsin., d. 14.v.292). *O.Mich.* I 431.3 (Arsin., d. 16.v.292). *O.Mich.* II 893.2 (Arsin., d. 26?.vi.292). *O.Mich.* I 432.2 (Arsin., d. 28.vi.292). *O.Mich.* I 434.2, III 1064.2 (Arsin., d. 7.xii.292). *O.Mich.* I 435.2 (Arsin., d. 21.xii.292).
- 8-7 (291/2) *P.Stras.* VI 557.5 (Hermop., 7.x.291). *P.Oxy.* I 59.23 (Oxy., 11.ii.292). *O.Mich.* I 430.4 (Arsin., 14.v.292). *O.Mich.* I 431.7 (Arsin., 16.v.292). *O.Mich.* II 893.6 (Arsin., 26?.vi.292). *O.Mich.* I 432.6 (Arsin., 28.vi.292). *O.Mich.* III 1001.1 (Arsin., 19.vii.292). *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3183.3 (Oxy., 26.vii.292). *P.Köln* II 116.1,4 (Arsin., 7.viii.292). *O.Mich.* I 436.2 (Arsin., d. 26.i.293). *O.Mich.* I 437.1, 438.2, 439.1, 440.2 (Arsin., d. 29.iii.293). *O.Mich.* I 441.2 (Arsin., d. 28.v.293). *O.Mich.* I 443.1 [rest.], II 894.2 (Arsin., d. 28.vi.293).

- (6) *O.Mich.* III 1065.2 (Arsin., d. vi-vii.293). *O.Mich.* I 444.2 (Arsin., d. 21.viii.293). *O.Mich.* I 445.2 (Arsin., d. 24.viii.293). *O.Mich.* I 73.2 = *P.Sakaon* 79 (Arsin., d. 2.ix.293; cf. *BL* 8.302). *O.Mich.* I 446.1 (Arsin., d. 10.x.293). *O.Mich.* IV 1131.1 = *SB XIV* 11518.1 (Arsin., d. 10.x.293). *P.Oxy.* XIV 1691.5 (Oxy.). *P.Bad.* II 26.39 (Hermop., d. 293/4, cf. *BL* 3.255). *AnalPap* 10-11 (1998/9) 57-58 no. 10.11 (prov.unkn.; very frag., may have been a formula now lost).
- (7) 9-8 (292/3) *O.Mich.* I 433.4 (Arsin., 6.ix.292). *P.Aberd.* 18.1 = *SB XIV* 11474.1 (prov.unkn., 14-15.ix.292). *P.Köln* II 119.7 (Arsin., 25.ix.292). *O.Mich.* (all Arsin.) I 434.7, III 1064.7 (7.xii.292). I 435.6 (21.xii.292). 436.5 (26.i.293). 437.5, 438.6, 439.4, 440.6 (all 29.iii.293). III 1065.2 (vi-vii.293). I 448.2 (d. 28.v.294). 449.2 (d. 2.vi.294). 450.2, 451.2 (both crop).
- year lost *P.Oxy.Astr.* 4291.3 (fragmentarily preserved horoscope).

C. The First Tetrarchy:

Diocletian, Maximianus, Constantius, Galerius (293-305)

- (1) Αὐτοκράτορων Καισάρων Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν μεγίστων, Σαρματικῶν μεγίστων, Ἀρμενικῶν μεγίστων, Περσικῶν μεγίστων, Βρετανικῶν μεγίστων, Καρπικῶν μεγίστων Ἀδιαβηνικῶν μεγίστων, Μηδικῶν μεγίστων, Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν μεγίστων, Σαρματικῶν μεγίστων, Περσικῶν μεγίστων, τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
- (9) 21-13 (304/5) *P.Sakaon* 59.2 (Arsin., 11.iii.305).

This is the fullest form of the titulature of these emperors, including a full range of triumphal epithets. For titulature under the first tetrarchy, see in general *Tyche* 47 (1989) 229-232. The following documents have earlier, briefer forms. For each it is indicated which epithets occur.

- 9-8-1 (292/3) *P.Kell.* I Gr. 1.1 (Mothite?, 293; or restore numerals as 10-9-2 from 294; Diocl. and Maxim. are Αὐτοκρ. Καισ., Γερμ. μεγ.; Caesars have no epithets).
- 10-9-2 (293/4) *P.Lips.* 4.2 (cf. 5.10) (Hermop., 10.ix.293. Diocl. and Maxim. are Γερμ., Σαρμ.; Caesars have no epithets. Αὐτοκρ. twice, Καισ. om. in 4.2, twice in 5.10; om. τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν; Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. at end). *AnalPap* 10-11 (1998/9) 69-70 no. 4.1 (Oxy., 13.iii.294?; heavily restored; Αὐτοκρ. Καισ. 2x; Diocl. and Maxim. are Γερμ.

- μεγ. Σαρμ. μεγ., Caesars ἐπιφ. Καισ.; Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβαστῶν added at end). *P.IFAO* I 9.7 (prov. unkn., 293/4; like preceding).
- (12-11-4) *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2849.23 (Oxy., 19.v.296; Αὐτοκρ.Καισ. 2x, (295/6) Augusti are Γερμ., Σαρμ.; Caesars have no epithets; Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. at end).
- (16-15-8) *SB* IV 7338.2 (Lycopolite, vi-vii.300; Augusti are Γερμ., Σαρμ., (299/300) Περσ.; Caesars have no epithets; om. τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν).
- (18-17-10) *P.NYU* I 20.2 and *P.Mich.* XII 636.1 (copies of same document; (301/2) Arsin., i-iii.302 [see *P.Mich.* XII, p. 38, for reed. of *P.NYU* 20]. Augusti are Γερμ., Σαρμ., Περσ., Βριτ., Καρπ.; Caesars are Περσ., Βριτ., Καρπ.; Αὐτοκρ. Καισ. twice).
- (2) Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων *P.Lond.Insc.* 59.1
- 13-12-5 *P.Lond.* III 958 descr. (p. xlix, cf. p. 333; Thebaid: Hermop.?, (296/7) 28.ix.296; cf. *BL* 7.87 and 8.182).
- 14-13-6 *P.Wisc.* II 58.1 = 59.1 (Arsin., 5.iv.298; cf. *BL* 8.512). (297/8)
- (3) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
- Type B adds τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν also before the Caesars; texts of this type are so indicated below.
- 10-9-2 *P.Cair.Isid.* 35.3 (Arsin., 18.xii.293; Type B, has Σεβ. instead of (293/4) τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισ.). *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.14 (Arsin., 21.viii.294; Type B). *P.Laur.* II 25.11 (Alexandria ed.; not certain if written there; Type B).
- 11-10-3 *P.Oxy.* VIII 1121.27 (Oxy., 8.ii.295; Type B). *P.Oxy.* I 43 recto (294/5) iii.15 (Oxy., 16.ii.295; Type B, Σεβ. at end; pap. has 11-10-2). *P.Oxy.* I 43 recto vi.21 (Oxy., i-ii.295; Type B). *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3137.17 (Oxy., 4.vii.295; adds Αὐτοκρ. bef. Diocl., om. Σεβ., adds Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. at end; Type B). *P.Cair.Isid.* 37.1 (Arsin., 10.viii.295; Type B). *P.Cair.Isid.* 36.1 (Arsin., prob. iv-viii.295; Type B). *P.Lips.* I 29.17 (Hermop., i-viii.295; adds Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. at end; Type B). *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2717.2 (Oxy.; cf. *BL* 8.261 and 9.197).
- 12-11-4 *BGU* III 858.19 (Arsin., 11.x.295; cf. *BL* 8.35). *P.Oslo* II 37.24 (295/6) (Arsin., 18.x.295). *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2849.5 (Oxy., 21.v.296; Type B). *P.Oxy.Hels.* 26.19 (Oxy., 13.vi.296; has Αὐτοκράτορος bef. Διοκλ.). *P.Col.* VII 136.1, 11, 24 (Arsin., 2.vii, 4.viii.296; in 1, Σεβ. at end). *SB* VI 9502.21 (Oxy., i-viii.296; Type B).

- 13-12-5
(296/7) *P. Michael*. 23B.21 (prov.unkn.: Hermop.? cf. *BL* 5.68 contra 4.51 [Oxy.?]; 9.ix.296; Type B). *SB* XX 14368.8-13 (Upper Egypt, 15.x.296; inscr.). *P. Oxy.* LV 3802.23 (Oxy., 31.x.296; Type B). *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3184a.24 (Oxy., x-xi. 296; Type B, Σεβ. at end, Αὐτοκρ. bef. Διοκλ.). *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3184b.20 (Oxy., 8.i.297 [9.i ed.]; Αὐτοκρ. bef. Διοκλ.). *P. Cair. Isid.* 1.21 (Arsin., 16.iii.297). *P. Cair. Isid.* 81.29 (Arsin., 9.iv.297). *SB* XIV 12190.20 (Arsin., 17.vii.297; Type B). *P. Oxy.* LXV 4489.15 (Oxy., 5.viii.297; Type B). *P. Oxy.* XLV 3245.18 (Oxy., i-viii.297; Type B). *P. Oxy.* XXXI 2578.2 (Oxy., d. 30.iii.298).
- 14-13-6
(297/8) *P. Mert.* II 88 ii.1 (Arsin., 9.ii.298). *P. Oxy.* XLII 3036.3 (Oxy., 24.ii.298). *P. Oxy.* XLII 3037.3, 21, 3038.3 (Oxy., 4.iii.298). *P. Mert.* II 88 iv.1 (Arsin., 6.iii.298). *P. Oxy.* XIV 1643.16 (Oxy., 11.v.298; Type B). *P. Mert.* II 88 v.1 (Arsin., 25.vi.298). *P. Oxy.* XIV 1705.19 (Oxy., 6.vii.298; Type B). *P. Oxy.* XIV 3247.22 (Oxy., 16.viii.298; cf. 17n.). *P. Cair. Isid.* 124.17 (Arsin., 22?.viii.298; Type B). *P. Harr.* I 130.1 (prov.unkn., 24.viii.298; Type B; cf. *BL* 8.148). *P. Oxy.* XIV 1704.22 (Oxy., i-viii.298; Type B). *P. Panop. Beatty* 1.65 (Panop., ref. to vii-viii.298, d. 12.ix.298; Type B). *P. Oxy.* XLII 3041.1 (Oxy., d. 14-23.vi.299; cf. note). *P. Oxy.* XLV 3246.2 (Oxy.).
- (1) 15-14-7
(298/9) *BGU* II 373.16 (Arsin., 6.ix.298). *P. Mich.* IX 548.16 (Arsin., 6.ix.298). *P. Mert.* II 88 viii.1 (Arsin., 24.x.298; Type B). *P. Sakaon* 12 (Arsin., 26.x.298). *P. Cair. Isid.* 111.19 (Arsin., 27.xi.298). *P. Cair. Isid.* 2.22 (Arsin., 1.xii.298). *P. Flor.* I 32a.2, b.2 (Hermop., 20.xii.298; Type B). *SB* X 10726.13 = *P. Sakaon* 76 (Arsin., 27.xi-26.xii.298). *SB* VIII 9833.14 = *P. Corn.* 45 (Oxy., 2.v.299; Type B). *P. Mert.* II 88 ix.1 (Arsin., 4.v.299). *P. Sakaon* 58 (Arsin., 5.vii.299). *P. Laur.* III 67.16 (Oxy., 17.vii.299; Type B). *P. Oxy.* LXV 4490.1 (Oxy., 22?.vii.299; Type B). *P. Mert.* II 88 x.1 (Arsin., 3.viii.299). *P. Mert.* II 88 xviii.1 (Arsin., 7.viii.299). *P. Stras.* III 152.2 (Koussite; Type B).
- 16-15-8
(299/300) *P. Cair. Isid.* 3.25, 4.13, 5.31 (Arsin., all [4.13 prob.] 12.ix.299; cf. *BL* 8. 69). *P. Mert.* II 88 xvii.1 (Arsin., 13.ix.299). *PSI* XIII 1338.20 (Oxy., 11.x.299; Type B). *P. Mert.* II 89.20 (Arsin., 14.i.300). *P. Sakaon* 2.16 (Arsin., 14.i.300). *P. Bodl.* I 46.27 (Great Oasis, xii.299 or i.300; Type B). *P. Sakaon* 3.16 (Arsin., i.300). *P. Col.* VII 179.31 (Arsin., 5.ii.300). *SB* X 10257.21 (Antin., 12.iv.300; Type B). *P. Sakaon* 86.1 (Arsin., 5.v.300; Maximianus' name and Σεβ. om.). *P. Mert.* II 88 xi.1 (Arsin., 8.vi.300). *P. Mert.* II 88 xiii.1 (Arsin., 23.vii.300). *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3187a.4 (Oxy., 24.vii.300). *P. Cair. Isid.* 112.16 (Arsin., iv-viii.300). *P. Oxy.* XLIII 3141.19 (Oxy., i-viii.300; Type B?, partly lost).
- 17-16-9
(300/1) *P. Oxy.* XLV 3188.11 (Oxy., 11.ix.300; Type B, Αὐτοκρ. bef. Diocl.). *P. Cair. Isid.* 101.17 (Arsin., 4.x.300). *CPR* I 40.34 (Herakleop., 11.x.300). *P. Oxy.* XLVI 3304.1 (Oxy., 6.vi.301; Type

- B). *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3142.1 (Oxy., 26.vii.301; Type B). *P.Col.* VII 137.20,28,42,71,88 (Arsin., 24.iv, 6.v, 30.iv, 10.viii.301 [n.d. in line 88]). *P.Flor.* I 3.19 (Hermop., vii-viii.301; Type B). *PSI* IX 1037.32 (Oxy., i-viii.301; Type B). *P.Lips.* I 84 i.6 (Hermop., d.xi-xii.301).
- 18-17-10
(301/2) *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2859.27 (Oxy., 10.xi.301; Type B). *P.Grenf.* II 74.7,20 (Great Oasis, 25.iv.302; cf. *BL* 1.191). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.28 (Arsin., 14.vi-vii/viii.302). *P.Lond.* III 1271.11 (text, *P.Panop.* Beatty, p. 156; Thebaid). *PSI* III 163.2 (Oxy.; Type B).
- 19-18-11
(302/3) *P.Corn.* 20.18,38,57,76,95,117,138,159,180,202,223 (Arsin., 23.ix.302). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.13 (Arsin., 31.x.302). *P.Mich.* XII 643.1 (Arsin., 10.i.303). *P.Corn.* 20a.41 (Hermop., 23.v.303; cf. *BL* 8.90). *P.Princ.* III 133.14 (Oxy., 5-13.vi.303; cf. *BL* 8.285). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.50 (Arsin., 2.vii.303). *P.Sakaon* 96.23 (Arsin., 15.vii.303). *P.Mich.* XII 644.17 (Arsin., 29.viii.303). *P.Cair.Isid.* 113.18 (Arsin., prob. iv-viii.303; 19-18-12 pap.). *P.Leid.Inst.* 59.1 (Oxy., i-viii.303, type B). *P.Sakaon* 63 (Arsin.). *CPR* VI 65.3 (Hermop.; cf. *BL* 8.106).
- 20-19-12
(303/4) *P.Cair.Isid.* 42.1 (Arsin., 23.x.303; om. ἐπιφ.). *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2765.17 (Oxy., 20.xii.303; Type B; for date see *BL* 6.112). *SB* XIV 12047 (Oxy.?, 20.xii.303; cf. *BASP* 17 [1980] 115).
- 20-12
(303/4) *P.Wisc.* II 61.24 (Oxy., 24.xii.303; type B; cf. *BL* 8.512). *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2187.4 (Oxy., 13.i.304; Type B; line 14, restore date as 20-12?). *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2770.26 (Oxy. 26.i.304; type B). *BGU* XIII 2334.12 (Arsin., 4.ii.304; Type B). *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2673.31 (Oxy., 5.ii.304). *P.Harr.* II 208.10 (Oxy., 9.ii.304). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.42 (Arsin., 12.ii.304; cf. *BL* 6.24). *SB* I 4652.8 (Great Oasis, 15.ii.304; see *BL* 6.132). *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4353.26 (14.iv.304). *P.Mich.* XII 645.18 (Arsin., 26.vi.304). *P.Mich.* X 600.1 (Arsin., 30.vi.304). *SB* I 5272.3,15 (Memphite, vi-vii.304; see *BL* 6.133 and *CdÉ* 46 [1971] 177; text does have month date). *PSI* VII 740.7 (prov.unkn., 28.vii.304; cf. *BL* 8.400-401). *P.Ant.* II 106.5 (Antin., 12.viii.304). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.65 (Arsin., before 13.viii.304). *P.Mich.* XII 646.1 (Arsin., 24-28.viii.304; om. ἡμῶν). *AnalPap.* 13 (2001) 82.2 = *P.Vind.Bosw.* 5.3 (Hermop., i-viii.304; Type B). *ChLA* XIX 684 = *P.Stras.* VII 617.23 (303/4, see Mitthof 2001: 422). *CPR* VII 14.18 (Hermop., i-viii.304; doc. 28.iv.305).
- 21-13
(304/5) *SB* VI 9269.28 (Arsin., 18.ix.304; cf. *BL* 8.342). *P.Cair.Isid.* 43.1 (Arsin., 16.x.304; cf. *BL* 6.24). *P.Wisc.* I 32.21 (Arsin., 26.iv.305). *CPR* VII 14.1,7,21 (Hermop., 28.iv.305). *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3143.21 (Oxy., 27.v or 14.vi.305; cf. note to line 25). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4122.20 (Oxy., 22.vi.305). *P.Rain.Cent.* 82.30 (Herakleop.; type B).
- Year lost *P.Lond.* III 1260.19 (text in *P.Panop.* Beatty, p. 154; Hermop.). *I.Akoris* 39 (Tenis; beginning lost; inscr.; Type B; ed. 305, but formula points to 293-304; Εὐσ. Εὐτ. Σεβ. at end). *CPR* VI 30.5 (Hermop., very fragmentary). *P.PalauRib.* 12 = *SB* XVI 12855.2

- (prov. unkn.; probably type B?). *P.Kell.* I Gr. 19.a.Append. 21 (Mothite, 27.vi; possibly type B). *P.Oxy.* XIV 1718 = *SB XVIII* 13367 (Oxy., 298-301; type B).
- (4) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
- 10-9-2 *P.Stras.* VI 594.6 (Hermop., has τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν bef. Σεβ.). (293/4)
- 13-12-5 *SB XVIII* 13309.16 (prov.unkn., 3.ii.297). *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2578.2 (296/7) (Oxy., d. 30.iii.298). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3039.2 (Oxy., d. 29.v.298). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3040.2 (Oxy., d. 17.xii.298). *P.Oxy.Astr.* 4260.2 (fragm. preserved horoscope; omits τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν).
- 15-14-7 *P.Sakaon* 61.25 (Arsin., 11.vi.299; om. τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν). (298/9) *P.Panop.* 1.11 = *SB XII* 10968 (Panop.)
- 16-15-8 *P.Lips.* I 84 iii.4 (Hermop., 6.viii.300). (299/300)
- 17-16-9 *P.Lips.* I 84 ii.3,13; iii.14 (Hermop., 3 and 13.ix.301). (300/1)
- 20-19-12 *P.Kell.* I Gr. 49.14 (Mothite, 2.vi.304; adds τῶν ἐπιφ. Καισ.; or (303/4) form 3 with Σεβ. erroneously transferred?).
- (5) Dates with no regnal formula
- 9-8-1 *O.Mich.* I 441.7 (Arsin., 28.v.293). *PSI* I 83.20 (Oxy., 24.vi.293). (292/3) *O.Mich.* II 894.7, I 443.4 (Arsin., 28.vi.293). *O.Mich.* I 444.6 (Arsin., 21.viii.293). *P.Oxy.* VIII 1140.5 (Oxy., 23.viii.293). *O.Mich.* I 445.6 (Arsin., 24.viii.293). *P.Oxy.* XII 1565.1 (Oxy., 28.viii.293; horoscope ref.). *P.Sakaon* 80.2 (Arsin., d. 293/4). *P.Bad.* II 26.3,4,34,42,46,48,122 (Hermop., d. 293/4 through 295/6; cf. *BL* 3.255). *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.17 (Arsin., d. 21.viii.294). *O.Mich.* II 895.2 (Arsin., d. 4.ii.295). *P.Cair.Isid.* 111.12 (Arsin., d. 27.xi.298).
- 10-9-2 *P.Sakaon* 79.6 (Arsin., 2.ix.293; cf. *BL* 8.302). *P.Oxy.* XVII (293/4) 2143.6 (Oxy., 3.ix.293). *O.Mich.* I 446.7, IV 1131.5 = *SB XIV* 11518 (Arsin., 10.x.293). *SB VI* 9003.5 = *O.Mich.* I 492 (Arsin., 30.xi.293). *O.Stras.* 581.4 (Upper Egypt?, 13.iv.294). *O.Mich.* I 448.4 (Arsin., 28.v.294). *O.Mich.* I 449.7 (Arsin., 2.vi.294). *O.Mich.* I 137.1 (Arsin., 15.viii.294). *O.Mich.* II 896.2 (Arsin., d. 24.ii.295). *O.Mich.* II 897.2 (Arsin., d. 1.iii.295). *O.Mich.* I 453.2 (Arsin., d. 24.iv.295). *P.Cair.Isid.* 111.10 (Arsin., d. 27.xi.298). *PSI* I 83 verso (Oxy.; 10-9-1 pap.). *P.Sakaon* 80.6 (Arsin.).
- 11-10-3 *SB XII* 11132.2 (Arsin., d. 12.ix.296; cf. *ZPE* 134 [2001] 205-206). (294/5) *PSI* VII 828.1 (prov.unkn., 17.xi.294). *P.Cair.Isid.* 34.20 (Arsin., 18.xi.294; cf. *BASP* 15 [1978] 144 n. 51). *P.Harr.* I 93.1 (Oxy.?, 15.xii.294). *O.Mich.* II (Arsin.) 895.4 (4.ii.295); 896.6 (24.ii.295);

- 897.5 (1.iii.295). *PSI* V 472.15 (Oxy., 21.iii.295). *O.Mich.* I 453.7 (Arsin., 23.iv.295). *O.Mich.* I 76.5 (Arsin., 24.iv.295). *PSI* VI 712.8 (Oxy., 16.v.295). *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3137.3 (Oxy., 4.vii?.295). *O.Mich.* I 454.3 (Arsin., d. 26.ii.296). *O.Mich.* II 899.4 (Arsin., d. 1.iii.296). *O.Mich.* I 455.2 (Arsin., d. 19.iv.296). *O.Mich.* I 456.1 (Arsin., d. 11.vii.296). *P.Sakaon* 81.1 (Arsin., d. 19.viii.296). *O.Mich.* I 75.1 (Arsin.). *P.Bad.* II 26.47 (Hermop., d. 295/6, cf. *BL* 3.255). *P.Ryl.* IV 709.8 (prov.unkn.; cf. *BL* 7.175). *O.Mich.* I 665 (Arsin., ref. to 11-10-3? or to 18-17-10?).
- 12-11-4 (295/6) *P.Oxy.* LV 3801.5 (Oxy., 13?.ix.295). *O.Mich.* III 1007.5 (Arsin., 29.x.295 or error for 28.x.296? See *BASP* 15 [1978] 136-37 [*BL* 7.291 wrongly: 29.x.296]). *P.Cair.Isid.* 36.12 (Arsin., 4.xi.295). *SB* XII 11133.10 (Arsin., 21.ii.296; cf. *CdÉ* 49 [1974] 396). *O.Mich.* I 454.7 (Arsin., 26.ii.296). *O.Mich.* II 899.9 (Arsin., 1.iii.296). *P.Harr.* II 230.4 (Oxy., 15.iii.296). *O.Mich.* I 455.4 (Arsin., 19.iv.296). *P.Cair.Isid.* 37.9 (Arsin., 25.v.296). *P.Mert.* II 86.5 (prov.unkn., 28.vi.296; cf. *BL* 6.79 and *CdÉ* 46 [1971] 174 n. 2). *O.Mich.* I 456.4 (Arsin., 11.vii.296). *P.Col.* VII 136.32 (Arsin., 4.viii.296). *P.Sakaon* 81.4 (Arsin., 19.viii.296). *SB* XIV 11565.1 (Arsin., d. 10.ix.296; rest.). *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3184a.9 (Oxy., d. x-xi.296). *SB* XIV 11422.4 (Arsin., d. 13.xii.296). *O.Mich.* I 457.2 (Arsin., d. 27.xii.296). *O.Mich.* II 902.2 (Arsin., d. 2.i.297). *O.Mich.* II 904.2 (Arsin., d. 6.i.297). *O.Mich.* II 905.2 (Arsin., d. 8.i.297). *P.Köln* II 117.2 (Arsin., d. 31.i.297). *P.Col.* VII 136.50 (Arsin., d. 24.ii.298). *P.Mert.* II 88 iv.5 (Arsin., d. 6.iii.298). *O.Mich.* II 898.2 (Arsin.). *P.Bad.* II 26.46 (Hermop., d. 294/5; cf. *BL* 3.255). *P.Ryl.* IV 709.8 (prov.unkn.; see *BL* 7.175). Cf. also the demotic Bucheion stele BM 1696 in *The Bucheum* II, p. 18 no. 19.
- (12)(295/6) *P.Col.* VII 124.11, *P.Mich.* XII 626.10 (Arsin., d. 298-302).
- 13-12-5 (296/7) *P.Michael.* 23A.7 (prov.unkn., Hermop.? cf. *BL* 5.68 [contra *BL* 4.51: Oxy.?]; 9.ix.296, cf. *BL* 8.210). *SB* XIV 11565.4 (Arsin., 10.ix.296). *SB* XII 11132.5 (Arsin., 12.ix.296; cf. *ZPE* 134 [2001] 205-206). *P.Oxy.* LV 3802.10 (Oxy., 31.x.296). *O.Oslo* 22.1 (Arsin., 9.xi.296). *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3184a.11 (Oxy., x-xi.296). *SB* XIV 11422.1 (Arsin., 13.xii.296). *O.Mich.* I 457.6 (Arsin., 27.xii.296). *O.Mich.* II 901.3 (Arsin., 30.xii.296). *PSI* IX 1071.8 (Oxy., viii-xii.296). *O.Mich.* II 902.5 (Arsin., 2.i.297). *O.Mich.* II 904.5 (Arsin., 6.i.297). *O.Mich.* II 905.4 (Arsin., 8.i.297). *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3184b.9 (Oxy., 8.i.297; cf. *BL* 8.267). *P.Köln* II 117.7 (Arsin., 31.i.297). *P.Sakaon* 83.6 (Arsin., 5.iv.297). *O.Mich.* I 179.10 (Arsin., 23.vii.297). *P.Oxy.* LXV 4489.4, 11 (Oxy., 5.viii.297). *P.Oxy.* XII 1571.5,8 (Oxy., 9.viii.297). *SB* XIV 11472.3 (prov.unkn.; 296/7, cf. *BL* 8.370). *O.Mich.* III 1067.2 (Arsin., d. 27.v.298). *SB* XIV 11519.1 (Arsin., d. 29.v.298; cf. *BL* 8.371). *O.Mich.* I 459.2 (Arsin., d. 31.v.298). *O.Mich.* I 460.2 (Arsin., d. 2.vi.298). *O.Mich.* II 909.2 (Arsin., d. 4.vi.298). *O.Mich.*

- I 461.1 (Arsin., d. 6.vi.298?). *O.Mich.* II 910.2 (Arsin., d. 8.vi.298).
O.Mich. I 462.2, III 1068.1 (Arsin., d. 14.vi.298). *O.Mich.* II 911.2
(Arsin., d. 17.vi.298). *O.Mich.* II 907.2 (Arsin., d. 297/8).
P.Panop.Beatty 1.132,396 (Panop., d. 15 and 24.ix.298). *O.Mich.*
(4) II 912.2 (Arsin., d. ix-x.298). *O.Mich.* I 464.2 (Arsin., d. 8.xi.298).
P.Cair.Isid. 5.34,36 (Arsin., d. 12.ix.299, cf. *BL* 8.69). *P.Sakaon*
2.13,18 (Arsin., d. 14.i.300). *P.Mert.* II 88 xvi.4-5 (Arsin., d.
I.xii.300). *P.Harr.* I 99.13 (Oxy., d. after iii-iv.301). *P.Mich.* XII
636.8, *P.NYU* I 20.9 (Arsin., d. i-iii.302). *O.Mich.* III 1066.4
(Arsin.). *P.Oxy.* XXXIV 2717.15 (Oxy.; cf. *BL* 8.261, 9.197).
(13) (296/7) *P.Col.* VII 124.4,6,36,[39], *P.Mich.* XII 626.3,5 (Arsin., d. 298-
302). *P.Cair.Isid.* 6.143 (Arsin., d. 300-305).
14-13-6 *SB* VI 9019.4 = *O.Mich.* I 180 (Arsin., 11.i.298). *P.Col.* VII
(297/8) 136.50 (Arsin., 24.ii.298). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3036.12 (Oxy., 24.ii.298).
P.Oxy. XLII 3037.14,32; 3038.18 (Oxy., 4.iii.298). *P.Sakaon*
84.1,9 (Arsin., 15-21.iii.298). *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2578.6 (Oxy.,
30.iii.298). *O.Mich.* III 1067.1 (Arsin., 27.v.298). *P.Oxy.* XLII
3039.11 (Oxy., 29.v.298). *O.Mich.* IV 1132 = *SB* XIV 11519.4
(Arsin., 29.v.298). *O.Mich.* I 459.6 (Arsin., 31.v.298). *O.Mich.* I
460.6 (Arsin., 2.vi.298). *O.Mich.* II 909.6 (Arsin., 4.vi.298).
O.Mich. II 910.5 (Arsin., 8.vi.298). *O.Mich.* I 462.8, III 1068.4
(Arsin., 14.vi.298). *O.Mich.* II 911.7 (Arsin., 17.vi.298). *P.Sakaon*
85.1 (Arsin., 10.vii.298; 14-13-4 ostr. [or final delta actually
(5) misread for zeta, i.e. 14-13-7?, cf. *O.Mich.* II 914 below], cf. ed.
note to line 1). *P.Oxy.* XLV 3247.17 (Oxy., 16.viii.298; cf. note).
P.Mert. II 88 vii.1 (Arsin., 20.viii.298). *O.Mich.* III 1069.2 (Arsin.,
d. 23.x.298). *O.Mich.* I 463.1 (Arsin., d. 24.x.298). *P.Mert.* II 88
viii.6 (Arsin., d. 24.x.298). *P.Sakaon* 12.11 (Arsin., d. 26.x.298).
P.Köln II 118.1 (Arsin., d. 29.x.298). *O.Mich.* I 465.3 (Arsin., d.
27.xii.298). *O.Mich.* I 466.3, II 913.3 (Arsin., d. 19.i.299). *O.Mich.*
II 914.2 (Arsin., d. 23.i.299; 14-13-7 ostr.). *O.Mich.* I 467.2
(Arsin., d. 25.i.299). *O.Mich.* I 469.3 (Arsin., d. 16.ii.299). *O.Mich.*
I 470.3 (Arsin., d. 17.ii.299). *O.Mich.* I 471.3 (Arsin., d. 18.ii.299).
O.Mich. I 472.3 (Arsin., d. 22.ii.299). *O.Mich.* I 473.3 (Arsin., d.
25.ii.299). *O.Mich.* I 474.3, II 915.3 (Arsin., d. 27.ii.299). *O.Mich.*
II 916.3 (Arsin., d. 1.iii.299). *O.Mich.* I 475.2 (Arsin., d.
27?.iv.299). *O.Mich.* I 477.3 (Arsin., d. 298/9). *P.Cair.Isid.*
4.10,14 (Arsin., d. 12?.ix.299; cf. above form 3 s.a. 16-15-8).
P.Sakaon 2.11,17 (Arsin., d. 14.i.300). *P.Sakaon* 3.9,17 (Arsin., d.
i.300); *P.Sakaon* 86.15 (Arsin., d. 5.v.300). *P.Mert.* II 88 xvi.5
(Arsin., d. 1.xii.300). *O.Mich.* I 490.3 (Arsin., d. 22.iv.301). *P.Col.*
VII 137.50 (Arsin., d. 30.iv.301). *P.Harr.* I 99.4 (Oxy.?, d. after iii-
iv.301). *P.Mich.* XII 636.6 (Arsin., d. i-iii.302). *P.NYU* I 20.7
(Arsin., d. i-iii.302; cf. *P.Mich.* XII 636.6n.). *P.Mert.* II 88 i.1
(Arsin.). *P.Fuad Univ.* 13.3 (Oxy.). *O.Mich.* II 907.7 (Arsin.).

- (14)(297/8) *P.Col.* VII 124.23, *P.Mich.* 626.20 (Arsin., d. 298-302).
P.Cair.Isid. 41.46 (Arsin., d. 12.ii.304). *P.Col.* VII 125.8 (Arsin.,
d. post 307).
- 15-14-7 *P.Lips.* I 109.4 (prov.unkn., 31.viii.298). *P.Panop.Beatty* 1.45 etc.
(298/9) (list p. xliii) (Panop., 8.ix-24.ix.298 plus refs. to ix-x). *O.Mich.* III
1069.4 (Arsin., 23.x.298). *O.Mich.* I 463.4 (Arsin., 24.x.298).
P.Köln II 118.5 (Arsin., 29.x.298). *O.Mich.* II 912.5 (Arsin., ix-
x.298). *O.Mich.* I 464.6 (Arsin., 8.xi.298). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3040.8
(Oxy., 17.xii.298). *O.Mich.* I 465.7 (Arsin., 27.xii.298). *O.Mich.* I
466.8, II 913.7 (Arsin., 19.i.299). *O.Mich.* II 914.6 (Arsin.,
23.i.299). *O.Mich.* I 467.6 (Arsin., 25.i.299). *O.Mich.* I 469.8
(Arsin., 16.ii.299). *O.Mich.* I 470.7 (Arsin., 17.ii.299). *O.Mich.* I
471.6 (Arsin., 18.ii.299). *O.Mich.* I 472.7 (Arsin., 22.ii.299).
O.Mich. I 473.7 (Arsin., 25.ii.299). *O.Mich.* I 474.8, II 915.7
(Arsin., 27.ii.299). *O.Mich.* II 916.6 (Arsin., 1.iii.299). *O.Mich.* III
1008.6 (Arsin., 23.iv.299; year 15-12-4 ostr. [or delta misread for
zeta?]). *O.Mich.* I 475.7 (Arsin., 27?.iv.299). *P.Corn.* 45.10 = SB
VIII 9833 (Oxy., 2.v.299). *P.Mert.* II 88 ix.5 (Arsin., 4.v.299).
P.Oxy. XII 1572.6 (Oxy., 13.v.299). *P.Kell.* I Gr. 19.b.3 (Mothite?;
iv-v.299). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3041.9 (Oxy., 14-23.vi.299). *P.Sakaon*
58.11 (Arsin., 5.vii.299). *P.Mert.* II 88 x.6 (Arsin., 3.viii.299).
P.Mert. II 88 xviii.5 (Arsin., 7.viii.299). *O.Mich.* I 476.3 (Arsin., i-
ii or vii-viii.299). SB XXII 15701.2 (Oxy., 298/9). *P.Mert.* II 88
xvii.4 (Arsin., d. 13.ix.299). *O.Mich.* I 478.1 (Arsin., d. 30.ix.299).
O.Mich. I 479.3 (Arsin., d. 17.xi.299). *O.Mich.* I 480.3 (Arsin., d.
4.i.300). *O.Mich.* I 481.1 (Arsin., d. 9 and 17.iii.300). *O.Mich.* III
1073.1 (Arsin., d. 15.iii.300). *O.Mich.* I 483.1 (Arsin., d.
12.iv.300). *O.Mich.* II 917.2 (Arsin., d. 25.v.300). *P.Mert.* II 88
xiii.9 (Arsin., d. 23.vii.300). *P.Cair.Isid.* 112.11 (Arsin., d. iv-
viii.300). *P.Oxy.* L 3573.10 (Oxy., d. ca 300). *O.Mich.* I 482.1
(Arsin., d. 14/24.iii.301, cf. *CdE* 46 [1971] 175 and *BL* 8.527).
P.Col. VII 137.11, 24.49 (Arsin., d. 24 and 30.iv.301). *P.Harr.* I
99.6 (Oxy., d. after iii-iv.301). *P.Lips.* I 84 iii.8 (Hermop., d.
11.iv.303). *P.Oxy.* XII 1543.6 (Oxy.). *O.Wilck.* II 1308.1 (Thebes).
- (15)(298/9) *P.Cair.Isid.* 40.3 (Arsin., ed. d. 299, cf. *BL* 7.33). SB XIV
12078.2,4 (Arsin., ed. d. 299/300; date uncert.).
- 16-15-8 *O.Mich.* I 478.4 (Arsin., 30.ix.299). *PSI* XIII 1338.5 (Oxy.,
(299/300) 11.x.299; cf. *CdE* 46 [1971] 174). *O.Mich.* I 479.6 (Arsin.,
17.xi.299). *O.Mich.* I 480.6 (Arsin., 4.i.300). *P.Laur.* IV 154.2
(Oxy., 11.i.300). *P.Oxy.* XII 1429.6 (Oxy., 24.i.300). *P.Col.* VII
179.11 (Arsin., 5.ii.300). *P.Panop.Beatty* 2.9 etc. (list p. xliv)
(Panop., 25.i-1.iii.300 + future refs. to iii-iv). *O.Mich.* I 481.4,7
(Arsin., 9 and 17.iii.300). *O.Mich.* III 1073.5 (Arsin., 15.iii.300).
O.Mich. I 483.4 (Arsin., 12.iv.300). *P.Michael.* 25A.19, B.13
(Oxy., after 23.iv.300). *O.Mich.* II 917.6 (Arsin., 25.v.300).
P.Mert. II 88 xi.4 (Arsin., 8.vi.300; ed. '299(?)'). *P.Mert.* II 88

- xvi.1 (Arsin., 8.vii.300). *P.Mert.* II 88 xiii.4,7, xv.1 (Arsin., 23.vii and 10.viii.300). *O.Bodl.* II 2084.2 (Thebes, 27.viii.300). *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3141.12 (Oxy., i-viii.300). *P.Cair.Isid.* 112.11 (Arsin., iv-viii.300). *O.Mich.* I 485.1 (Arsin., d. 21.ii.301). *O.Mich.* II 919.1 (Arsin., d. 3.ii, 5.iii.301). *O.Mich.* I 486.1 (Arsin., d. 23.ii.301). *O.Mich.* I 487.2, 488.1 (Arsin., d. 1.iv.301). *O.Mich.* I 489.1 (Arsin., d. 11.iv.301). *P.Col.* VII 137.25,49 (Arsin., d. 24 and 30.iv.301). *O.Mich.* I 491.2 (Arsin., d. iii-iv.301). *O.Mich.* II 921.1 (Arsin., d. 27.iv.301). *O.Mich.* II 922.2 (Arsin., d. v-vi.301). *P.Harr.* I 99.7 (Oxy., d. after iii-iv.301). *O.Mich.* III 1074.1 (Arsin., d. 300/1). *P.Sakaon* 88 (Arsin., d. 13.vii.302). *P.Lips.* I 84 v.14 (Hermop., d. 9.iv.303). *P.Lips.* I 84 iii.8 (Hermop., d. 11.iv.303). *SB XXII* 15785.7 (Arsin., d. post 304). *O.Mich.* II 918.2 (Arsin.).
- (16) *P.Harr.* I 99.9 (Oxy., d. after iii-iv.301). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.46 (Arsin., d.12.ii.304). *SB XIV* 12078.5 (Arsin.; date uncert.).
- 17-16-9
(300/1) *P.Cair.Isid.* 101.1 (Arsin., 4.x.300). *CPR* I 40.14 (Herakleop., 11.x.300; cf. *BL* 3.47). *O.Bodl.* II 2061.6 (Thebes, 19.x.300). *P.Mert.* II 88 xvi.3 (Arsin., 1.xii.300). *P.Mert.* II 88 xiv.1,6 (Arsin., 26.xii.300 and 5.i.301). *O.Mich.* II 919.4 (Arsin., 3.ii and 5.iii.301). *O.Mich.* I 485.4 (Arsin., 21.ii.301). *O.Mich.* I 486.3 (Arsin., 23.ii.301). *CPR* VI 25 = VI 75.8 (Hermop., i-ii.301). *O.Stras.* 467.2 (Thebes, 20.iii.301). *SB XXII* 15794.16 (Arsin., ii-iii.301). *O.Bodl.* II 2085.2 (Thebes, 27.iii.301). *O.Mich.* II 920.4 (Arsin., 29 and 31.iii.301). *O.Mich.* I 482.4 (Arsin., 14/24.iii.301; cf. *BL* 8.527). *O.Mich.* I 487.5, 488.4 (Arsin., 1.iv.301). *O.Mich.* I 489.3 (Arsin., 11.iv.301; rest.). *P.Col.* VII 137.1,9 (Arsin., 19.iv and ?iv.301). *O.Mich.* I 490.6 (Arsin., 22.iv.301). *O.Mich.* II 921.4 (Arsin., 27.iv.301). *O.Mich.* I 491.5 (Arsin., iii-iv.301). *P.Col.* VII 137.33 (Arsin., 6.v.301). *CPR* VI 15 = VI 74.5 (Hermop., iv-v.301). *O.Mich.* II 922.4 (Arsin., v-vi.301). *P.Sakaon* 95.13 (Arsin., vi-vii.301). *P.Col.* VII 137.77 (Arsin., 10.viii.301). *O.Mich.* III 1074.4 (Arsin., 300/1). *CPR* VI 12.15, 13.9, 14.13 (Hermop., 300/1). *O.Mich.* I 181.4 (Arsin., d. 6.ix.301). *O.Mich.* I 182.6 (Arsin., d. 10.ix.301). *O.Mich.* I 183.5 (Arsin., d. viii-ix.301). *O.Leid.* 337.2 (Thebes, d. 2.x.301). *P.Harr.* I 99.14 (Oxy., d. after iii-iv.301). *O.Mich.* I 493.2-3 (Arsin., perh. d. 7.xii.301/i.302). *O.Mich.* I 494.3 (Arsin., d. 17.ii.302?). *O.Mich.* I 495.2 (Arsin., d. 22 and 24.ii.302). *O.Mich.* I 496.1 (Arsin., d. 27.ii.302). *O.Mich.* I 497.2 (Arsin., d. 1.iii.302). *O.Mich.* I 498.2 (Arsin., d. 21.iii.302). *O.Mich.* I 499.3, III 1076.2 (Arsin., d. 24.iii.302). *O.Mich.* I 500.1 (Arsin., d. 31.iii.302). *O.Mich.* III 1075.2 (Arsin., d. iii.302?). *P.Lips.* I 84 iii.18 (Hermop., d. 1.v.302). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.33 (Arsin., d. 14.vi-vii/viii.302). *P.Sakaon* 87.3 (Arsin., spring of A.D. 302, or later; cf. *BL* 7.176). *O.Mich.* III

- 1077.4 (Arsin., d. 12.ix.302). *O.Mich.* I 504.3 (Arsin., d. 12.ix-12.xi.302). *P.Mich.* XII 643.5 (Arsin., d. 10.i.303). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.37 (Arsin., d. 19-20.i.303). *P.Lips.* I 84 iv.2 (Hermop., d. 10.ii.303). *P.Mich.* XII 643.11 (Arsin., d. 17.ii.303). *P.Oxy.* I 71.4 (Oxy., d. 28.ii.303; cf. *BL* 7.127). *P.Lips.* I 84 iv.13 (Hermop., d. 10.iii.303). *P.Mich.* XII 643.29,31 (Arsin., d. 22-23.iii.303). *P.Lips.* I 84 v.2,17 (Hermop., d. 28 and 31.iii.303). *P.Lips.* I 84 v.14, vi.15 (Hermop., d. 9.iv.303). *P.Mich.* XII 643.45 (Arsin., d. v.303). *O.Mich.* III 1078.5 (Arsin., d. 2.viii.303?). *P.Mich.* XII 644.42,44 (Arsin., d. 28.ix.303). *P.Cair.Isid.* 42.5,8 (Arsin., d.23-24.x.303). *P.Mich.* XII 645.1,6,9,13,23,27 (Arsin., d.16,23,29.v; 1,26,28.vi.304). *O.Mich.* I 184.4 (Arsin.). *P.Col.* VII 137.100 (Arsin.). *O.Mich.* II 918.5 (Arsin.).
- 17 (300/1). *O.Ashm.Shelt.* 34 (Thebes, 4.iv.301 ed., but year not certain). *O.Stras.* 468.2 (Thebes, 9.iv; year uncert.; 301 ed.).
- 18-17-10. *P.Sakaon* 95.14 (Arsin., d. vi-vii.301; prospective ref.). *O.Mich.* I (301/2) 181.6 (Arsin., 6.ix.301). *O.Mich.* I 182.11 (Arsin., 10.ix.301). *P.Lips.* I 84 iii.13 (Hermop., 13.ix.301). *O.Mich.* I 183.7 (Arsin., viii-ix.301). *P.Col.* VII 137.56 (Arsin., 30.xi.301). *P.Princ.* III 156.5 (prov.unkn., 3.xii.301; cf. *BL* 7.169). *P.Lips.* I 84 i.6 (Hermop., xi-xii.301). *P.Col.* VII 137.104,105 (Arsin., ? and 11.i.302). *O.Mich.* III 1009.6 (Arsin., xii.301-i.302). *O.Stras.* 469.3 (Thebes, 15.ii.302). *O.Mich.* I 496.5 (Arsin., 27.ii.302). *O.Mich.* I 497.6 (Arsin., 1.iii.302). *O.Mich.* I 499.6, III 1076.5 (Arsin., 24.iii.302). *O.Stras.* 470.5 (Thebes, 25.iii.302). *O.Mich.* I 500.4 (Arsin., 31.iii.302). *P.Mich.* XII, pp. 38 ff. = *P.NYU* I 20.14 (Arsin., i-iii.302). *P.Mich.* XII 636.13 (Arsin., i-iii.302). *O.Mich.* III 1075.6 (Arsin., rest. as iii.302). *O.Leid.* 338.3 (Thebes, 12.iv.302). *PSI* X 1125.5 (Alex.?, 13.iv.302). *P.Grenf.* II 74.7 (Great Oasis, 25.iv.302; 18-17-10 pap., contra *BL* 1.191). *P.Lips.* I 84 iii.18 (Hermop., 1.v.302). *SB* VI 9098.1,3 (Arsin., 3.v.302; cf. *BASP* 11 [1974] 68 n. 44). *O.Mich.* I 253.7 = *SB* VI 9632 (Arsin., 22.v.302). *O.Mich.* I 501.4,7 (Arsin., 21.vi-2.vii.302). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.32 (Arsin., 14.vi-vii/viii.302). *SB* XXIV 15954.7 (Arsin., 9.vii.302). *P.Sakaon* 88.6 (Arsin., 13.vii.302; ostr. has 11-17-11, cf. *ZPE* 18 [1975] 262-63). *O.Mich.* II 923.3,6 (Arsin., vi-vii.302). *O.Mich.* II 924.3,5 (Arsin., 23.vii-8.viii.302). *O.Mich.* I 185.3 (Arsin., d. 31.viii.302). *P.Mert.* I 30.2 (Arsin., d. 31.viii.302). *O.Mich.* II 925.2 (Arsin., d. 8?.ix.302). *O.Mich.* I 503.3 (Arsin., d. 23.x.302). *P.Lips.* I 84 i.16 (Hermop., d. 24.x.302). *O.Mich.* I 186.8 (Arsin., d. 11.v.303). *O.Mich.* III 1078.4 (Arsin., d. 2.viii.303?). *CPR* VI 23.3,6,10 (Hermop., d. 23.ix.303 or 21.iii.304). *P.Mich.* XII 644.5,8,21,26,29,31,36,45,50,53,54, 63,66,68 (Arsin., d. 29.viii-27.x.303). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.40 (Arsin., d. 28.x.303). *P.Mich.* X 600.5 (Arsin., d. 30.vi.304). *P.Cair.Isid.* 43.6 (Arsin., d. 16.x.304). *P.Mich.* XII 646.4,8,10,13,15,18,20,27,31

- (Arsin., d. viii-26.xi.304). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.58 (Arsin., d. 1.iv.305).
O.Mich. I 665.1 (Arsin., perh. ref. to this year or to 294/5). *O.Mich.*
 IV 1123.6 (Arsin.).
- (18)(301/2) *O.Stras.* 471.1 (Thebes, 7 and 25.iv; year uncert.; ed. 302). *P.Mich.*
 XII 644.11,15 (Arsin., d. 8 and 11.xi.303).
- 19-18-11 *P.Mich.* XII 636.7,21 (Arsin., d. i-iii.302: prospective ref.). *P.NYU*
 (302/3) I 20.8,23 = *P.Mich.* XII, pp. 38 ff. (like preceding). *O.Mich.* I 185.9
 (Arsin., 31.viii.302). *P.Mert.* I 30.8 (Arsin., 31.viii.302). *O.Mich.* II
 925.4,6 (Arsin., 8?.ix.302). *O.Mich.* III 1077.10 (Arsin., 12.ix.302).
P.Oxy. XLIV 3191 ii.6,10,15 (Oxy., viii-ix.302). *O.Mich.* I 505.8
 (Arsin., 16.ix.302 and 9.i.303). *O.Mich.* I 502.4, 503.7 (Arsin.,
 23.x.302). *P.Lips.* I 84 i.15 (Hermop., 24.x.302). *O.Mich.* I 505.8
 (Arsin., 9.i.303). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.37 (Arsin., 19-20.i.303). *P.Lips.* I
 84 iv.1 (Hermop., 10.ii.303). *P.Oxy.* I 71.23 (Oxy., 28.ii.303; cf.
BL 7.127). *P.Lips.* I 84 iv.11, i.1, v.1,16, vi.14, iii.7 (Hermop.,
 10.iii, ii-iii, 28.iii, 31.iii, 9.iv, 11.iv, iv-v.303; cf. *BL* 1.212).
O.Mich. I 186.10 (Arsin., 11.v.303). *P.Lips.* I 84.v.24, vi.1
 (Hermop., iv-v and 27.v.303; cf. *BL* 1.212). *P.Princ.* III 133.11
 (Oxy., 5-13.vi.303). *O.Mich.* I 507.7 (Arsin., 27 or 30.vi.303).
O.Bodl. II 2089.2 (Thebes, 30.vi.303?; cf. *BL* 7.299). *P.Cair.Isid.*
 41.6,54 (Arsin., 2 and 14.vii.303). *O.Leid.* 339.2 (Thebes,
 19.vii.303). *O.Mich.* II 926.2 (Arsin., 18-24.vii.303). *O.Bodl.* II
 2086.3 (Thebes, 26.vii.303). *O.Bodl.* II 2088.2 (Thebes,
 26?.vii.303). *O.Mich.* III 1078.8 (Arsin., 2.viii.303?). *P.Lips.* I 84
 vi.19 (Hermop., 19.viii.303). *O.Mich.* I 509.3 (Arsin., 19.viii-d.
 29.xi.303). *O.Bodl.* II 2087.2 (Thebes, 24.viii.303). *P.Oxy.* XXXIV
 2716.3 (Oxy., 302/3). *O.Mich.* I 187.6 (Arsin., d. 31.viii.303?).
CPR VI 23.5,9,13 (Hermop., d. 23.ix.303 or 21.iii.304). *P.Lips.* I
 84 vii.3 (Hermop., d. 30.x.303). *O.Mich.* II 779.5 (Arsin., d.
 13.vi.304?). *P.Mich.* XII 646.6,24 (Arsin., d. viii-24.xi.304).
P.Cair.Isid. 114.14 (Arsin., d. 13.xi.304). *SB* XXII 15785.9-10
 (Arsin., post 304). *CPR* VII 14.15 (Hermop., d. i-viii.304; doc. d.
 28.iv.305). *O.Mich.* III 1011.2 (Arsin., d. 304/5). *O.Mich.* I 510.1
 (Arsin., d. i-ii.304 or 305?; very frag.). *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2766.11
 (Oxy., d. 305; cf. *BL* 6.112 and *CdÉ* 46 [1971] 177). *O.Mich.* I
 508.6 (Arsin.).
- 19 (302/3) *O.Mich.* (all Arsin.) I 503.4 (23.x.302). I 504.5 (12.xi.302). I 509.4
 (29.xi.303). III 1010.5 (d. vi-vii.303 or 304).
 See for year 19 generally *BASP* 16 (1979) 222; *ZPE* 134 (2001)
 195-197.
- 20-19-12 *P.Mich.* XII 644.25 (Arsin., 19.ix.303). *O.Mich.* II 926.4 (Arsin.,
 (303/4) 5.ix-9.x.303). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.40 (28.x.303). *P.Lips.* I 84 vii.1
 (Hermop., 30.x.303). *O.Bodl.* II 2062.5 (Thebes, 19.xii.303).
P.Oxy. XXXVI 2765.3 (Oxy., 20.xii.303; cf. *CdÉ* 46 [1971] 177).
P.Cair.Isid. 102.15 (Arsin.)

- 20-19-12 or 20-12 (303/4) *CPR* VI 23.16 (Hermop., 23.ix.303 or 21.iii.304; cf. ed.'s note).
 20-12 (303/4) *O.Mich.* II 900.3 = *SB* VI 9579 (Arsin., 16.xii.303; cf. *CdÉ* 46 [1971] 174-75, 178). *BGU* XIII 2334.8 (Arsin., 4.ii.304). *O.Mich.* I 196.5 (Arsin., 4.vii.304; cf. *BL* 3.262). *P.Harr.* II 232.4,5 (Oxy., 8.vii.304). *SB* I 5272.3,21 (Memphis, vi-vii.304; cf. *BL* 6.133 and *CdÉ* 46 [1971] 177). *O.Mich.* II 780.5 (Arsin., vi-vii.304). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.71 (Arsin., 13.viii.304). *P.Cair.Isid.* 114.9 (Arsin., d. 13.xi.304). *O.Bodl.* II 2090.3 (Thebes, d. 18.ix.304). *P.Lips.* I 84 vii.10 (Hermop., d. 11.ii.305). *O.Mich.* III 1012.5 (Arsin., d. 5.iii.305?). *SB* XIV 11566.3 (Arsin., d. 3.xii.304-13.iii.305). *CPR* VII 14.2 (Hermop., d. 28.iv.305). *PSI* VII 780.8 (Oxy., d. 20.vii.305). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.84 (Arsin.; cf. *BL* 8.69). *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2766.15 (Oxy., d. 305; cf. *BL* 6.112). *P.Sakaon* 13.4,6,11,13,15,17 (Arsin., d. 8-14.vii.307). *P.Cair.Isid.* 22.1; 44.3,7 (Arsin.). *O.Mich.* I 188.5 (Arsin.). *P.Oxy.Hels.* 28.6 (Oxy.).
 20 (303/4) *O.Mich.* I 509.5 (Arsin., 29.xi.303).
 21-13 (304/5) *P.Mich.* XII 646.12 (Arsin., 5.ix.304). *O.Bodl.* II 2090.5 (Thebes, 18.ix.304). *P.Harr.* II 232.5 (Oxy., viii-ix.304, d. doc. 8.vii.304). *P.Cair.Isid.* 114.17 (Arsin., 13.xi.304). *P.Lips.* I 84 vii.8 (Hermop., 11.ii.305). *P.Sakaon* 59.1 (Arsin., 11.iii.305). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.64,75 (Arsin., 1.iv and 23.vi.305). *CPR* VII 14.29 (Hermop., 28.iv.305). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4122.26 (Oxy., 22.vi.305). *P.Oxy.* VI 895.6 (Oxy., v-vii.305). *O.Mich.* I 616.3 (Arsin.; uncert.). *P.Rain.Cent.* 82.15 (Herakleop.). *O.Mich.* III 1011.5 (Arsin.).
 21-13-1 (304/5) *O.Mich.* I 189.3 (Arsin., 5.vii.305).
 21 (304/5) *SB* XIV 11566.3 (Arsin., 3.xii.304-13.iii.305).

See Chapter 8 for the continuation of Diocletian's regnal years in his era-reckoning.

D. L. Domitius Domitianus (297)

The dating adopted here accepts 297 as the date of the revolt; see Thomas 1976 and 1977.

- (1) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Λουκίου Δομτίου Δομτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 III 1 (296/7) *P.Cair.Isid.* 139.35 (Arsin., 24-28.viii.297).
 2 (297/8) *P.Cair.Isid.* 99.26 (Arsin., 29.viii.297). *P.Cair.Isid.* 62.31 (Arsin., 5.ix.297). *P.Cair.Isid.* 38.1 (Arsin., 7.xi.297). *P.Cair.Isid.* 39.1 (Arsin., 13.xi.297). *O.Mich.* II 802.1 (Arsin., 19.xi.297). *O.Mich.* III 1029.1 (Arsin., 20.xi.297). *P.Cair.Isid.* 105.22 (Arsin.,

- 23.xi.297). *P. Michael.* 24.34 (Arsin., 2.xii.297). *P. Sakaon* 82.15 (Arsin., 297/8; cf. *BL* 8.302).
- (2) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Δομιτίου Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
2 (297/8) *P. Sakaon* 11.1 (Arsin., 13.ix.297).
- (3) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
2 (297/8) *P. Cair. Isid.* 100.21 (Arsin., 20.x.297). *P. Cair. Isid.* 104.25 (Arsin., 20.xi.297).
- (4) τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Λουκίου Δομιτίου Δομιτιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
2 (297/8) *P. Cair. Isid.* 80.22 (Arsin., 19.x.297).
- (5) Dates with no regnal formula
1 (296/7) *P. Harr.* II 231.4 (Oxy., 14.viii.297). *P. Cair. Isid.* 38.6 (Arsin., d. 7.xi.297). *P. Cair. Isid.* 39.7 (Arsin., d. 13.xi.297). *P. Sakaon* 82.9 (Arsin., d. 297/8).
2 (297/8) *P. Cair. Isid.* 99.2 (Arsin., 29.viii.297).
- E. Constantius, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus (305-306)
- (1) Αὐτοκράτορον Καισάρων Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σαρματικῶν μεγίστων, Γερμανικῶν μεγίστων, Περσικῶν μεγίστων, Βρετανικῶν μεγίστων, Καρπικῶν μεγίστων, Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεουήρου καὶ Μαξιμίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
14-2 (305/6) *P. Sakaon* 60.1 (Arsin., 25.vi.306).
- (2) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Σεουήρου καὶ Μαξιμίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
13-1 (304/5) *P. Oxy.* XXXVI 2798.8 (Oxy.).
14-2 (305/6) *P. Laur.* IV 165.16 (Oxy., 24.x.305). *P. Sakaon* 71.28 (Arsin., 6.iii.306). *BGU* II 606.17 (Arsin., 15.iii.306). *CPR* V 6.15 (Hermop., 20.iii.306). *P. Lips.* I 6 ii.17 (Hermop., 16.iv.306; τῶν κυρίων 2x). *P. Kell.* I Gr. 31.25 (Mothite, 27.iv.306). *P. Oxy.* VIII 1104.18 (Oxy., 29.v.306). *P. Lond.* III 974 i.10, ii.11 (p. 115) = *W. Chr.* 429 (Hermop., 15-23.vi.306; τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν 2x). *P. Sakaon* 98.12 (Arsin., 30.vi.306). *SB* XIV 11345.21, 34 (Herakleop., 11.viii.306; cf. *CdÉ* 49 [1974] 173). *P. Harr.* I 136.4

- 17-3 (306/9) (Oxy., 15.vii.306; adds Αὐτοκρ., om. Σεβ.). *PSI VI 716.27* (Oxy., 306; uncert. rest.; cf. introd.). *P.Grenf. II 76.23* (Great Oasis; formula partly lost, cf. *BL 8.143*). *P.Cair.Isid. 44.21* (Arsin.)
- 15-3 (306/7) *P.Oxy. I 102.21* (Oxy., 13.x.306).
- uncertain *P.Oxy. XXXIII 2665.24* (Oxy.; dates from 305 or 306).
- (3) Dates with no regnal formula
- 13-1 (304/5) *PSI VII 780.2,10* (Oxy., 20.vii.305). *P.Sakaon 97.1* (Arsin., 27.vii.305). *P.Ryl. IV 701.19* (prov.unkn., 30.vii.305). *O.Mich. I* (Arsin.) 190.3,6 (5.viii.305); 191.4; 192.4 (15.viii.305); 193.3 (d. 27.xii.305); 511.3 (d. 30.i.306). *O.Stras. 168.6* (Thebes, d. 19.vi.306). *O.Mich. I 194.3*; 512.3 (Arsin., d. 305/6). *O.Mich. II 781.7* (Arsin.).
- 14-2 (305/6) *P.Laur. IV 165.5* (Oxy., 24.x.305). *O.Mich. I 511.4* (Arsin., 30.i.306). *P.Oxy. XIV 1653.[1],20* (Oxy., 6.ii and 13.iii.306). *P.Sakaon 71.12* (Arsin., 6.iii.306). *P.Oxy. VIII 1104.25* (Oxy., 29.v.306). *O.Stras. 167.2* (Thebes, 29.v.306). *P.Cair.Isid. 135* introd. (Arsin., 17.vi.306). *O.Stras. 168.6* (Thebes, 19.vi.306). *P.Kell. I Gr. 31.35* (Mothite, 27.iv, or 27.v, 26.vi or 26.vii?). *P.Fay. O.21* (Arsin., 25.viii.306). *P.Cair.Isid. 116.9* (Arsin., d. 25.xii.306). *P.Oxy. XIV 1645.3* (Oxy., ref. to ii-iii.306, d. 31.viii.308). *P.Sakaon 97.6* (Arsin.).
- (14) (305/6) *P.Col. VII 141.65* (Arsin., d. 4.ix.309).
- 15-3 (306/7) *P.Oxy. XLII 3042.2* (Oxy., 1.x.306; cf. *BL 8.264*). *P.Cair.Isid. 115.10* (Arsin., 17.xi.306). *P.Oxy. XIV 1653.22* (Oxy., d. 307/8?).

Constantius died on 25.vii.306. Because his regnal years were numbered identically to those of Galerius, it cannot be determined whether the example of 15-3 on 17.xi.306 still refers also to Constantius in the absence of a formula; the last formula with Constantius is of 13.x (*P.Oxy. I 102*).

F. Galerius, Severus, Maximinus, Constantinus I (306-308)

- (1) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Σεουήρου Σεβαστῶν καὶ Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
- 15-3-1 (306/7) *P.Cair.Isid. 116.12* (Arsin., 25.xii.306). *P.Grenf. II 78.29* (Hibite, ii-iii.307; cf. *BL 3.71, 4.35, 8.143*). *P.Harr. II 210.10* (prov.unkn., ii-iii?.307). *SB I 5679.21* (Hibite, ii-iii.307; cf. *BL 3.175, 4.78, 8.322*). *P.Sakaon 64.16* (Arsin., 3.iv.307). *P.Oxy. XLIV 3192.25* (Oxy., 9.v.307). *P.Sakaon 13.1* (Arsin., 8.vii.307). *SPP XX 77.4* (prov.unkn., 25.vii.307; cf. *BL 7.260*). *P.Cair.Isid. 106.2* (Arsin.). *P.Kell. I Gr. 40.12* (Mothite).

- (2) **Dates with no regnal formula**
- 15-3-1 (306/7) *P.Oxy.* XIV 1750.16 (Oxy., 30.xi.306). *P.Mil.* II 55.9 (Oxy., 25.ii.307; cf. *BL* 10.119). *P.Harr.* II 210.12 (prov.unkn., ii-iii?. 307); 233.4 (Oxy., 2.iii.307). *P.Oxy.* XII 1542.12 (Oxy., 27.v.307). *P.Cair.Isid.* 45.1,5 (Arsin., vi-vii.307). *P.Sakaon* 14.4 (Arsin., 306/7). *P.Cair.Isid.* 46.7 (Arsin., d. 3.ix.307). *SB XXII* 15837.6 (Arsin., d. 31.v.308; ed. om. yr. 1 from restoration). *O.Mich.* I 513.2 (Arsin.). *O.Mich.* I 514.1 (Arsin.).
- 16-4-2 (307/8) *P.Cair.Isid.* 46.9 (Arsin., 3.ix.307). *SB XVI* 12576.1 (Oxy., vi/vii-viii.308).
- G. Galerius, Maximinus (308-309)**
- (1) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος
- 16-4 (307/8) *P.Col.* VII 138.23,32,42 (Arsin., 26-30.iv.308; 32 om. ἐπιφ., 42 om. Γαλ. Οὐαλ. 2nd time). *P.Col.* VII 139.18 (Arsin., 27.iv.308). *P.Cair.Isid.* 125.21 (Arsin., 6.viii.308).
- 17-5 (308/9) *SB XX* 14587.5 (ἀηττήτου), 12 (ἀνικήτου) (Oxy., 30.ix.308; has ἀνδρειοτάτου καὶ ἀηττήτου for ἐπιφ., om. Γαλ. Οὐαλ. 2nd time). *P.Oxy.* X 1318 (Oxy., 28.xi.308; cf. *BL* 8.244; has ἀνδρειοτ. for ἐπιφ.).
- (2) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίνου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος
- 16-4 (307/8) *P.Cair.Isid.* 87.7 (Arsin., 30.iv.308). *P.Cair.Isid.* 88.6 (Arsin., 7.v.308). *SB XXII* 15837.11 (Arsin., 31.v.308). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4123.8 (Oxy., 307/8; or form. 1?). *SB XXII* 15838.5 (Arsin., crop; d. 309/310).
- 17-5 (308/9) *SB XX* 14587.29 (Oxy., 30.ix; om. Σεβαστοῦ, τοῦ ἐπιφ. K.). *SB XXII* 15838.8 (Arsin., crop; d. 309/310).
- (3) **Dates with no regnal formula**
- 16-4 (307/8) *P.Col.* VII 139.12 (Arsin., 15.v.308). *P.Col.* VII 140.11,[27] (Arsin., 21.v.308). *P.Sakaon* 17.8 (Arsin., 5.vi.308; cf. *BL* 7.176). *P.Col.* VII 141.2 (Arsin., 18.vii.308). *O.Mich.* I 516.3 (Arsin., d. prob. 5.ix.308). *SB VI* 9131.4 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.309; cf. *BL* 6.151). *P.Col.* VII 141.87 (Arsin., d. 24.xii?.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 51.2 (Arsin., d. 1.iv.311).

17-5-308/9 *P.Cair.Isid.* 125.7 (Arsin., 6.viii.308: prospective ref.). *P.Mich.* XV 720.9 (Oxy., x-xii?.308). *P.Col.* VII 141.33 (Arsin., 1.i.309). *P.Oxy.* XII 1499.7 (Oxy., 5.vi.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.4,8,18,22 (Arsin., 18.vi.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.14,27,31,37 (Arsin., 23.vi, 10.vii.309). *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2579.3 (Oxy., 4.viii.309; cf. *BL* 8.260). *P.Col.* VII 141.40,46,51 (Arsin., 8 and 22.viii.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 48.3,7 (Arsin., 14.viii.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 47.44 (Arsin., 26.viii.309). *O.Mich.* I 518.2 (Arsin., d. prob. 31.iii.310). *P.Cair.Isid.* 50.8,25,40 (Arsin., d. 16.v.310). *P.Cair.Isid.* 146.4,6,8,10 (Arsin., d. 14.iv.311; cf. *BL* 8.70). *PSI* IV 302.3 (Oxy.). *O.Mich.* I 517.2 (Arsin.). *P.Sakaon* 90.2 (Arsin.).

H. Galerius, Maximinus, Constantinus I, Licinius (309-311)

- (1) ἐπὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Οὐαλερίου Λικινιανοῦ Λικιννίου τῶν ἀνικῆτων Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων υἱῶν τῶν βασιλέων

[18-6-4-2?] *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3270.24 (Oxy., 14.ix-15.x.309; see ed. n. to lines 24-28 for this peculiar formula without preserved year).

- (2) Dates with no regnal formula

17-5-3-1 *SB* VI 9131.6 (Arsin., 1.viii.309; cf. *BL* 6.151). *P.Cair.Isid.* 117.5 (Arsin., d. 15.x.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.8 (Arsin., d. post 30.xi.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 11.66 (Arsin., d. 4.xii.312).

(17-5-3) *P.Cair.Isid.* 11.6,9,11 (Arsin., d. 4.xii.312).

18-6-4-2 *P.Cair.Isid.* 49.8 (Arsin., 10.xi.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 118.5 (Arsin., 309/10) v-xii.310). *P.Col.* VII 141.97 (Arsin., d. 18.x.310). *P.Cair.Isid.* 119.7 (Arsin., d. 23.ii.311). *P.Sakaon* 8.1 (Arsin.)

18-6-4 *P.Princ.Roll* i.13 (Arsin., d. 4.iii.312). *PSI* VII 820.5 (Arsin., d. 29.vii.312).

18-6 *P.Col.* VII 141.67,73 (Arsin., 4.ix.309). *P.Hib.* II 219.2 (Herakleop., viii-ix.309). *P.Col.* VII 141.60,84 (Arsin., 3 and 6.x.309). *O.Mich.* I 257.7 (Arsin., 7.xi.309). *P.Cair.Isid.* 95.17 (Arsin., 12.i.310). *P.Cair.Isid.* 96.12 (Arsin., 13.i.310). *O.Mich.* I 518.8 (Arsin., 31.iii.310). *P.Oxy.* XLIII 3120.13 (Oxy., 5?.iv.310). *WO* II 1306.3 (Arsin., d. 16-25.xii.310; cf. *BL* 8.541). *O.Mich.* I 520.1 (Arsin., d. 28.i.311?). *P.Cair.Isid.* 51.3 (Arsin., d. 1.iv.311). *P.Mich.* XII 652.3,10 (Arsin., d. ca 312). *P.Col.* VII 141.52 (Arsin.).

18 *P.Cair.Isid.* 9.280 (Arsin., post 30.xi.309). *O.Mich.* I 506.1 (Arsin., d. 29.i.311). I 521.1 (Arsin., d. 3.ii.311). *O.Mich.* I 522.2 (Arsin., d. 6.ii.311). *PSI* VII 820.27 (Arsin., d. 23.ii.314). *P.Princ.Roll* iii.12 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.314).

- (2) 19-7-5-3-1 *P.Cair.Isid.* 51.7 (Arsin., 1.iv.311; see Chastagnol, 238 and Barnes 1982: 6 n.18).
 (310/1) 19-7-5-3 *P.Col.* VII 141.98,103 (Arsin., 18.x.310). *O.Mich.* I 521.5 (Arsin., 3.ii.311). *O.Mich.* I 522.7 (Arsin., 6.ii.311; ostr. 19-7-5-2, cf. Chastagnol, 237). *P.Princ.Roll* i.10 (Arsin., 18.viii.311). *P.Cair.Isid.* 120.6 (Arsin., 26.viii.311). *P.Sakaon* 18.6,9 (Arsin., d. 28-29.iv.312). *BGU* II 411.6 (Arsin., d. 27.v.314). *P.Gen.* I 13.5 (Arsin., d. 9.vi.314). *P.Cair.Isid.* 13.3-4, 6 (Arsin., d. 31.vii.314).
 19-7-5 *P.Princ.Roll* i.5 (Arsin., 18.viii.311). *P.Princ.Roll* i.13,23 (Arsin., d. 4.iii, 22.v.312).
 (19-7) *P.Flor.* I 31.6 (Hermop., d. 22.ii.312). *P.Mich.* XII 652.8,14,16 (Arsin., d. ca 312). *PSI* VIII 886.7 (Oxy., 311/2; cf. *BL* 6.181). *P.Cair.Isid.* 11.49 (Arsin., ref. to iv-v.311, d. 4.xii.312).
 (19) *O.Mich.* III 1080 (d. 19.ix.311?). *P.Cair.Isid.* 10.1 (Arsin., d. 2.xii.311). *O.Mich.* III 1079.1 (Arsin., d. 4.i.312). *O.Mich.* I 524.1 (Arsin., d. 13.i.312). 525.1, 526.1, II 927.1 (all Arsin., d. 17.i.312). *O.Mich.* I 527.1 (d. 27.i.312). *O.Mich.* I 515 (Arsin., d. 4.iii.312). I 528, 534 (both Arsin., d. 12.iii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 16.2,29,[38] (Arsin., d. 4.xii.311, 25.v.313, 29.v or 8/18.vi.313, doc. d. 19.ii.314). *PSI* VII 820.60 (Arsin., d. 28.vi.314). *P.Cair.Isid.* 13.31 (Arsin., d. 31.vii.314). *PSI* VII 820.63 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.314). *P.Princ.Roll* iii.14,17 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.314). *P.Cair.Isid.* 17.1, 72.41 (Arsin., d. ii-vii?.314). *P.Oxy.* XLV 3254.9 (Oxy., doc. prob. 312, 313 or 315; see ed. note). For the dates of Michigan ostraka of this year, see *ZPE* 134 (2001) 195-196.

(2) I. Maximinus, Constantinus I, Licinius (311-313)

For posthumous dates by Galerius, see above, p. 9.

(1) Dates with no regnal formulas

- 20-8 *P.Col.* X 284.4, 15 (Oxy., d. 24-29.viii.311; prospective ref.).
 (311/2) *P.Heid.* V 344.6 = *SB* XXII 15769 (Oxy., d. 24-29.viii.311; prospective ref.). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3043.7 (Oxy., 3.ix.311).
 8-6-4-2 *P.Princ.Roll* ii.5,11 (Arsin., 17.vi.312; includes Candidianus, acc. Chastagnol, 238; cf. Barnes 1982: 6 n.18).
 (3) 8-6-4 *P.Princ.Roll* i.16 (Arsin., 4.iii.312; cf. supra under 19-7-5 for date). *P.Princ.Roll* i.23 (Arsin., d. 15.viii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.102 (Arsin., 15.viii.312). *P.Sakaon* 5.3,8,14 (Arsin., 22.viii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 121.4 (Arsin., d. 17.ix.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 52.4 (Arsin., d. 20.x.312). *O.Mich.* I 519.3 (Arsin., d. 15.xii.312; cf. *ZPE* 18 [1975] 277). *O.Mich.* I 529.4 (Arsin., d. 19.xii.312). *O.Mich.* I 530.3 (Arsin., d. 20.xii.312?). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.89 (Arsin., 312). *P.Mich.* XII 652.2 (Arsin., d. ca 312). *O.Mich.* III 1082.4 (Arsin.,

- d. 3.i.313; ostr. has 8-6-5). *O.Mich.* II 929.7 (Arsin., 19?.ii.313).
O.Mich. I 523.5 (Arsin., d. 1.iii.313; cf. *ZPE* 18 [1975] 277).
P.Princ.Roll iii.4 (Arsin., d. 17.vi.313). *PSI* VII 820.25 (Arsin., d. 23.ii.314). *SB* XIV 11521.3 (Arsin., crop).
 8 (Arsin., 2.xii.311; ed. 1.xii). *P.Sakaon* 5.20,54 (Arsin., 22.viii.312). Demotic Stele Aberdeen 1619 (cf. Grenier 1989: 86).
 (20) *P.NYU* I 4a.8 (Arsin., d. 4.xi.312). *PSI* VII 820.64 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.314). *P.Princ.Roll* iii.15,19 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.314).
P.Cair.Isid. 72.42 (Arsin., d. 314). *P.Princ.Roll* ix.9,11,12 (Arsin., d. 15.iv.316).
 9-7-5 *P.Princ.Roll* ii.14 (Arsin., viii-xii.312). *P.Sakaon* 6.4,8 (Arsin., 28.vii.313). *P.Princ.Roll* iv.10 (Arsin., 7.viii.313). *P.Oxy.* XLII 3044.2 (Oxy.).
 (312/3) *P.Princ.Roll* iv.5 (Arsin., 7.viii.313).
 21 = 9-7-5 *O.Mich.* I 529.8 (Arsin., 19.xii.312). *SB* XVI 12993.9 (21.xii.312; or 261?). *O.Mich.* II 929.10 (Arsin., 19?.ii.313). *P.Cair.Isid.* 16.31,35 (Arsin., 25 and 29.v.313; doc. d. 19.ii.314). Demotic Stele Aberdeen 1619 (cf. Grenier 1989: 86).
 95 (317/8) *P.Cair.Isid.* 54.9 (Arsin., d. 15.i.314; see Chastagnol, 238 on *PSI* VII 820.38). *PSI* VII 820.38 (Arsin., d. 17.ii.314; cf. *BL* 7. 237).
 (7-5) *PSI* VII 820.55 (Arsin., d. 28.vi.314).
 (21) *PSI* VII 820.24 (Arsin., d. 23.ii.314). *PSI* VII 820.65 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.314). *P.Princ.Roll* iii.16,21,23 (Arsin., d. 1.viii.314).
P.Cair.Isid. (Arsin.) 53.17 (d. 14.viii.314); 55.2,5 (d. 20.viii.314); 122.5 (d. 5.xi.314). *P.Princ.Roll* i margin 7 (Arsin.)
 (7) *P.NYU* I 18.22 (Arsin.).
 (10-8 = 22) *P.Princ.Roll* iii.7 (Arsin., d. 17.vi.313; prospective ref., cf. *APF* 30 [1984] 64-65, l. 66 + note ad loc.).
 (313/4) *P.Col.* X 286.3 (Oxy., d. 24.iv.317).
 23 (314/5) J. Constantinus I, Licinius (313-317)
 (1) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορων Καισάρων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν
 8-6 (313/4) *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII 7A.14 (Oxy., 14?.vi.314; cf. *BL* 8.200).
 (2) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν
 8-6 (313/4) *P.Oxy.* XLII 3044.11 (Oxy.).
 9-7 (314/5) *P.Col.* X 285.25-26 (Oxy., 6.viii.315). *P.Cair.Isid.* 57.21 (Arsin., 18.viii.315).
 9-7-5 = [29] *P.Oxy.Astr.* 4266a.2 (Oxy., post 1.viii.313; [29] refers to the Diocletian era year; horoscope).
 (314/5)
 10-8 *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2585.21 (Oxy., x-xi.315; adds αὐτῶν bef. κυρίων).

- (315/6) *P.Oxy.* LXIV 4441.iii.13 (Oxy., i.316); 4441.i.14 (Oxy., 22.ii.316).
P.Laur. IV 176.18 (Oxy., 316; or restore 11-9?).
- (3) Dates without regnal formula
- 8-6 *P.Cair.Isid.* 103.11 (Arsin., 13.ix.313). *BGU* II 408.14 (Arsin.,
 (313/4) 22.xi.313; cf. *BL* 8.26). *PSI* VII 820.26.39 (Arsin., 23 and
 17.ii.314; cf. Chastagnol, 238). *P.Amst.* I 44.11 (Oxy., bef.
 19.ii.314). *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* XIII 7A.7, B.7 (Oxy., 14?.vi.314).
P.Princ.Roll ii.21 (Arsin., 10.vii.314). *P.Cair.Isid.* 53.21,25
 (Arsin., 14.viii.314 and ?). *O.Mich.* II 930.1 (Arsin., d. 23.vii.315).
O.Mich. III 1081.5 (Arsin.; crop). *P.Michael.* 28.15 (Herakleop.,
 cf. *BL* 8.210).
 22 = 8-6 *PSI* VII 820.68 (Arsin., 8.viii.314). *PSI* VII 820.77 (Arsin.,
 (313/4) d. 14.ix.314).
 8-6 = 22 *P.Princ.Roll* ii.19 (Arsin., 10.vii.314).
 22 = 8 *P.Princ.Roll* iv.15 (Arsin., 24.vi.314).
 (22)(313/4) *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.16 (Arsin., d. 28.vii.315). *P.Cair.Isid.* 12.3
 (Arsin.).
 9-7 *PSI* V 462.2 (Oxy., 20.viii.314; prospective ref.). *SB* XXII
 (314/5) 15381.12 (Oxy., 7.xi.314). *P.Cair.Isid.* 53.26 (Arsin., 314).
P.Hamb. I 21.7 (Oxy., 30.i.315). *SB* XXII 15719.14 (Arsin.?,
 7.ii.315). *O.Mich.* II 930.6 (Arsin., 23.vii.315). *SB* VIII 9881.11
 (Arsin., 27.viii.315). *P.Oxy.* XVII 2124.6 (Oxy., d. i-iv.316).
O.Stras. 289.4 (Thebes). *P.Genova* I 19.4 (Oxy.; see *BL* 7.274;
 reject *BL* 10.278-279).
 23 (314/5) *P.Sakaon* 19.26,28 (Arsin., 30.iii.315). *P.Cair.Isid.* 122.7 (Arsin.,
 28.vii.315). *P.Princ.Roll* v.14, viii.5 (Arsin., 3.viii.315 and d.
 11.x.315). *P.Sakaon* 19.16 (Arsin., d. 1.x.315), 19 (d. 22.x.315),
 30,32 (d. iii-iv.316), 40 (d. 30.iv.316), 41,43 (d. 1.v.316; see *BASP*
 17 [1980] 13). *P.Sakaon* 9.13,14 (Arsin.).
- (1) Dates without regnal formula
- 10-8 *P.Oxy.* XLII 3045.2 (Oxy., late in 314/5, future ref.). *P.Oxy.* XLV
 (315/6) 3255.8 = *P.Coll.Youtie* II 80 (Oxy., 7.xi.315). *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2585.7
 (Oxy., x-xi.315). *P.Oxy.* XVII 2124.9 (Oxy., i-iv.316). *P.Gen.* I
 10.12 (Herakleop., 8.viii.316; cf. *BL* 1.158).
 11-9 *P.Oxy.* I 103.6 (Oxy., 13.x.316; cf. *BL* 1.315).
 (316/7) Chastagnol, 238; cf. Barnes 1982: 6 n.18).
 8-6-4 *P.Princ.Roll* i.23 (Arsin., d. 15.viii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.102
 (Arsin., 15.viii.312).
 8-6-3 *P.Princ.Roll* i.23 (Arsin., d. 15.viii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.102
 (Arsin., 15.viii.312).
 8-6-2 *P.Princ.Roll* i.23 (Arsin., d. 15.viii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.102
 (Arsin., 15.viii.312).
 8-6-1 *P.Princ.Roll* i.23 (Arsin., d. 15.viii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.102
 (Arsin., 15.viii.312).
 8-6-0 *P.Princ.Roll* i.23 (Arsin., d. 15.viii.312). *P.Cair.Isid.* 41.102
 (Arsin., 15.viii.312).

K. Constantinus I, Licinius, Three Caesars (317-324)

For posthumous years by Galerius, cf. above, p. 9. (1)

- (1) Dates with no regnal formula
- 11-9-1 *PSI* III 205.5 (Oxy., 5-13.vi.317; cf. *BL* 1.393).
(316/7)
- 11 *O.Mich.* I 515 (Arsin., d. 25.vii.318?; cf. *BL* 8.527). *P.Oxy.* LV
3791.10 (Oxy.).
- 25 (316/7) *P.Princ.Roll* viii.13 (Arsin., 2.vii.317).
- 12-10-2 *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4357.1 (post 27.x.317?). *PSI* IV 285.14 (Oxy.,
(317/8) 14.xi.317; cf. *BL* 1.394). *P.Oxy.* XXXIII 2675.13 (Oxy., 15.i.318).
P.Oxy. XLV 3256.6, LV 3791.1 (Oxy.).
- 26 (317/8) *P.Princ.Roll* x.7 (Arsin., 13.viii.318).
- 13-11-3 *P.Oxy.Astr.* 4268.1 (Oxy., post 23.ix.318; horoscope). *P.Oxy.*
(318/9) XLV 3257.6 (Oxy., 10.xi.318).
- 14-12-4 *P.Oslo* III 119.6 (Oxy., 3.ix.319). *P.Oslo* III 119.13 (Oxy., 11.xi.
(319/320) 319). *P.Oxy.* XLV 3258.7 (Oxy., viii-xii.319). *P.Oxy.* XLV 3259.8
(Oxy., viii-xii.319). *PSI* V 454.16 (Oxy., i-ii.320; cf. *BL* 8.398). *SB*
V 7667.10 (Oxy., 17.ii.320; cf. *BL* 8.332). *P.Oxy.* LV 3789.6
(Oxy., 27.v or 14.vi.320).
- 15-13-5 *P.Wisc.* I 28.5 (Oxy., 6.v.321; cf. *BL* 7.100). *SB* XII 11154.9
(320/1) (Oxy., v-vi.321; cf. *BL* 8.367).
- 16-14-6 *P.Sakaon* 67.5 (Arsin., viii-xii.321). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4125 ii.22 (Oxy.,
(321/2) 29.iii.322).
- 17-15-7 *P.Oxy.* VIII 1139 introd. (Oxy., x-xi.322). (1)
(322/3)
- 18-16-8 *P.Oxy.* XLV 3260.6 (Oxy., viii-xii.323). *P.Oslo* III 138.6 (Oxy.,
(323/4) 17.xii.323). *P.Oxy.* XII 1574.4 (Oxy., 22.i.324). *SB* XXII 15731.6
(Oxy., vii-viii.324).
- 18 *P.Oslo* III 120.8,10,12,15,18 (Aeg. Herculia, v-viii.324; cf. *BL*
8.229).
- 19-17-9 *P.Oslo* II 44.7 (Oxy., 3.ix.324; cf. *BL* 3.122). *P.Harr.* II 213.11
(324/5) (Oxy., doc. date 323/4; prospective ref.).

For supposed exceptions, see *BL* 7.214 for *SB* VIII 9715; *BL* 8.257 for *P.Oxy.* XLV 3408. For *SB* III 6099, the inscription is *L.Akowitz* 40, with especially SEG 79.1689, regarding the proposal by Worp in ZPE 72 (1989) to date this text to the reign of Constantine, Valerianus and Theodosius, i.e. to the period 319-383.

L. Constantinus I, Crispus, Constantinus II, Constantius II (324-333)

- (1) Dates with no regnal formula
- (3) Dates without regnal formula
- 19-9 (324/5) *P.Oxy.* LIV 3757.1 (Oxy., 13.iii.325); LIV 3758.3,39,78,98,134,156,181 (Oxy., ii-iii.325).
- 19-9-1 (325/6) *P.Oslo* II 44.13 (Oxy.?, 24.vii.325).
- 20-10-2 (326/7) *P.Oxy.* LIV 3759.1, 42 (Oxy., 2.x.325). *P.Princ.* II 97.12 (prov. unkn., d. 326/7).
- 21-11-3 (326/7) *SB* XVI 12646.9 (Oxy., 7.ix.326). *P.Col.* X 287 i.12, ii.30 = *SB* XX 14301 (Oxy., 19.ix.326). *P.Oxy.* XLV 3249.15 (Oxy., viii-xii.326). *PSI* III 201.5 (Oxy., 7.iii.327; cf. *BL* 7.201). *P.Princ.* II 97.17 (prov. unkn.).
- 21 (326/7) *P.Amh.* II 138.1 (Arsin., d. 9.i.327; cf. *BL* 7.5).
- 22-12-4 (327/8) *SB* IV 7444.4 (Oxy., 3.ix.327; cf. *ZPE* 132 [2000] 184); *P.Oxy.* XLV 3262.5,7 (Oxy., vi-vii.328).
- 23-13-5 (328/9) *PSI* IV 316.4 (Oxy., ix-x.328; cf. *BL* 7.234, 8.397).
- 24-14-6 (329/330) *P.Oxy.* LIV 3767.[1]? (Oxy., 30.xii.329; or 25-15-7, 330?).
- 25-15-7 (330/1) *P.Oxy.* XLVIII 3384.8,14 (Oxy., 14.iv.331); LIV 3767.[1]? (30.xii.330; or 24-14-6, 329?).
- 26-16-8 (331/2) *P.Oslo* II 41.14 (Oxy., 2.xii.331).
- 27-17-9 (332/3) no documents
- 28-18-10 (333/4) no documents

M. Constantinus I, Constantinus II, Constantius II, Constans (333-335)

- (1) Dates with no regnal formula
- 28-18-10-1 (333/4) no documents
- 29-19-11-2 (334/5) *PSI* V 469.7 (Oxy., 18.ix.334). *PSI* VII 805 = *SB* XVI 12544.6 (Oxy., 10.ii.335; cf. Chastagnol, 238). *P.Hib.* II 220.10 (Herakleop., 22.viii.335).
- 30-20-12-3 (335/6) *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4534.7 (Oxy., 2.x.335); cf. *Proc. 18 Congr.* I 92, *P.Gen. inv.* 110.

N. Constantinus I, Constantinus II, Constantius II, Constans, Dalmatius (335-337)

(1) Dates with no regnal formula

30-20-12-3-1 no documents

(335/6)

31-21-13-4-2 *P.Oxy.* I 92.4 (Oxy., 15.x.336; cf. *BL* 7.127). *P.Oxy.* XLVIII
(336/7) 3385.4 (Oxy., 9.xi.336). *SB* VI 9191 = 9270.9 (prov.unkn., ref. to
28.viii.337; see *BL* 7.205). *SB* XIV 12057.4 (Oxy.).

By 13.viii.337, the date of *P.Coll.Youtie* II 82.11 = *P.Oxy.* XLV 3266, Constantine had been dead for almost three months. The use of his years at Oxyrhynchos in this document thus marks the beginning of the continuation of regnal dating in the form of era dating. All references to years 32-22-14-5-3 and later are given in Chapter 7 (see pp. 56-57).

3. THE PERIOD 337-537

- 364/5 ἔτους α/μαS/ v/ *SB* XXII 15341.5 (Oxy., 5-13.vii.365? Cf. crit.app.:
first year number should be β).
- 367/8 ἔτους μδS ιγS εS *P.Laur.* III 70.5 (Oxy., d. 24.x.367 or later?).
- 372/3 ἔτους ιS" και εS" *P.Vind.Sijp.* 13.12 (Herakleop. 4.i.373; cf.
BL 9.152).
- 373/4 [ἔτους ια τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ
και Οὐάλεντος και
ἔτους ζ Γρατιανοῦ]
Εὐτυχῶν Ε[ὐσ]εβῶν
Σεβα[στ]ῶν *SB* 26. 16448
- 377/8 ἔτους ιεS ιαS γS *Anal.Pap.* 10-11 (1998-99) 109 no. 4.3,6 (Oxy. or Hera-
kleop., 6.iv.378; ed. 6.iv.377).
- 378/9 ἔτους ιεS ιβS δS *P.Oxy.* XIV 1752.4 (Oxy., 26.iv.379).
- 380/1 ἔτους ιδS εS βS *P.Oxy.* LXII 4346.10 (Oxy., 5.xi.380).
P.Oxy. VII 1041.15 (Oxy., 9.vi.381).
- 381/2 ἔτους ιεS' ζ' γ' *PSI* X 1108.11 (Oxy., 2.ix.381).
- 381/2 ἔτους ιε' ζ' γ' *SB* IV 7445.8 (Oxy., 12.vii.382).
- 381/2 ἔτους ιεS// ζS// γS// *P.Rain.Cent.* 87.1 (Herakleop.).
- 384/5 ἔτους ιS" και ζS"
και βS"

No regnal dates after 384/5 and before the reign of Justinian have been published to date.³

³ For supposed exceptions: see *BL* 7.214 for *SB* VIII 9773; *BL* 8.257 for *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2408. For *SB* III 6608, see the reedition as *L.Akoris* 40, with especially *SEG* 39.1689, repeating the proposal by Worp in *ZPE* 78 (1989) 137 to date this text to the reign of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, i.e. to the period 379-383.

4. JUSTINIAN

(1.iv.527-15.xi.565)

- (1) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαουίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος
- ARCADIA** *SB* XX 15090 (11.vii.542?, + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; nome unknown; ind. 6 in conflict with regnal year and consulate if from Oxy.).
- ARSINOITE** *BGU* II 364 (11.ix.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.).
- HERAKLEOPOLITE** *SB* VIII 9773 (17.x.540; see *BL* 7.214; + cos. Fl. Justinus v.c.). *SB* XVI 12639 (ii-iii.541; + p.c. Fl. Justinus v.[c.?]). *CPR* X 121 (iv-viii.543; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.).
- MEMPHITE** *CPR* X 122 (17.ix.544 [by p.c.] or 545 [by regnal yr + ind.]; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; see introd.).
- OXYRHYNCHITE** *P.Harr.* II 238 (4.iv.539; + cos. Fl. Apionis v.c.). *SB* XXIV 15955 (ix-x.540; + cos. Fl. Iustini v.c.); *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4396 (18.ii.542; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; cf. above, p. 122). *P.Oxy.* LXI 3641 (Oxy., 7.ii.544; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4397 (17.iii.545; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c., + E; cf. above, p. 122). *PSI* VII 790.22 (545-546; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; cf. *BL* 8.401). *SB* VI 9239 (15.x.548; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *SB* XXIV 16312 (12.x.549; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *P.Oxy.* I 140 (26.iv.550; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; +E; cf. line 10n. and *BL* 7.128). *P.Oxy.* I 133 (19.x.550; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c. and Oxy.era; cf. line 2n.). *P.Oxy.* XIX 2238 (7.viii.551; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; cf. above, p. 123). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1965 (24.vi.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *P.Oxy.* XXXVI 2780 (16.vii.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; cf. *BL* 8.262). *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4398 (28.xi.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c., + E). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1970 (8.vi.554; regnal year should be 28?, cf. p. 122; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1895 (554; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *SB* XVI 12585 (27.i.557; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c. [year should be 16]; +E, cf. above, p. 122). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1980 (3.iii.557; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; +E). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1972 (22.vii.560; regnal year wrong?, cf. above, p. 122; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *P.Oxy.* I 125 (13.xii.560; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.; +E).
- CONSTANTINOPLE** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67126 (7.i.541; + cos. Fl. Basilii v.c.). *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67032 (11.vii?.551; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.c.).

(2) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαουίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος

HERMOPOLITE

P.Berl.Möller 3 = *SB* IV 7340 (27.iii.540; + p.c. Fl. Apionis v.ill.). *P.Stras.* VI 597 (ix-xii.541; + cos. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Lond.* III 1005 = *SB* VIII 9932 (4.i.544 or 599? Cf. *BL* 8.357; + [p.c. N.N.]). *P.Athen.Xyla* 9 (19.i.544; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.famos.; prov.uncert.). *CPR* IX 26 (545/46; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Stras.* V 484 (6.vi.548; cf. *BL* 7.250; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill. [N.S.]). *P.Stras.* V 485 (18.viii.549; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.famos.). *P.Stras.* IV 247 (ii-iii.551; cf. *BL* 7.247 [gives date wrongly as '31.x.555']; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *CPR* IX 32 (8.vii.551; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Lond.* III 1330b descr. (22.vii.553; exact formula not published; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *SB* VI 9284 (11.x.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Herm.* 65 (22.x.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.[ill.]; N.S.). *P.Bodl.* I 60 (5.xi.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *BGU* XVII 2684 (20.ix.555; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.famos.). *P.Stras.* V 487 (542-565; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.).

ANTINOOPOLITE

P.Cair.Masp. III 67302 (31.xii.555; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 272). *P.Ant.* I 42 = *C.Pap.Jud.* III 508 (26.ix.557; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *BL* 8.9).

ANTAIOPOLITE

P.Bingen 132.1 (8.x.541 + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.famos.). *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67087 (28.xii.543; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 272). *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67127 (11.iii.544; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67128 (27.viii.547; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. ed.'s note to line 4). *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67242 (5.ix.547; + p.c. Fl. Basilii [exact formula not publ.]; cf. *BL* 8.73). *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67118 (ix-x.547; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.famos.). *SB* XVIII 13297 = *Le Muséon* 106 (1993) 26 (10.xi.547 [ed. 9.xi]; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *BL* 11.224). *PSI* IV 283 (20.xii.550; + p.c. Fl., Basilii v.[ill.]). *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67332 (5-14.v or 4-13.552; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; N.S.; cf. *BL* 4.15 and line 2n.). *P.Flor.* III 285 (13.vii.552; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67094 (27-31.iii.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.[ill.]; see line 3n.). *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67303 (27.iv.553; regnal year should be 27; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Lond.* V 1661 (24.vii.553; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *P.Lond.* V 1692a (3.v.555; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *BL* 7.91 and above, p. 123). *P.Lond.* V 1692b ([3.v.]556; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *BL* 7.91). *P.Lond.* III 1007c (p. 264) (8.v?.558; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *BL* 7.88). *P.Michael.* 46 (16.viii.559; editor's rest. wrongly omits

- τοῦ θειοτ. ἡμ. δεσπ.; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill). *P.Lond.* V 1686 (7.xi.565; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill. [year should be 24, cf. line 4n. and above, p. 123]).
- (1) **PANOPOLITE** *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67171 (16.iv.565; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.; cf. *BL* 3.35 and line 5n.; regnal year should be 39, p.c. year should be 24; cf. above, p. 123).
- PROVENANCE UNKNOWN** *CPR* XIX 12 (Thebaid, 3.iii.544; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill.). *SB* XIV 11982 (v.xii.554; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.ill., cf. *BASP* 17 [1980] 115, no. 82). *P.Lond.* III 1008 (p. 265) (21.vi.561; + p.c. Fl. Basilii v.[—], cf. *BL* 7.88).

- (3) **Incomplete formula** *C.Pap.Lat.* 147 (with *ZPE* 28 [1978] 229) = *ChLA* XLIII 1243 (probably i-iii.561; + p.c. Fl. Basilii).

5. JUSTINUS II (15.xi-565-5.x.578)

- (1) ὑπατεία τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
- ARSINOITE** *BGU* I 306 (11.x.566; om. εὐσεβ., adds ἔτους πρώτου). *APF* 48 (2002) 226.1 (19.xi.566).

This formula is not found after Justinus' first year. Cf. form. 3 ad *SB* I 4796, form. 6, and Tiberius II, form. 4.

- (2) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους α, μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλ. Βασιλίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἔτους κε
- ANTINOOPOLITE** *P.Stras.* I 46-47 (17.iii.566; presumably 48-51, part of the same roll and dated the same day, had this formula also; their tops are lost. Cf. *BL* 7.244). Cf. also *CPR* IX 33 (Hermop., i-ii.566; apparently lacks regnal phrase).
- THEBAID** *CPR* XIX 13 (8.xii.566).
- (3) βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου (καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .

All examples of this formula are listed in Appendix D, under years 566-576/7, as formulas 2A (only θειοτάτου) and 2B (both ἐπίθετα). It should be observed that form A, the shorter version, is found in all parts of Egypt from which we have documents (Antinoopolite, Hermopolite, and Antaiopolite; *SB* I 4796 is only dubiously attributed to the Arsinoite, cf. *BL* 8.315) except Oxyrhynchos, whereas form B, which adds καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου, is found only in Oxyrhynchos and occurs in all documents published so far from that city between 566 and 568 (i.e., *PSI* VI 709, *P.Lond.* III 775 and 778, *P.Oxy.* VII 1038, and *PSI* I 58 [cf. *BL* 8.391]). All of these documents come from the period before Justinus' second consulate in 568 was known

in Egypt; after that time, formula 4 below (= Appendix D, formula 3) was used in Oxyrhynchos. Of the shorter, non-Oxyrhynchite formula, the last certainly datable example known is *SB XVI 12865*, of 25.ix.576. Two further examples of this formula are probably to be found in *P.Ross.Georg.* V 32 (569/570; see *BL* 8.292) and *P.Bad.* II 30 (1.i-25.iv.578; see *BL* 11.9). *P.Lond.* V 1707 (5.x.566) was restored as an example of Appendix D, form 2A, but with only βασιλείας. The space, however, permits the restoration of the standard form. 3 with ύπατείας, cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 113.

- (4) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . , ύπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β'

OXYRHYNCHITE *P.Oxy.* I 134 (9.vi.569). *SB XII 11079* (17.iii.571; for provenance see *CdÉ* 48 [1973] 142 and *BL* 7.225). *P.Oxy.* I 126 (10.v.572). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1992 (15.x.572). *P.Mich.* XV 734 (29.viii-14.xi.572; om. consular formula; cf. lines 1-4n.). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1894 (22.xii.573). *P.Berl.Zill.* 7 (5.viii.574; cf. *BL* 7.29). *P.Laur.* III 75 (29.viii-14.xi.574; cf. *BL* 8.165, but in consular formula in line 5 restore τὸ β instead of ἔτους θ, see *P.Harrauer* 54.1-3n.). *PSI* III 242 (30.viii-14.xi.575; year given wrongly as 574 in *ZPE* 26 [1977] 279). *P.Oxy.* LXII 4350 (22.vii.576; adds Tiberius II's regnal formula 2). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1896 (17.v.577; adds Tiberius II's regnal formula 2). *SB XII 10934* (19.vii.577; cf. *BL* 8.364; adds Tiberius II's regnal formula 2).

This formula is Appendix D, years 569-578, formula 4. It is exclusively an Oxyrhynchite phenomenon (cf. formula 3 above). The reference to the second consulate of Justinus is constant even in years after the actual year of that consulate.

- (5) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . , (τοῖς) μετὰ τὴν δευτέραν ύπατειαν τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος ἔτους . .

SYENE *P.Lond.* V 1723 (7.ix.577; omits μεγίστου εὐεργ., has in consular phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης, adds Tiberius II's regnal form. 1). *P.Münch.* I 2 (v-ix.578; transfers μεγ. εὐεργ. to after αὐτοκρ.; refers to 1.i.579 and adds Tiberius II's regnal form. 1).

OXYRHYNCHITE *P.Oxy.* VII 1042 (10.v.578; N.S.; adds Tiberius II's regnal form. 2). *PSI* III 243 (578; bef. 15.xi; N.S.; adds Tiberius II's regnal form 2).

ALEXANDRIA? *PSI* I 76 (6.v.572/573; consular formula lost; μεγ. εὐεργ. not in normal position; cf. *BL* 8.392 and *P.Thomas* 29).

This formula is similar to no. 4 and also refers to Justinus' second consulate (568), but it is evidently not limited to the Oxyrhynchite.

- (6) μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. 'Ιουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου ἔτους . . .
- ARSINOITE** *SB* VI 9293 (28.vi.573; cf. *BL* 8.343). *P.Münch.* III 100 (3.i.574; adds καὶ Αὐτοκρ.); *CPR* X 124 (16.v.577; adds Tiberius II's regnal formula 3). *BGU* III 838 (27.ii.578; adds Tiberius II's regnal formula 3).
- (Posthumously) *CPR* XIV 11 (20.xii.578; μ.τ.ύ. τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως γενομένου ἡμ. δεσπ. Φλ. 'Ιουστ. ἔτ. ι, τὸ β').
- (3) *P.Harrauer* 54 (5.ii.579; sim.; adds ἔτους ια, τὸ β').
- HERAKLEOPOLITE** *CPR* VIII 62.1 (29.vii.575). *P.Flor.* I 15 = *SB* XX 15008 (6.iv.578; the formula ends after 'Ιουστίνου; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1722).
- (7) ἔτους θ τῆς βασιλ(είας) [Ιο]υστίου

This formula is found on only one gravestone, *SB* IV 7319 (after 6.vii.574; cf. *BL* 5.99-100 and 8.327; perhaps Euthalios, mentioned first, actually died later [9.x.574] and Maria earlier [6.vii.574]. The need to assume an error would thus be eliminated.) Such a regnal formula is never found in the papyri.

- (8) Formula uncertain
- HERAKLEOPOLITE** *CPR* X 123.8 (566-578).
- (2) **HERMOPOLITE?** *P.Lond.* III 1304b (descr., p. lxxii) (566/7; we have seen a photostat).

Finally, it should be mentioned that some papyri of Justinus add to his formula a mention of Tiberius II, who was his co-regent during the last years of his reign. The reference to Tiberius II appears added to various of the formulas listed above, not always making it clear that Tiberius' years in question were regnal and not consular. A summary list follows (for the formulas, see the following section):

- (3) *P.Oxy.* LXII 4350 (22.vii.576) Oxyrhynchite, formula 4
- P.Vind.Tandem* 28 (576/7) Hermopolite, formula 3
- CPR* X 124 (16.v.577) Arsinoite, formula 6
- P.Oxy.* XVI 1896 (17.v.577) Oxyrhynchite, formula 4
- SB* XII 10934 (19.vii.577) Oxyrhynchite, formula 4
- P.Lond.* V 1723 (7.ix.577) Syene, formula 5
- BGU* III 838 (27.ii.578) Arsinoite, formula 6
- P.Oxy.* VII 1042 (10.v.578) Oxyrhynchite, formula 5
- P.Münch.* I 2 (v-ix.578) Syene, formula 5
- PSI* III 243 (578) Oxyrhynchite, formula 5

of these documents come from the period before Justinus' second consulate in 568 was known

It is interesting that although Tiberius became co-regent in 574, his first appearance in the papyri as a ruler comes in July 576. It is also noteworthy that several papyri dating after his appointment as co-regent omit him, viz. *CPR* VIII 62.1 (Herakleop., 29.vii.575), *PSI* III 242 (Oxyrhynchus, 30.viii-15.xi.575), *SB* XVI 12865 (Hermop., 25.ix.576), *P.Heid.* VII 405 (Hermop., 23.x.577), *P.Flor.* I 15 = *SB* XX 15008 (Herakleop.; 6.iv.578) and *P.Bad.* II 30 (Hermop., 1.i-25.iv.578 [*BL* 8.14-15] or 1.v-xi.577 [*P.Heid.* VII, p. 167 n. 5]). Not all of these, however, come after the date at which Tiberius first appears in Egyptian documents. No consistent usage is thus visible.

6. TIBERIUS II

(7.xii.574-13.viii.582)

A. Co-Regency of Justinus II and Tiberius II

(7.xii-574-5.x.578)

For the count of Tiberius' regnal years, see Chapter 6. Ten published documents include Tiberius II in the dating formula of Justinus II during the latter's lifetime. These are listed in the previous section. They have various formulas tagged onto the end of Justinus'. These are as follows:

- (1) Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλανθρωποτάτου καὶ εὐτυχεστάτου τρισημέιστου εὐεργέτου Καίσαρος ἔτους . .
P.Münch. I 2; *P.Lond.* V 1723 (reverses epithets and omits Νέου Κωνσταντίνου, has μεγίστου instead of τρισημέιστου). Both documents come from Syene.
- (2) Φλ. Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος ἔτους . .

All Oxyrhynchite documents (so far as preserved).

- (3) Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου Καίσαρος ἔτους . .
CPR X 124 (16.v.577; Arsinoite; om. Νέου before Κωνσταντίνου); *P.Vind.Tand.* 28 (576/7; Hermopolite; adds τοῦ before Νέου; cf. below, section C); *BGU* III 838 (27.ii.578; Arsinoite).

B. Tiberius II as sole emperor

(5.x.578-13.viii.582)

The beginning of Tiberius' reign is normally counted by scribes from the date of his appointment as co-regent with Justinus II, i.e., 7.xii.574. For the count of Tiberius' regnal years see Chapter 6. Two documents, however, do not use this counting point, *SB* VI 9085 inv. 16050 (16.ix.579) and *P.Lond.* V 1725 (6.iii.580). Bell pointed out that the London text's date could be explained on the assumption that the scribe was reckoning from Tiberius' accession to sole

¹ We reject the suggestion in *BL* 8.507 to read Νέου Κωνσταντίνου.

power (6.x.578). It seems equally possible to us, and perhaps more likely, that the numbering in these two texts results from confusion or identification with the consular dating of Tiberius; cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 19-25 and Chapter 6.

The following formulas are found under Tiberius' sole reign:

- (4) ὑπατεία τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος, ἔτους πρώτου
- ARSINOITE *SB* VI 9596 (29.vii.579; cf. *BL* 7.211 and *ZPE*
 26 [1977] 275).

This papyrus comes from the actual year of Tiberius' consulate; cf. Justinus II, formula 1.

- (5) μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .
- ARSINOITE *BGU* I 317 (580/1; see *BL* 8.23). *SPP* XX 217 (5.v.581).
SB VI 9592 (581; cf. *BL* 8.351). *CPR* X 126 (28.xi.582).

These and the papyrus listed under formula 4 are the only Arsinoite papyri from Tiberius' reign with dating formulas; none uses regnal dating. Cf. Justinus II, formulas 1 and 6.

- (6) Regnal date of Mauricius, followed by μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως
 γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους . .
- OXYRHYNCHITE *P.Oxy.* XVI 1976 (23.xi.582; N.S.). *P.Oxy.* I 136
 (24.v.583; N.S.). *P.Genova* I 31 (583/4; cf. *BL* 8.499).
P.Oxy. I 137 (11.i.584; N.S.; cf. *BL* 10.135).
- ARCADIA *CPR* XIX 15.11 (vi-vii.584; Νέου).

This postconsular formula of Tiberius is found only at Oxyrhynchos (and perhaps elsewhere in Arcadia; the exact provenance of *CPR* XIX 15 is unknown) in the early years of Mauricius' reign; cf. Mauricius, formula 2.

- (7) βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ.
 Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους δευτέρου
- SYENE *P.Lond.* V 1725 + *P.Munch.* I 3 (6.iii.580).
- (8) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ.
 Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . ,
 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη ἔτους . .
- OXYRHYNCHITE *P.Oxy.* I 135 (21.iii.579; has only regnal formula; regnal
 date points to 578). *PSI* VIII 963 (21.x.579). *P.Haum.* III
 59.4 (15.i.580; cos. formula has ὑπ. τῆς αὐτῶν

- γαληνότητος ἔτους . .; [cos. error for p.c.]. *P.Hamb.* III 221 (2.ii.580). *SB XIV* 11617 (vii-viii.580; cf. *BL* 8.373). *P.Oxy.* I 144 (22.xi.580; om. μεγ. εὐεργ., has μετὰ τὴν ὑπατ. τῆς αὐτοῦ δεσποτείας τὸ β'; possibly originating from the Herakleopolite nome, cf. *BL* 8.233). *PSI VII* 786 (2.i.581; cf. *BL* 8.401; om. 1st ἡμ. δεσπ.). *SB XX* 15138 (18.vii.581). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1892 (viii-ix.581; cf. *BL* 8.250). *P.Iand.* III 48 (29.v.582). *P.Oxy.* I 202 = *SB XXII* 15364 (8.x.582). *P.Lond.* III 774 (p. 280) (11.x.582). *P.Lond.* III 777 (p. 281) (11.x.582).
- (9) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου ἔτους . ., ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἔτους . .
 ANTAIOPOLITE? *CPR IX* 31 (14.iii.581). *SB XXII* 15522 (ii-iii.579-582).
- (10) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλ. Τιβερίου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .
 HERMOPOLITE *SB VI* 9085, inv. 16050 (16.ix.579; cf. *BL* 7.202 and 8.338-39).
- (11) Formula uncertain
P.Lond. V 1726 (Syene, 581; cf. *P.Munch.* I, p. 50). *P.Grenf.* I 60 (Apollonopolis, early 582; cf. *BL* 8.141).

C. Remarks on Tiberius' Names

Tiberius' own name appears in the papyri in various forms influenced by regionalistic tendencies:

- (1) The form Τιβέριος ὁ Νέος Κωνσταντίνος is found under the co-regency several times in Oxyrhynchos and once in Hermopolis (*P.Vind.Tand.* 28, 576-577).⁴
- (2) The form Τιβέριος Νέος Κωνσταντίνος is found in virtually all texts from the Arsinoite Nome (Νέος lacking only in *CPR X* 124 from 16.v.577), twice in Syene (*P.Munch.* I 2 [578] and 3 [580]; the oath formulas from Syene lack Νέος, see App. G. XXXIII), once in the Antaiopolite Nome (*SB XXII* 15522 [579/582]), once in Arcadia (*CPR XIX* 15 [vi-vii.583]) and twice in the Hermopolite nome (*SB VI* 9085, inv. 16050 [16.ix.579] and *CPR IX* 31 [14.iii.581]).
- (3) The form Τιβέριος Κωνσταντίνος is used at Oxyrhynchos during his sole rule and in posthumous dating formulas under Mauricius (see below).

⁴ We reject the suggestion in *BL* 8.507 to restore δεσπότου Νέου.

(4) The single name Τιβέριος is found once in a text from Syene (*P.Lond.* V 1723) and once in Apollonopolis, in the oath formula in *P.Grenf.* I 60 (see App. G. XXXIII).

Under Tiberius II's successor, the emperor Mauricius (13.viii.582-23.xi.602), one perceives, again, interesting regionalistic features.

7. MAURICIUS

(13.viii.582-23.xi.602)

- (1) βασιλείας και ὑπατείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .

HERMOPOLITE *BGU* XVII 2685 (13.viii.585; adds Νέου after Τιβ.).

- (5) μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους . .

THINITE *P.Paris* 21bis (14.vi.592; adds τῆς οἰκουμένης after δεσπ., cf. Phocas, formula 2; om. Τιβερίου; cf. *BL* 1.339).

This identification of regnal and consular count is like Justinus II, formula 3 (very common) and Tiberius II, formula 7 (one example from Syene).

- (2) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . ., μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως γενομένου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου ἔτους . .

OXYRHYNCHITE Four examples listed above, Tiberius II, formula 8.

- (3) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου (or Μαυρικίου [Νέου] Τιβερίου) τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . ., ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη ἔτους . . .

In the list below, the following abbreviations are used for the forms of Mauricius' names:

T.M. = Τιβέριος Μαυρίκιος

M.N.T. = Μαυρίκιος Νέος Τιβέριος

M.T. = Μαυρίκιος Τιβέριος

- ARSINOITE *CPR* X 127 (28.viii.584; T.M.; om. μεγ. εὐεργ.; regnal year should be 3).

- OXYRHYNCHITE *PSI* III 248 (x-xi.584; T.M., cf. *AJPh* 60 [1939] 416). *SB* XVI 12484 (20.xi.584; T.M.). *P.Oxy.* XX 2283 (7.ii.586; T.M.). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1987 (17.ii.587; T.M.). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1993 (9.iii.587; lost). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1898 (13.iii.587; T.M.). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1988 (29.xii.587; T.M.). *P.Oxy.*

XLIV 3204 (2.i.588; T.M.; see *ZPE* 26 [1977] 284 and *BL* 8.267). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3934 (14.viii.588; T.M.). *SB* VI 9561 (2.i.590; M.N.T.). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1989 (3.xi.590; lost). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1990 (12.i.591; M.N.T.). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935 (6.iii.591; M.T.). *P.Erl.* 87 + *P.Giss.Univ.* inv. 56 (25.xi.591; information from T. M. Hickey; M.N.T.). *P.Warren* 10 (591/2; [M.N.]T.; ed. om. θειοτ., Νέου from rest., but space permits, despite *BL* 8.196). *P.Amh.* II 150 (20.x.592; M.T.). *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2202 (27.iii.593; M.N.T.; cf. *BL* 7.146). *P.Oxy.* I 201 = *SB* XXII 15362 (27.ix.593; M.N.T.). *P.Münch.* III 98 (593/4; ed. om. εὐσεβεστάτου in consular form. from restoration; M.N.T.). *PSI* I 60 (8.x.595; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1977] 270; M.N.T.). *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2478 (27.xi.595; cf. *BL* 5.82; M.N.T.). *P.Wash.Univ.* I 26 (1.x.596; M.T.). *PSI* I 59 (3.xi.596; M.N.T.; cf. *BL* 1.390). *PSI* III 244 (12.vi.597; M.T.). *P.Oxy.* XIX 2239 (10.x.598; M.N.T.). *P.Heid.* III 247 (5-25.xi.598; mostly restored; prov. uncert.; cf. *BL* 10.84; or 599?). *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4535 (14.i?.600; puts μεγ. εὐεργ. before emperor's names M.N.T.). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3938 (7.iii.601; om. μεγίστ.; M.N.T.).
MEMPHITE *BGU* I 255 (15.v.599; M.T.; cf. *BL* 8.21).

The formula is characteristically Oxyrhynchite, but our one Memphite and one Arsinoite document also show it. In Oxyrhynchos, Νέος is consistently absent up to 588, with the names in the order Tiberius Mauricius; after that one finds Mauricius Novus Tiberius in almost all examples.

- (4) βασιλείας τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ ἡμῶν Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου ἔτους . . .

ARSINOITE *BGU* I 295 (18-27.x.591). *BGU* II 399 (23.iii.599).
P.Bodl. I 37 (7.iii.600). *BGU* II 395 (7.ix.600; regnal year points to 8.ix.599). *BGU* I 309 (20.iii.602; cf. *BL* 8.22). *BGU* II 400 (591-602; cf. *BL* 8.26).

Compare the last two examples under formula 5.

- (5) βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου ἔτους . . .

ARSINOITE *CPR* X 128 (29.vi.586). *CPR* XIX 33 (21.x.591; replacing *SB* I 4484 [25.x.591]). *SB* I 4734 (vii-viii.592; cf. *BL* 8.314). *SB* I 4496 (16.i.593; cf. *BL* 7.184).

- P.Lond.* I 113 (4) (p. 208) (8.vi.595). *BGU* II 397 (7.ix.597). *SB* VIII 9777 (28.xii.597/2.i.598; om. εὐσεβ.; word order shows this is scribal deviation; cf. *BL* 8.354). *CPR* XXIV 24.2 (591-602; mostly restored). *SB* I 4732 (591-602; mostly restored). *P.Grenf.* II 88 (20.xii.602; om. εὐσεβ.; posthumous dating; cf. *RFBE* 60 and *BASP* 22 [1985] 360-361).
- (6) βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
- ARSINOITE** *P.Ross.Georg.* III 39 + *SB* I 4489 (7.vii.584; probable formula, text very frag.; see *BL* 7.171 for date). *P.Harrauer* 55.1 (20.x.585). *BGU* I 303 (22.vi.586). *P.Ross.Georg.* V 33 (24-28.viii.593; cf. *BL* 8.292).
- (7) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
- ARSINOITE** *SB* VI 9456 (20.ix.594; regnal date points to 593; cf. *BL* 7.209). *P.Got.* 60 (591-602; cf. *BL* 2.2.70 and 8.139). *SB* XVI 12328 = I 5321 (591-602; *SB* XVI incorrectly "582-602").
- HERMOPOLITE** *SB* XVI 12866 (26.iv.583; adds Νέου bef. Τιβ.). *SB* XVI 12867 (13.viii.584; adds Νέου after Τιβ.). *SB* VI 9085, inv. 16055 (12.ix.589; regnal date points to 588). *BGU* XII 2205 (v-vi.590). *P.Stras.* IV 190 (27.vii.592; adds Νέου after. Τιβ.; cf. *BL* 7.246). *SB* XVI 12868 (592/3; adds Νέου after. Τιβ.). *P.Lond.* V 1898 (594/5; adds Νέου bef. Τιβ.). *P.Grenf.* II 86 (15.xii.596; regnal year points to 16.xii.595). *P.Alex.* 37 (596/7; ed. 597; adds Νέου bef. Τιβ.; cf. *BL* 8.3). *P.Flor.* III 300 (31.iii.597). *SB* VIII 9932 = *P.Lond.* III 1005 (p. 260) (4.i.599?; cf. *BL* 1.296 and 8.357; or date to Justinian form. 2, 544). *SB* VI 9586 (12.xii.600; adds Νέου bef. Τιβ.). *P.Grenf.* II 87 (23.v.602). *P.Lond.* III 1009 descr. (25.vii.602; ed. 587/8, but invocation indicates date after 591; cf. *BL* 8.183; adds Νέου bef. Τιβ.). *SB* XXII 15523 (13.viii-27.xi.602; M.N.[T.]; ed. gives provenance as Aphrodito; one party from Phbu in Hermop.). *P.Ross.Georg.* V 42 (602; formula mostly lost; adds Νέου after Τιβ.; for date see ed. introd.; Mauricius died in 602; cf. *BL* 8.292). *BGU* XII 2206 (591-602, cf. *BL* 8.54).
- ANTINOOPOLITE** *PSI* XIII 1367 = *SB* V 8949 (2.ix.585; regnal year indicates 584; names in order T.M.).

- SYENE (T.M. except as indicated) *P.Münch.* I 7 (23.vi.583). *P.Lond.* V 1727 (583/4).
P.Lond. V 1729 (12.iii.584). *P.Münch.* I 9 (30.v.584; regnal date indicates 585; adds at end και μεγίστ. εὐεργ.). *P.Lond.* V 1731 (20.ix.585; adds at end και μεγίστ. εὐεργ.; adds consulate). *P.Münch.* I 10 (28.i.586; M.T; adds at end και μεγίστ. εὐεργ. adds consulate).
P.Münch. I 11 (7.x.586; like preceding). *P.Lond.* V 1733 (6.iii.594; adds consulate; names in order M.T.).
- (8) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .
- ARSINOITE *SPP* XX 216= *SB* XVIII 13952 (591/2; om. αὐτοκρ.; cf. *BL* 8.471). *APF* 49 (2003) 54 (592/3, ?xi-xii.592). *SB* I 4801 (18.viii.595; om. Τιβ.; cf. *P.Paris* 21bis and *BL* 8.315). *CPR* XIX 16.2 (595/6). *SB* I 4671 + 4718 + XVI 12701 [= I 4858] (2.vi.600 [ind.] or 601 [regnal]; cf. *BL* 11.220). *P.Lond.* I 113 (5c) (p. 212) (8.viii.600). *CPR* XIX 14.1 (582-602). *P.Alex.* 33 (591-602; cf. *BL* 5.4 and 8.3). *SB* I 4812? (or Heraclius, formula 2?).
- HERMOPOLITE *P.Lond.* V 1899 (18.vii.600).
- APOLLONOPOLITE *P.Köln* III 157 (14.vii.589; adds consular date).
- HEPTAKOMIAS
- PROVENANCE UNKNOWN *P.Lond.* V 1897 (x-xi.588; adds postconsular date; cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 33-38 and *P.Oxy.* LVIII, p. 53).
- (9) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου ἔτους . .
- ANTAIOPOLITE *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67325 IVr (5.iv.585). *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67111 (1.v-12.viii.585; adds consular date).
- THINITE
- SYENE *P.Lond.* V 1728 (8.iii.584; regnal date indicates 585).
P.Lond. V 1730 (22.viii.585). *P.Münch.* I 13 (18.i.594; adds consulate [year should be 11]). *P.Münch.* I 14 (15.ii.594; adds consulate; om. και μεγίστου εὐεργέτου).
- PANOPOLITE
- KLYSMA *SB* VI 9547 (591-602; cf. *BL* 8.350).
- (10) μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου ἔτους . .
- ARSINOITE
- HERAKLEOPOLITE *P.Erl.* 67 (17.ix.591; cf. *BL* 7.47). *CPR* X 129 (594/5).
P.Stras. V 318 (19.ix.596; cf. *BL* 8.418). *SB* VI 9153 (14 or 24.ix.596; adds και μεγ. εὐεργ. after ἡμ.; cf. *BL* 8.340). *CPR* XXIV 25.3 (4.ii.598; adds και μεγ. εὐεργ.

after ἡμ.). *P.Köln* III 158 (16.x.599; Αὐγούστου for Τιβερίου). *CPR* XIX 42 (591-602; like *SB* VI 9153).

Compare Justinus II, formula 6. This is the only formula found at Herakleopolis and is found only there. No regnal formula is attested from that nome. Cf. the use of consulate and postconsulate for Justinus II and Tiberius II in the Arsinoite.

- (11) βασιλείας τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .

PANOPOLITE *P.Paris* 21ter (13.vii.599). *P.Paris* 20 (14.vii.599; regnal date indicates 600).

- (12) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου ἔτους . . .

ANTAIOPOLITE *P.Vat.Aphrod.* 1 (23.iv.598 or 599 [ind.]; adds consular phrase; cf. ed.'s note to l. 1).

- (13) Formula uncertain

ARSINOITE *BGU* II 402 (591-602). *SB* I 4721 (589/590). *SB* I 5265 (582-602). *SB* I 5317 (600-601).

HERMOPOLITE *P.Ross.Georg.* III 40 (v-vi.588; cf. *BL* 7.171 and 8.291).

SYENE (cf. formulas 7, 9) *P.Monac.* I 12 (590/1).

OXYRHYNCHITE *P.Oxy.* LXI 4131 (18?.ix.600).

(cf. formulas 2, 3,9.)

The Order of Mauricius' Names

(Cf. *P.Lond.* V 1727.1n.)

Fl. Mauricius

Thinite formula 1 592

Arsinoite formula 8 595

Fl. Tiberius Mauricius

Oxyrhynchite formulas 2, 3 582-588

Arsinoite formula 3 584

Antinoopolite formula 7 585

Syene formula 7 583-585

Fl. Mauricius Tiberius

Memphite	formula 3	599
Arsinoite	formulas 4-8	584-602
Klysma	formula 9	591-602
Herakleopolite	formula 10	591-596
Hermopolite	formulas 1, 7-8	586-602
Panopolite	formula 11	599
Antaiopolite	formulas 9, 12	585-598 or 599
Apollonopolite	formula 8	589
Syene	formulas 7, 9	584-594
Oxyrhynchite	formula 3	592-597

Fl. Mauricius Tiberius Novus

Hermopolite	formulas 1, 7	585-602
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Fl. Mauricius Novus Tiberius

Oxyrhynchite	formula 3	590-600
Hermopolite	formula 7	583-602

8. PHOCAS

(23.xi.602-5.x.610)

- (1) βασιλείας τοῦ δεσπότη τοῦ ἡμῶν Φλ. Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου ἔτους . . .

ARSINOITE *P.Harrauer* 59.4 (ii-iii.604). *CPR* XIV 9 (15.vii-xi.607).
SB XIV 12195 (9.ii.608). *SB* I 5266 (8.viii.608). *BGU*
 III 837 (29.v.609). *CPR* XXIV 27.5 (8.i.610).

- (2) βασιλείας τοῦ γαλιηνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη τοῦ Φλ. Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .

THINITE *SB* I 4503 (10.i.605/7; adds τῆς οἰκουμένης after δεσπ.;
 for the date see above, p. 125). *SB* I 4505 (11.x.606/8;
 see above, p. 125).

PANOPOLITE *SB* I 5285 (31.x.607). *SB* I 5286 (1.xi.607). *SB* I 5287 =
CPR IV 23 (29.viii.608; see *BL* 7.187, 8.320).

- (3) βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη τοῦ Φλ. Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου ἔτους . . .

ARSINOITE *P.Prag.* II 175 (xii.602-vi.603). *SPP* XX 219
 (11.viii.604). *BGU* I 3 (7.vi.605; adds post-consulate).
SB I 4748 (14.vi.605; epithet rest.). *P.Bodl.* I 53
 (16.ix.605). *SB* I 4838 (iv-v.606). *P.Vind.Tandem* 32
 (30[?].ix.606; for date see *BL* 7.280).

- (4) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου ἔτους . . .
ARSINOITE *BGU II 365 (7.ii.603). P.Bodl. I 41 (27.ii.604 [ed. 27.iv]).*
- (5) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
HERMOPOLITE *P.Laur. III 77 (6.vii.603; cf. BL 8.166). P.Thomas 30 (viii-ix.603). P.Lond. V 1874? (27.vii.605; or Heraclius, formula 5? Cf. BL 8.194). P.Ross.Georg. III 49 (604/5; cf. BL 8.291). BGU XII 2207 (12.x.606). BGU XVII 2694 (16.i.608), 2695 (11.iv.608).*
- (6) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
HERAKLEOPOLITE *P.Erl. 73 (29.iii.604).*
OXYRHYNCHITE *P.Oxy. LVIII 3940 (6-14.iv.604; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.); 3941 (xii.604-i.605; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.); 3942 (22.ii.606; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.); 3943 (15.xi.606; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.); 3944 and 3945 (both 16.xi.606; add καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.); 3946 (18.xi.606; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.); 3947 (x-xi.606; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.). PSI I 61 (8.v.609; Phocas' name and the titles following it are omitted by the scribe; cf. BL 10.235). P.Oxy. LVIII 3948 (9.vi.609; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ. and consular formula).*
HERMOPOLITE *SB XVI 12604 (21.xii.603?; adds καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.; cf. Gonis 2001: 258-259; regnal year points to 602).*
HERMONTHITE *Monastery of Epiphanius I, p. 11 (has βασιλείας καὶ ὑπατείας; inscription in Coptic; cf. AnalPap 2 [1990] 139 and Gonis 2001: 261-62).*
- (7) Form uncertain
ARSINOITE *P.Lond. III 871 (p. 269) (20.iv.603). SB I 4876 (602-610). SB I 4836 (604-605; formulas 3 and 4 possible despite opinion expressed in BL 8.316).*

9. HERACLIUS AND HIS OFFSPRING

(5.x.610-11.i.641)

Formulas referring to regnal years of Heraclius are found from the beginning of his reign until the Persian conquest of Egypt in 619. After the recovery of Egypt in 629, formulas with Heraclius alone or with Heraclius and his son Heraclius Novus Constantinus are found for the remainder of the reign. Many of the documents from the later years of the reign are very fragmentary. For dating under Heraclius see the discussion and bibliography given above, pp. 95-98.

A. Heraclius alone

(5.x.610-11.i.641)

- (1) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .

OXYRHYNCHITE

P.Oxy. I 138 (5.x.610-29.viii.611). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3954 (12.ii.611; om. μεγίστου εὐεργέτου). *PSI* VII 773 (5.vii.611; cf. *BL* 8.401). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3955 (23.ix.611). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3956 (1.x.611). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3957 (20.ii.611 or 21.ii.612; om. μεγίστου εὐεργέτου). *P.Oxy.* LXVI 4536 (28.x.611 or 27.x.612). *P.Dubl.* 28 (611/612; om. μεγίστου εὐεργέτου). *P.Princ.* II 87 (26.i.612; cf. *ZPE* 106 [1995] 193). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1981 (25.x.612). *P.Oxy.* I 139 (26.x.612; cf. *BL* 8.233). *PSI* I 62 (27.ix.613; see *BL* 1.390). *P.Oxy.* XXIV 2420 (ii-iii.614; cf. *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3954.3-7n.). *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3958 (iv-v.614). *P.Oxy.* XVI 1979 = *JJP* 32 (2002) 29-34 (19.viii.614). *P.Haun.* III 60 (28.x.618). *P.Oxy.* LXI 4132 (2.v.619). *P.Iand.* III 49 (5.vii.619).

This formula is found only at Oxyrhynchus; see also below, section B, form. 11.

- (2) βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .

ARSINOITE

P.Heid. V 361 (8.vi.613). *BGU* II 368 (25.vi.615; lacks εὐσεβ.). *SB* I 5271 (10.xii.615; cf. *BL* 8.320). *BGU* II 398 (14.viii.616; epithet lost; om. αὐτοκρ.; cf. *BL* 8.26). *SB* I 4497 (8.ix.616; epithet lost). *CPR* X 132 (5.x.617-30.vi.618; adds consular form; om. (καὶ) αὐτοκρ.). *P.Alex.* 35 (31.i.618). *BGU* II 401 (25.iii.618; om. αὐτοκρ.). *BGU* III 725 (21.vii.618; see *BL* 1.63). *P.Heid.* VII 404 (629/30). *SB* VI 9461 (14.x.632; regnal date points to 15.x.631). *SB* XVI 13016 (7.ix.638). *SB* XXII

- (4) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
15729 (13.vii.639). For *SB* I 4812 cf. *supra*, p. 263 (Mauricius, form. 8).
- ARSINOITE** *CPR* XXIV 28 (4.ix.611; adds consular form.). *CPR* X 130 (6.x.611; adds consular form.; cf. *JJP* 26 [1996] 119). *CPR* X 133 (610-641; or from Herakleop.? Αὐρ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ θεοῦ [!]). *P.Rain.Cent.* 120 (11.ix.612). *P.Heid.* V 350 (19.xii.612). *SPP* XX 220 = *SB* I 5269 (9.vi.618). *P.Lond.* I 113 (6b) (p. 214) (12.viii.633). *SB* XXII 15263 (28.ix-4.x.634). *SB* I 4488 (19.iv.635; cf. *BL* 8.309). *P.Prag.* I 64 (28.v.636). *CPR* VII 50 (22.viii.636). *CPR* XIX 37 (610-641). *BGU* I 319 (630-641; cf. *BL* 8.23 and 10.13-14; adds consular form. and regnal formula Fl. Heraclius Novus Constantinus).
- (6) βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
15730 (13.vii.639). For *SB* I 4812 cf. *supra*, p. 263 (Mauricius, form. 8).
- ARSINOITE** *P.Rain.Cent.* 119 (vi-viii.611-619; 611 proposed by B.Palme in *JJP* 26 [1996] 124 and *Chiron* 27 [1997] 122-23 n. 80, restoring also καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου; adds consular or p.c. formula, cf. *BL* 11.184-185). *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51 (ii-iii.630; cf. *BL* 7.151 and 8.291). *P.Ross.Georg.* III 55 (24.iv.630; cf. *BL* 8. 291-292; adds consulate). *AnalPap* 12 (2000) 194 no. 6.2 (date and formula mostly restored).
- (4) βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου ἡμῶν δεσπότη καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
15731 (13.vii.639). For *SB* I 4812 cf. *supra*, p. 263 (Mauricius, form. 8).
- ARSINOITE** *P.Rain.Cent.* 119 (vi-viii.611-619; 611 proposed by B.Palme in *JJP* 26 [1996] 124 and *Chiron* 27 [1997] 122-23 n. 80, restoring also καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου; adds consular or p.c. formula, cf. *BL* 11.184-185). *P.Ross.Georg.* III 51 (ii-iii.630; cf. *BL* 7.151 and 8.291). *P.Ross.Georg.* III 55 (24.iv.630; cf. *BL* 8. 291-292; adds consulate). *AnalPap* 12 (2000) 194 no. 6.2 (date and formula mostly restored).
- (5) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . .
15732 (13.vii.639). For *SB* I 4812 cf. *supra*, p. 263 (Mauricius, form. 8).
- HERMOPOLITE** *BGU* XII 2208 (8.x.614; regnal date indicates 613). *BGU* XII 2209 (8.xi.614; regnal date indicates 613). *P.Lond.* III 1059 descr. (614/5 according to N. Gonis, *ZPE*, forthcoming). *BGU* XVII 2696 (27.v.616). *P.Lond.* V 1875 (615/6 according to Gonis, *ZPE*, forthcoming) or 630/1). *P.Stras.* V 328 (15-24.iv.618; cf. *BL* 8.418-419). *P.Lond.* III 1011 descr. (618/9 or 633/4; see Bell, *ByzZ* 22 [1913] 399 no. 17; Gonis, *ZPE*, forthcoming [618/9]). For *P.Lond.* V 1874, see above, p. 266 (Phocas, form. 5).
- ARSINOITE** *CPR* X 131 (5.ii.612; adds postconsulate, cf. *BL* 10.51 and 11.71). *BGU* II 370 (x-xi.638; cf. *BL* 8.25).

- (6) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου καὶ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος καὶ μεγίστου εὐεργέτου ἔτους . .
- HERMOPOLITE *CPR IX 35 (21.v.613). SB I 4669 (613/4; ed. 614; for provenance see Cd'É 35 [1960] 210 n. 1; month could also be Phamenoth). P.Lond. III 1010 descr. (iv-v.614; om. καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ. acc. H. I. Bell, ByzZ 22 [1913] 396 no. 7). BGU XII 2110 (15.vi.617). P.Amh. II 151 (610-641; our rest.; cf. Bell, ByzZ 22 [1913] 403 n. 1).*
- APOLLONOPOLITE *P.Edfu I 3 (13/23.vi.618; adds consulate; mostly rest.; cf. BL 7.45, 8.118 and 10.65; above, p. 96).*
- (7) βασιλείας τοῦ γαληνοτάτου καὶ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .
- APOLLONOPOLITE *P.Lond. II 483 (p. 323) (5.viii.616; adds consulate*
- HEPTAKOMIAS *[points to 615; cf. BL 1.270 and 8.179]).*
- (8) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ γαληνοτάτου καὶ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .
- SYENE *P.Lond. V 1736 (25.ii.611). P.Lond. V 1737 (9.ii.613; om. καὶ θεοστεφοῦς).*
- (9) βασιλείας τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου (καὶ) αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . .
- PANOPOLITE *O.CrumST 436 (22.xii.634?; Greek date in Coptic doc.; δεσπ. τῆς οἰκουμένης instead of ἡμῶν δεσπ.; no regnal year given; cf. AnalPap 2 [1990] 142).*
- THINITE *SB I 4504 (18.xi.613; cf. BL 7.184, 8.310, 9.239). P.Paris 21 (3.vi.616; for the date see P.Paris, p. 260, n. 1; Bell, ByzZ 22 [1913] 397 no. 10, dates this wrongly to 30.v).*
- (10) Formula uncertain
- APOLLONOPOLITE *SB I 5112 (3.i.618; adds consulate; see notes at end of text).*
- ARSINOITE *P.Prag. I 48 (24.ii.614 [Regnal] or 24.ii.615 [ind.]; om. epithet[s] for Heraclius). SB I 4746 (610-641). SB I 4852 (636-641 according to indiction).*
- HERAKLEOPOLITE *P.Bodl. I 73 (610-641).*

- PROVENANCE UNKN. *SB XIV 11542 (1.v-5.x.612). SB XIV 11543 (616/7; adds consulate).*
- B. Heraclius and Heraclius Novus Constantinus**
(22.i.613-11.i.641)
- (11) βασιλείας τῶν θειοτάτων καὶ εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων Φλ. Ἡρακλείου καὶ Φλ. Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ ἔτους . . .
- HERAKLEOPOLITE *BGU I 314 (23.v.630; son's name given as Ἡρακλειανοῦ).*
- OXYRHYNCHITE *P.Oxy. LVIII 3961 (631/32; om. μεγ. εὐεργ.; adds consular formula and regnal form. Heraclius Novus Constantinus; cf. BL 10.156). SB XVIII 14006 (22.i-1.ix.635; adds consular phrase; om. μεγ. εὐεργ. and only Heraclius senior αἰων. Αὐγ. αὐτοκρ.; cf. BL 10.224).*
- (12) βασιλείας τῶν θειοτάτων καὶ γαληνοτάτων καὶ θεοστεφῶν ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλαουίων Ἡρακλείου καὶ Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν ἔτους . . .
- HERMOPOLITE *P.Lond. III 1012 (p. 265) (7.ix.633). P.Flor. III 306 (x-xi.635; om. καὶ γαληνοτ. καὶ θεοστ., καὶ μεγ. εὐεργ.). SB XVI 12492 (18.iii.638; like P.Flor. III 306). CPR IX 29 (630-641; om. καὶ γαληνοτάτων καὶ θεοστεφῶν, καὶ μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν).*
- (13) βασιλείας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους . . . , consular phrase of Heraclius, καὶ Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἔτους . . .
- ARSINOITE *CPR III 370 = P.Rain.Unterricht 108 (26.vii.631; adds φιλανθρώπου, μεγ. εὐεργ. with Heraclius; cf. BL 9.169 and JJP 23 [1993] 228 and 25 [1995] 199). SB I 4662 (11.vii.632?; consulate points to 630 or 631; cf. BASP 17 [1980] 24, BL 8.312 and 10.179, and JJP 23 [1993] 228-229). P.Prag. I 43 (5.x.639; om. τοῦ αἰων. Αὐγ.; Heraclius Novus Constantinus called τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ; at end, τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων; cf. BL 9.214 and 10.163).*

(14) Formula uncertain 2766.6 (Oxy., 305; αυτοκρατόρων)

HERMONTTHIS

SB I 4319 = *P.KRU* 77 (4.xii.634; of the regnal formula, only *μεγ. εὐεργ.* survives, followed by a consular phrase for Heraclius, then a phrase for Heraclius junior: *καὶ Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ ἔτους κγ.* The year is regnal, although this is not indicated; it should be 22, not 23; cf. *SB* I, p. 668, *BL* 8.308 and 10.177).

APOLLONOPOLITE

SB I 5114 (630-641).

ARSINOITE

P.Lond. I 113 (10) (p. 222) = *W.Chr.* 8 (639/640; cf. *BL* 10.97; + consular date). *SB* I 5318 (639-641; adds post-consulate; cf. *BL* 7.187 and 10.184; above, p. 97).

10. HERACLIUS NOVUS CONSTANTINUS,
HERACLIUS /HERACLONAS, DAVID, MAR(T)INUS
(11.i-24.v.641)

For this reign see C. Zuckerman in *JJP* 25 (1995) 187-201 and above, p. 97.

- (1) [βασιλείας τῶν θειοτάτων καὶ γαληνοτάτων καὶ θ]εοστεφῶν ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλαουίων [Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἡρακλείου τῶ]ν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων [καὶ μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ ἐνάτου καὶ μετὰ τ]ὴν ὑπατεῖαν τῶν αὐτῶν [ἔτους δεκάτου καὶ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν?] Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου καὶ Δαυεῖδ [τῶν εὐεργετῶν Καισάρων καὶ Φλαουίου Μαρτίνου? τοῦ θεο]φυλάκτου νοβελλησίμου

APOLLONOPOLITE

SB VI 8986 (i-ii.641; cf. *BL* 7.200, 8.337 and 10.194-195).

- (2) βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτ[άτου] καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Ἡρακλείου π[ιστοῦ] ἐν Χρ[ιστῷ ἡ]με[ρ]ωτάτου βασιλέως ἔτους δ[εκάτου] καὶ μ[ετὰ τὴν ὑπατ]ε[ίαν αὐτοῦ] ἔτους τετάρτ[ου] καὶ Δαυεῖδ τοῦ εὐ[τυ]χ[ε]στάτου Καίσαρ[ος] ἔτους τετάρτο[υ] καὶ Μαρ(τ)ίνου] καὶ α[ὐτοῦ εὐτυ]χ[ε]στάτου Καίσαρος ἔτους τρίτου [τῶν] αἰωνί[ων] Αὐγούστων καὶ Αὐτοκρατόρων

ALEXANDRIA

CPR XXIII 35.3 (10.x.641)

APPENDIX G

IMPERIAL OATH FORMULAS IN BYZANTINE PAPYRI

I: *Diocletian:*

- a) τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Γαίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τύχην:
P.Oxy. XII 1456.4 (Oxy., bef. 31.iii.286, given absence of
 Αὐρηλίου and Maximian; cf. *ZPE* 61 [1985] 99 n. 2)

II: *Diocletian and Maximianus:*

- a) τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Καισάρων Σεβαστῶν τύχην:
PSI III 162.5 (Oxy., post 1.iii.286; ed.: 285/6)
- b) τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν τύχην:
P.Coll. Youtie II 73.15 (Panop., 289)
P.Oxy. LXVI 4530.3, 26 (Oxy., 288?)
P.Oxy. X 1255.12 (Oxy., 292)
- c) τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἀηττήτων Σεβαστῶν:
P.Oxy. XXVII 2476.42 (Oxy., 288; cf. line 39)

III: *Diocletian, Maximianus, Constantius, Galerius:*

- a) τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν (αὐτοκρατόρων) Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τύχην:
P.Stras. III 152.12 (Koussite, 298/9; cf. *BL* 8.415, *ZPE* 89 [1991] 98-99)
P.Flor. I 32a.11, 32b.12 (Hermop., 298)
P.Lond. V 1647.9 (Hermop., 298)
P.Corn. 20a.i.18, ii.39 (Hermop., 303)
P.Harr. II 208.6 (Oxy.?, 304; lack of αὐτοκρατόρων perhaps points
 to non-Oxy. provenance)
CPR VII 14.5-6 (Hermop., 305; much restored)
 Cf. *CPR* VI 30.5 possibly another oath in a Hermop. text from this period
SB X 10257.11 (Antinoop., 300; much restored)
P.Wisc. II 61.5 (Oxy., 303, αὐτοκρατόρων)
P.Oxy. XXXIII 2673.26 (Oxy., 304; αὐτοκρατόρων)
P.Oxy. XXXVI 2765.3 (Oxy., 304; αὐτοκρατόρων)

P.Oxy. XXXVI 2766.6 (Oxy., 305; αυτοκρατόρων)

b) τύχην και νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ και Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν και Κωνσταντίου και Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων:

P.Corn. 20.i.16 ff. (Arsin., 302)

ChLA XIX 684 = (Arsin., 303/4; cf. *BL* 8.426 and Mitthof 2001:

P.Stras. VII 617.5 421-424, who restores form III.a, not otherwise attested in Arsin.)

c) τὴν οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ <και Μαξιμιανοῦ> Σεβαστῶν και Κωνσταντίου και Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων:

P.Kell.Gr. I 2.5 (Great Oasis, 301)

d) τύχην και νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνικητῶν βασιλέων:

P.Cair.Isid. 3.23 (Arsin., 299)

P.Cair.Isid. 4.12 (Arsin., 299)

P.Cair.Isid. 5.30 (Arsin., 299)

P.Sakaon 2.15 (Arsin., 300)

P.Sakaon 3.15 (Arsin., 300)

IV: *Constantius, Galerius, Severus, Maximinus:*

a) [τὴν Κωνσταντίου και Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν και Σεουήρου και Μαξιμίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τύχην:

W.Chr. 429.1 (Hermop., 306; for date cf. App. F, p. 242)

V: *Galerius, Severus, Maximinus, Constantine I:*

a) τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αυτοκρατόρων Μαξιμιανοῦ και Σεουήρου Σεβαστῶν και Μαξιμίνου και Κωνσταντίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τύχην:

P.Oxy. XLIV 3192.16 (Oxy., 307)

VI: *Galerius, Maximinus, Constantine I, Licinius:*

NB: Several documents (*P.Ryl.* IV 657, *P.Sakaon* 7, *P.Amh.* II 138) date from the reign of Constantine I and Caesars but are placed here in order to illustrate continuous trends in formulas used in the Arsinoite Nome.

a) θεοὺς ἅπαντας και τύχην και νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνικητῶν βασιλέων:

P.Cair.Isid. 8.12 (Arsin., 309)

P.Sakaon 1.17 (Arsin., 310)

b) τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αυτοκρατόρων Σεβαστῶν τύχην:

P.Cair.Isid. 127.6 (Arsin., 310)

P.Sakaon 5.5 (Arsin., 312)

- P.Sakaon* 6.5 (Arsin., 313)
P.Ryl. IV 657.3 (Arsin., 323/4, om. τύχην)
- c) τὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Σεβαστῶν τύχην:
P.Sakaon 49.6 (Arsin., 314)
P.Grenf. II 79.i.4, ii.6 (Arsin., ca. 314, cf. *BASP* 13 [1976] 40)
SB VI 9192.14 (Arsin., ca. 314, cf. *BASP* *ibid.*; much restored)
- d) τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καισάρων τύχην:
P.Sakaon 7.7 (Arsin., 320)
- e) τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τε καὶ Καισάρων τύχην:
P.Cair.Isid. 9.10 (Arsin., 309)
P.Amh. II 138.6 (Arsin., 326; should be αὐτοκράτορός τε)
SPP XX 76.5 (Hermop., after 308?; cf. *BL* 8.465)
- f) τὸν σεβάσιμον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικτινίου τῶν
 ἀνικῆτων αὐτοκρατόρων:
P.Cair.Isid. 13.8 (Arsin., 314)
- g) τὸν σεβάσιμον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τε καὶ Καισάρων:
P.Oxy. LIV 3746.26,52 (Oxy., 319)
- h) uncertain formula (τύχη):
P.Ryl. IV 703.5 (prov. unkn., early IV; for Arsin. prov. attributed
 cf. *ZPE* 89 [1991] 97)

VII: *Interregnum of the Licinii:*

- a) τὸν σεβάσιμον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν ἀνικῆτων βασιλέων:

P.Oxy. XLIII 3122.7 (Oxy., 322; ἀηττήτων)
P.Oxy. XXXVI 2767.7 (Oxy., 323)
P.Oxy. XLI 2969.7 (Oxy., 323)
P.Oxy. XLI 2994.1 (Oxy., 323; start lost)

VIII: *Constantine I and Caesars:*

NB: Cf. above, § VI, introduction.

- a) τὸν σεβάσιμον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν ἀνικῆτων βασιλέων αὐτοκράτορός
 τε καὶ Καισάρων:

P.Harr. II 214.7 (Oxy., 324; has αὐτοκρατόρων τε !)
P.Oxy. X 1261.5 (Oxy., 325)
P.Oxy. I 83.5 (Oxy., 327)
P.Oxy. XLIII 3127.6 (Oxy., 332)

- XII: *P.Mich.* XV 724.6 (Oxy., 335/6; for restorations cf. *ZPE* 89 [1991] 95)
P.Oxy. X 1265.15 (Oxy., 336)
- b) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τῶν πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 αὐτοκρατόρων (l. αὐτοκράτορός) τε καὶ Καισάρων:
P.Vind.Sijp. 3.6 (Hermop., 325; cf. line 8 n.)
- XIII c) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον [ca. 15] τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν νικητῶν Κωνσταντίνου
 βασιλέως αἰωνίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν [ca. 25] Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίου
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων:
SB XIV 11550.4 (Hermop., 334/5; cf. *ZPE* 26 [1976] 268)
P.Oxy. LXVII 4610.7
- d) τὴν θεῖαν [καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν τὰ] πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 [Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως . . .]ίστου καὶ αἰωνίου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν [ca. 23]
 Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίου [τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ ἐν]δοξοτάτων Καισάρων:
SB XIV 11551.4 (Hermop., 324/37, much restored)
- e) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστου τε καὶ Καισάρων:
P.Stras. III 129.9 (Hermop., 331)
P.Stras. III 149.10 (Hermop., 331)
- f) formula uncertain:
P.Lips. I 44 i.2? (Hermop.?, 324-337; cf. *BL* 8.171)
- XIV
- IX: *Constantine I or Constantine II?*:
 a) τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν πάντων ἀνικητῶν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 αὐτοκρατορ() τε καὶ Καισάρων:
P.Oxy. XXXI 2571.15 (Oxy., 338; cf. line 16n.)
- X: *Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans*:
 a) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν τὰ πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων:
P.Vind.Sijp. 1 i.6, ii.5 (Hermop., 338; βασιλέων for Αὐγούστων)
P.Flor. I 34.8 (Hermop., 342; om. τὰ πάντα νικόντων)
P.Oxy. LX 4086.5 (Oxy.?, 345; om. τὰ πάντα νικόντων; αἰωνίων
 bef. Αὐγούστων)
P.Oslo III 113.7 (Hermop., 346; cf. *BL* 8.229)
P.Herm. 21.10 (Hermop., 346; om. καὶ οὐράνιον)
P.NagHamm.Gr. 65.4 (prov. unkn., 348; om. τὰ πάντα νικόντων;
 αἰωνίων bef. Αὐγούστων)
P.Lips. I 51.4
- b) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τῶν πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων:
P.Cair.Goodsp. 12.10 (Hermop., 340; cf. *BL* 8.69)
CPR VII 17.6 (Hermop., 340)
P.Vind.Sijp. 4.6 (Hermop., 340)

- P.Vind.Sijp.* 5.6 (Hermop., 340)
BGU I 21.7 (Hermop., 340)
P.Cair.Goodsp. 14.11 (Hermop., 343; om. τῶν πάντα νικόντων; adds
 at end τύχην; restoration in *BL* 1.173 incorrect)
SB XIV 11548.5 (Hermop., 343/4)
P.Lond. III 1249.9 (Hermop., 345)
P.Amh. II 140.10 (Hermop., 349)
BGU XII 2135.8 (Hermop., 340-350; cf. *CPR* VII 17.6n.)

c) τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων:

- P.Oxy.* LX 4085.8 (Oxy., 339)
P.Oxy. L 3576.7 (Oxy., 341)
P.Oxy. I 87.15 (Oxy., 342)
P.Wisc. I 12.5 (Oxy., 345)
P.Harr. I 65.5 (Oxy., 346)
P.Oxy. VI 897.11 (Oxy., 346)

d) τὴν θεῖαν τύχην καὶ νίκην τῶν τὰ πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:

- P.Würzb.* 15.5 (Arsin.?, 341; much restored, cf. *BL* 8.513, *ZPE* 45
 [1982] 204 and 89 [1991] 100)
P.Münch. III 72.2 (Arsin.? [cf. *ZPE* 89 (1991) 95-96], 342/3; om.
 καὶ νίκην, τὰ πάντα νικόντων, αἰωνίων)
P.Würzb. 16.5 (Arsin., 349; has τὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων <τύχην>; cf. *ZPE* 45
 [1982] 204)

XI: *Constantius II and Constantius Gallus*:

a) τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον --- καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος:

- P.Mich.* XX 800.9 = (Oxy., 354)
P.Laur. IV 162

b) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστου
 τε καὶ Καίσαρος:

- P.Kell.Gr.* I 23.27 (Kellis, 353)

c) τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν πάντα νικόντων αἰωνίων δεσποτῶν:

- P.Kell.Gr.* I 24.5 (Kellis, 352)

d) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν:

- CPR* XXIV 1.6 (Herakleopolis, 355)

XII: *Constantius II and Julianus:*

- a) τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος:
P.Oxy. LXVII 4598.4 (Oxy., 361)
P.Oxy. LXVII 4606.6 (Oxy., 361)

XIII: *Julianus:*

- a) τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου:
P.Oxy. XXII 2347.3 (Oxy., 362)
P.Oxy. LXVII 4608.5 (Oxy., 362)
P.Oxy. LXVII 4610.7 (Oxy., 363)
P.Oxy. LXVII 4611.i.3 (Oxy., 363)
P.Oxy. LXVII 4612.i.6 (Oxy., 363)
P.Oxy. LXVII 4613.6 (Oxy., 364)
P.Mich. XX 802.6 (Oxy., 364)
- b) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότη ἡμῶν βασιλέως αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου:
P.Cair.Preis. 15.4 (Hermop., 362?; cf. *BL* 8.75)

XIV: *Valentinianus I, Valens, Gratianus:*

- a) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν τὰ πάντα νικῶντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ Γρατιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Lips. I 46.6 (Panop., 371; αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων before Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ)
P.Lips. I 50.5 (Ptolemais, 372)
P.Lips. I 52.5 (Thebaid, 372)
PSI I 86.3 (Hermop.?, 367/375; cf. *BL* 8.392)
- b) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ Γρατιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων βασιλέων:
P.Lips. I 47.5 (Hypsel.?, 372)
P.Lips. I 53.5 (Thebaid, 372; restored at start; Αὐγούστων for βασιλέων)
- c) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν καλλινίκων αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Lips. I 48.6 (Hypsel., 372; om. καὶ σεβάσμιον)
P.Lips. I 49.5 (Hypsel., 372)
P.Lips. I 51.4 (Hypsel., 372)
- d) τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος καὶ Γρατιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Mich. XX 803.7 (Oxy., 366; om. καὶ Γρατιανοῦ)
P.Mich. XX 804.9 (Oxy., 367; om. καὶ Γρατιανοῦ, hence doc. dates

<i>P. Vind. Sup.</i> 5.6	(from bef. 24.viii.367)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 805.7 =	(Oxy., 367; om. και Γρατιανοῦ, hence doc. dates
<i>P. Wash. Univ.</i> II 82	from bef. 24.viii.367; cf. also ed.'s note to ll. 8-9)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 807.12	(Oxy., 372)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 808.7	(Oxy., 372)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 809.6	(Oxy., 372)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 810.7	(Oxy., 372)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 811.8	(Oxy., 372)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 813.8	(Oxy., 373)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 814.6	(Oxy., 373)
<i>P. Mich.</i> XX 815.6	(Oxy., 373?)
<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLVI 3308.8	(Oxy., 373)
<i>P. Oxy.</i> I 57.15	(Oxy. [EFG] 373)
<i>P. Wisc.</i> I 12.5	(Oxy. [EFG] 373)

XV: *Valens, Gratianus, Valentinianus II:*

- a) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος
καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Γρατιανοῦ τῶν αἰώνιων Αὐγούστων:

P. Lips. I 54.5 (Hermop., 376-378)

P. Lips. I 55.5 (Diocletianopol., 375-379; at start τὸν θεῖον καὶ
σεβάσμιον ὄρκον; om. πάντα νικόντων)

XVI: *Gratianus, Valentinianus II, Theodosius I:*

- a) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γρατιανοῦ
καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδοσίου τῶν αἰώνιων Αὐγούστων:

P. Flor. I 75.9 (Hermop., 380)

XVII: *Valentinianus II, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius (Caesar):*

- a) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν τὰ πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ
καὶ Θεοδοσίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου τῶν αἰώνιων Αὐγούστων καὶ Ὀνωρίου τοῦ
ἐπιφανεστάτου:

P. Münch. III 99 (Hermop., 390)

P. Prag. I 33.9 (prov. unkn. [Arsin.?], 390/1; om. τὰ
πάντα νικόντων, adds νίκη; cf. *ZPE* 89 [1991] 97)

- b) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
αἰώνιων Αὐγούστων:

P. Ross. Georg. III 30.9 (Hermop., 389; emperors' names not given)

- c) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν ? ---] εὐσέβειαν τῶν καλλινίκων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αἰώνιων
Αὐγούστων:

PSI VIII 951.10 (Thebaid?, 388?; cf. *ZPE* 89 [1991] 98 and *BL*
10.245; emperors' names not given)

XVIII: *Arcadius, Honorius*:

- a) τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν πάντα νικῶντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Lips. I 56.9 (Hermop., 398)
P.Stras. IV 255.11 (prov. unkn., 397; cf. *BL* 9.326; at start τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον; cf. *ZPE* 89 [1991] 99 for attributed Hermop. prov.)
- b) formula uncertain, τύχη restored:
P.Stras. V 379.6 (prov. unkn., ca. 400?, cf. ed.'s note)

XIX: *Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius II*:

- a) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ἀρκαδίου Ὀνωρίου Θεοδοσίου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
SB XVIII 13948.2 (Bouto, Memphites?, 407)
P.Stras. V 347.6 (prov. unkn., 402-408; cf. *BL* 9.327)

XX: *Honorius, Theodosius II*:

- a) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου Θεοδοσίου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Heid. IV 306.6 (Oxy., 413; adds τὰ πάντα νικῶντων before δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν)
P.Select. 13.8 (Herakleop., 421)
- b) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου Θεοδοσίου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Mich. XI 613.7 (Herakleop., 415)
SB XXII 15801.12 (Arsin., 419; adds καὶ between emperor's names; space in lacuna indicates pap. may omit καὶ νίκην)
- c) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν τὰ πάντα νικῶντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου Θεοδοσίου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
PSI VI 689.6 (Oxy., 408-423)
- d) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης:
P.Haun. III 57.14,24 (prov. unkn. [Arcadia], 412-15; NB: emperors' names not given)

XXI: *Theodosius II*:

- a) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότου ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου:
SB XII 11023.6 (prov. unkn., 424 [cf. *BL* 7.224]; cf. *Aegyptus* 50 [1970] 55.7n. and *ZPE* 89 [1991] 101)

XXII: *Theodosius II, Valentinianus III*:

- a) τὴν θεϊαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν τὰ πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Θεοδοσίου
 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
SB XIV 11896.5 (Hermop., 425-450)
P.Stras. VII 654.7 (Hermop., 425-450)
CPR VI 6.11 (Hermop., 439; adds at start τὸν παντοκράτορα
 Θεὸν καὶ; both emperors Φλ.)
SB XIV 11434.1 (Antinoop., 442; adds at start τὸν
 παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ)
- b) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν τὰ πάντα νικόντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 Θεοδοσίου Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
BGU III 936.6 (Oxy., 426; cf. *BL* 3.15)
PSI XII 1265.13 (Oxy., 426; cf. *P.Rain.Cent.* 122)
P.Oxy. XVI 1880.13 (Oxy., 427; καὶ between emperors)
P.Oxy. XVI 1881.15 (Oxy., 427; Φλ. bef. Θεοδοσίου; καὶ between
 emperors)
P.Wash.Univ. I 24.5 (Oxy., 425-450; cf. l. 5n. and *ZPE* 89 [1991]
 99; 100 [1994] 207)
P.Oxy. LXVIII 4688.7 (Oxy., 1.v-24.vi.442; adds Φλαουίων before
 emperors)
P.Flor. III 313.9 (Hermop., 449; om. τὰ πάντα νικόντων, adds
 καὶ νίκη; cf. *BL* 8.129)
P.Flor. III 310.2 (Hermop., 425-50; like preceding; cf. *BL*
 8.129; καὶ between emperors)¹
- c) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ νίκη τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης Θεοδοσίου
 Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Haun. III 58 (Arsin., 439)

¹ An oath formula also occurs in *SPP XX* 110.3, from the Hermopolite, but without a preserved date. The restoration omits the emperors' names; at start is σεβάσιμον ὄρκον παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκη; om. τὰ πάντα νικόντων. The ed.princ. dates to "saec. V." *BL* 7.262 records the proposal by L. C. Youtie that the notary of this text was identical with that of *P.Select.* 16 (ed.: VI/VII) and *PSI III* 185 (now *SB XIV* 11896); she suggested that all three texts dated to the 5th century and perhaps more exactly its second quarter. *BL* 7.98, by contrast, records a dating by P. J. Sijpesteijn of ca. 500-550 for *P.Select.* 16 and a rejection of Youtie's proposed date for that text by R. Pintaudi and K. A. Worp. *BL* 7.232 records the proposal by Pintaudi and Worp of a date to 425-450 for *PSI III* 185, which they dissociate from *P.Select.* 16. See also Diethart and Worp, *Byz-Not.*, Hermop., s.n. Phoibammon (pp. 71-72), who regard the men of this name in these three texts as distinct. As to the date of *SPP XX* 110, this seems impossible to establish with any security. The same Phoibammon does appear in *BGU XII* 2147 (AD 464), but what imperial pair is referred to of the various possibilities within a reasonable range of that date is impossible to say.

- d) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν θείαν τύχην τῶν πάντα νικῶντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
αἰωνίων βασιλέων:
PSI XIII 1341.16 (Antinoop., 425-450? Alternative dates [cf.
P.Cair.Masp. III 67297.5 (Antinoop., ca. 453) above, *SPP XX 110*] not impossible)
- e) πατέρα υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
Θεοδοσίου Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
SPP XX 122.16 (Hermop., ca. 439)
- f) Formula uncertain:
SB XII 11225.6 (prov. unkn., 425-450)
P.Flor. III 311.6 (Hermop., 448; cf. *BL 8.129*)

XXIII: *Valentinianus III, Marcianus*:

- a) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν τὰ πάντα νικῶντων δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
PSI X 1114.9 (Oxy.,?, 454)
- b) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν τὰ πάντα νικῶντων
δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Heid. IV 307.5 (Apollonop. Heptakomias, 450-455)

XXIV: *Leo I*:

- a) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Λέοντος
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου:
M.Chr. 71.11 (Hermop., 466?; cf. *BL 8.225*)
- b) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Λέοντος τοῦ
αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
SB VIII 9763.12 (Hermop., 457-474; cf. the element αὐτοκράτορος
with *CPR VII*, pp. 152-54)
- c) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Λέοντος
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου:
SPP XX 127.7 (Herakleop., 463; τῶν τὰ πάντα νικῶντων)
P.Vind.Sijp. 7.6 (Herakleop., 463; cf. *BL 8.199*; τῶν τὰ πάντων
νικῶντων)

XXV: *Leo I, Anthemius*:

- a) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Φλ.
Λέοντος καὶ Ἀνθεμίου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων:
P.Lond. V 1793.7 (Hermop., 472?; cf. *BL 8.193*)

XXVI: Zeno: *Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος καὶ τῆς βασιλευσσομένης αἰωνίου αὐτοκρατορίας αὐτοκράτορος*

- a) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ. Ζήνωνος τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
SB XX 15134.10-11 (Oxy., 11.vii.483)

XXVII: Anastasius I:

- a) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Lond. III 992.15 (Antinoop., 507)
- b) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67295, ii.15 (Panop.?, 491-493; cf. *BL* 8.74)
- c) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον ---- Φλ. Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Princ. III 139 r.7 (prov. unkn., 491-518 [*CPR* VII, p. 158: A.D. 499]; cf. *BL* 8.285)
- d) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ καλλινίκου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἡμῶν δεσπότης Ἀναστασίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου:
P.Oxy. LXIII 4394.177 (Oxy., 494-500)

XXVIII: Justinus I:

- a) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67328 (Antaiop., 521)
i.4 et passim
PSI VIII 932.4 (Antaiop., 518-527)
- b) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Flor. III 323.10 (Hermop., 525)

XXIX: Justinian:

- a) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67296.5 (Antaiop., 535)
P.Cair.Masp. I 67115.7 (Antaiop., 527-565)

- b) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν θεῖαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67297.5 (Antaiop., 535)
P.Lond. V 1660.34 (Antaiop., ca. 553)
- c) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Flor. III 284.5 (Antaiop., 538; om. γαληνοτάτου)
P.Cair.Masp. II 67243A (Antaiop., 527-65; start lost; cf. *BL* 8.74)
P.Michael. 41.28 (Antaiop., 539/554)
- d) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρκον καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Michael. 45.12 (Antaiop., 540; cf. *BL* 8.210)
- e) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ καλλινίκου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67332.7 (Antaiop., 552)
P.Cair.Masp. I 67094.8 (Antaiop., 553)
- f) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ καλλινίκου δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67340 (Antinoop., 527-65)
 recto.67
SB VI 9193.3 (Hermop., 527-65; om. καλλινίκου)
- g) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρκον τὴν τε ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ καλλινίκου δεσπότης ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
SB V 8029.23 (Antinoop., 537; om. all before τὴν τε)
P.Cair.Masp. I 67032.75 (Constantinople, 551)
P.Cair.Masp. II 67154.28 (Antinoop., 527-65; like *SB* V 8029)
P.Berl.Zill. 6.15 (Antinoop., 527-65; like *SB* V 8029)
P.Mich. XIII 659.257 (Antinoop., 527-65; like *SB* V 8029)
P.Cair.Masp. III 67298.4 (Antinoop., 526-65; like *SB* V 8029; cf. *BL* 8.74)
P.Cair.Masp. III 67299.51 (Antinoop., 527-65; like *SB* V 8029, but om. καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ καλλινίκου, adding τοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότης instead; cf. *ZPE* 89 [1991] 92-93)
- h) τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ καλλινίκου δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
SB XXII 15477.77 = (Antinoop., ca. 527-546/7; cf. *BL* 11.237)
P.Mich.Aphrod.

- SB XX 15020.20 (Antaiop. or Hermop./Antinoop., 527-565; τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν instead of the Trinity; for formula, see *BL* 11.234; ed. does not assign provenance)
- i) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῆς καλλινίκου τύχης:
SB XVIII 13949.7 (Oxy., 37.iv.541; Justinian's name not given; cf. below, § XXVIII)
- j) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν θείαν εὐσέβειαν τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
SB XVIII 13615.6 (Memphis, 535/6, 550/1, or 565/6)
- k) formula not completely preserved:
---- τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ καλλινίκου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
W.Chr. 471.10 (Arsin., 527-65)
- XXX: *Uncertain emperor (Anastasius, Justinus I, Justinianus):*
P.Cair.Masp. I 67098.5 (Antaiop.?, formula not completely preserved)
- XXXI: *Justinus II and Aelia Sophia:*
- a) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρκον τοῦ τε παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ νίκης καὶ εὐσεβείας τῶν κρατίστων δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ. Ἰουστίνου Νέου καὶ Αἰλίας Σοφίας τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων:
P.Münch. I 1.44 (Syene, 574)
- b) τὴν ἅγιαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων γαληνοτάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου καὶ Αἰλίας Σοφίας τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων:
P.Cair.Masp. II 67324B, (Antaiop.?, 565-574)
verso.18
- c) τὸν Θεὸν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν οἰκουμηνικῶν ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ βασιλέων Φλ. Ἰουστίνου καὶ Αἰλίας Σοφίας τῶν αἰωνίων αὐτοκρατόρων:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67353.27 (Antinoop., 569; cf. *BL* 8.75)
- d) τὴν ἅγιαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν καλλινίκων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου μεγίστου εὐεργέτου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ Αἰλίας Σοφίας τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης ἡμῶν δεσποίνης:
PSI I 76a.12 (Alexandria?, 572/3; cf. *BL* 8.392)

XX e) τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκη καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ καλλινίκου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:

P.Lond. V 1707.7 (Antinoop., 566)

P.Lond. V 1717.31 (Antinoop., 565/574? Date under Justinian not excluded, cf. *BL* 1.304, 8.192)

f) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσιμον ὄρκον καὶ τὴν νίκη καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:

P.Cair.Masp. II 67169bis. (Antinoop., 569)

34 (cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* III p. 3f.)

XXXII: *Justinus II, Aelia Sophia and Tiberius II:*

a) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν νίκη καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος καὶ Αἰλίας Σοφίας τῆς ἡμῶν Αὐγούστης καὶ Φλ. Τιβερίου . . . τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου Καίσαρος:
SB I 4678.9 (Arsin., 574-578; cf. *BL* 8.313)

XXXIII: *Tiberius II and Aelia Anastasia:*

a) τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκη καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν γαληνοτάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Τιβερίου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Αἰλίας Ἀναστασίας τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων:

P.Münch. I 4.4 (Syene, 581; cf. *P.Lond.* V 1726)

P.Grenf. I 60.15 (Apollonop., 582; cf. *BL* 8.141;

εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ γαληνοτάτων; om.

Κωνσταντίνου, Αἰλίας)

P.Lond. V 1724.16 (Syene, 578/582; γαληνοτάτων καὶ τροπαιούχων)

XXXIV: *Mauricius and Aelia Constantina:*

a) τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκη καὶ διαμονὴν τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη Φλ. Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:

P.Münch. I 7.64 (Antinoop., 583)

P.Köln III 156.11 (Antinoop.?, 582-602; cf. ed.'s introd. about empresses)

b) τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν νίκη καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν θεοφυλάκτων δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου καὶ Αἰλίας Κωνσταντίνης τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων:

P.Paris 21c.15 (Panop., 599; cf. *BL* 1.340)

P.Münch. I 14.94 (Syene, 594; om. τῆς οἰκουμένης; θεοφυλάκτων καὶ εὐσεβεστάτων)

c) τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν νίκη καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου καὶ Αἰλίας Κωνσταντίνης τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων:

P.Münch. I 9.22 (Syene, 584/5)

¹ For this type of oath cf. *CPR* V 17.4a; *ZPE* 26 [1993] 111-116.

P.Münch. I 13.15 (Syene, 594; Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου; adds at end
μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν)

d) τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ἡμῶν
δεσπότη Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
P.Mich. XIII 664.6 (Antaiop., 585 or 600; cf. *BL* 8.217)

e) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς νίκης καὶ διαμονῆς
τῶν γαληνοτάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν:
P.Lond. V 1727.56 (Syene, 583/4; NB: emperor's names not given;
cf. below, § XXXIX)

f) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν θείαν καὶ οὐράνιον τύχην τῶν γαληνοτάτων δεσποτῶν
τῆς οἰκουμένης Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου καὶ Αἰλίας Κωνσταντίνης τῶν αἰωνίων
Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων:
P.Münch. I 12.46 (Syene, 590/1)

g) τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν τῶν γαληνοτάτων δεσποτῶν τῆς
οἰκουμένης Φλ. Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου καὶ Αἰλίας Κωνσταντίνης τῶν αἰωνίων
Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων:
P.Michael. 55.c.3 (Antaiop., 582/602)

h) τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὸ περιβεβλημένον μοι εὐαγὲς σχῆμα καὶ τὴν
νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ διαμονὴν τῶν γαληνοτάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ.
Μαυρικίου Τιβερίου καὶ Αἰλίας Κωνσταντίνης τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων
αὐτοκρατόρων:
P.Köln III 157.24 (Apollonop. Heptakomias, 589; cf. *BL* 8.156)

i) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν σωτηρίαν:
BGU I 255.5 (Memphis, 599; cf. *BL* 8.21; does not mention
Mauricius by name; cf. below, § XXXIX)

j) ἡπνοῦτε μὴ πενθοεῖς περὶ μαυρικε (“by God and our lord King Mauricius”)
CPR IV 90.6 (Hermop., 596)

XXXV: Phocas:

a) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Φλ. Φωκά
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου αὐτοκράτορος:
SB XIV 12604.7 (Hermop., 603? See Gonis 2001: 258-259)

XXXVI: *Heraclius and Aelia Flavia*:

- a) τόν τε παντοκράτορα Θεόν και τήν θείαν και ούράνιον τύχην τοῦ τὰ πάντα νικῶντος δεσπότου ἡμῶν Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου:
P.Lond. II 483.82 (Apollonop. Heptakomias, cf. *BL* 8.179; 615 or 616)
- b) Θεόν τόν παντοκράτορα και νίκην και σωτηρίαν και διαμονήν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Ἡρακλείου και Αἰλίας Φλαβίας:
P.Oxy. I 138.34 (Oxy., 610/11)
- c) formula uncertain:
 --- και τήν νίκην, τύχην και διαμονήν ζω[.][...]ς τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡ[μῶν] (18) δεσπότου τῆς ἡγουμένης (l. οἰκουμένης) Φλ. Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου .[.][.....].[...] αὐτοκράτορος:
SB I 4669.17 (Hermop., 613/4; cf. *BL* 8.312 and *ZPE* 89 [1991] 100)

XXXVII: *Heraclius, Heraclius Novus Constantine, Nicetas*:

- a) τήν ἀγίαν και ὁμοούσιον τριάδα και νίκην και διαμονήν τῶν γαληνοτάτων και θεοστηρίκτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Ἡρακλείου και Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων και Νικήτα τοῦ πανευφήμου και ὑπερφυεστάτου πατρικίου:
SB I 5112.18 (Apollonop., 618)
SB I 5114.1 (Apollonop., 613-641; only end preserved; om. Nicetas' name and titles)
- b) τόν τε παντοκράτορα Θεόν και τήν νίκην και σωτηρίαν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων και γαληνοτάτων και θεοστεφῶν ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν Φλ. Ἡρακλείου και Ἡρακλείου Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου γνησίου αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ τῶν αἰωνίων Αὐγούστων αὐτοκρατόρων και μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν:
SB XVIII 13320.14 (Antaiop., 613-641; cf. *P.Mich.* XIII 665.7n.)

XXXVIII: *Oaths by the emperor's κορυφή*:²

- a) Θεόν παντοκράτορα και τήν θείαν εὐσέβειαν τῆς καλλινίκου κορυφῆς:
P.Rain.Cent. 106.7 (Herakleop., 475, much restored; cf. *BL* 10.165)
SB XVIII 13953.7 (Herakleop., 492; cf. *BL* 9.224)
CPR V 17.4 (Herakleop., late V)
P.Lond. V 1893.B.5 (Herakleop.?, V; much restored; cf. *ZPE* 89 [1991] 94; 96 [1993] 112)

² For this type of oath cf. *CPR* V 17.4n.; *ZPE* 96 [1993] 111-116.

- b) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ νίκην τῆς καλλινίκου καὶ ἀθανάτου κορυφῆς:
SPP XX 128.8 (Arsin., 487)
SB XVIII 13951.5 (Arsin., 487-491)
P.Lond. I 113 (1).49 (Arsin., first half VI; see *ByzNot* 35-36 no. 5.1.1-11)
- c) τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ νίκην τῆς καλλινίκου καὶ ἀθανάτου κορυφῆς:
SPP XX 269.14 (prov. unkn., VI-VII)
P.Lond. V 1727.56 (Dyonic. 553/4; NB: *επιφανὸς ἐπισημοποιήσας*)
- d) formula uncertain:
SB I 4815.6 (Arsin.?, V-VII)
- e) κατὰ τῆς ἀθανάτου κορυφῆς καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας:
P.Lond. V 1676.69 (Antinoop., ca. 570)
- f) κατὰ τῆς ἀθανάτου κορυφῆς καὶ τῶν θεοσεβεισάτων βασιλέων καὶ οἰκουμηνικῶν ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν τοῦ διαδήματος καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ πάντα σωτηρίας ἡμῶν:
P.Cair.Masp. III 67279.21 (Antinoop., ca. 570)
- g) κατὰ τῆς ἀθανάτου κορυφῆς καὶ τῶν εὐσεβεισάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας κυρίων καὶ τῶν εὐκλεεστάτων τέκνων καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ὑπὲρ πάντα:
P.Cair.Masp. II 67205.7 (Antinoop.?, VI? partly restored; acc. to E.Seidl, *Der Eid* II 46: 574-78 or 613-641)
- XXXIX: *Oaths by the σωτηρία of an anonymous emperor and after the Arab conquest:*³
- a) Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν σωτηρίαν:
P.Lond. I 113 (10).10 (Arsin., 639/640)
SB VI 9402.17 (Arsin., VI-VII; cf. *BL* 10.197 [VII]; ind. 15; ed. restor. βασιλικὴν τὴν σωτηρίαν)
SPP XX 227.6 (Herakleop., VI-VII; cf. *ZPE* 90 [1992] 258: VII)
SB I 4820.12 (Arsin., VI-VII; fragm. preserv.; adds at end τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ νίκην; cf. *BL* 10.181; cf. *CPR* XXIV, p. 181)
- b) τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν σωτηρίαν:
BGU I 255.5 (Memphis, 599; cf. *BL* 8.21)

³ The intention of this appendix has been to collect imperial oath formulas from the period of Byzantine rule. We have included the "anonymous" formulas of section XXXIX in Greek, because they span the last part of Byzantine rule and the period after the Arab conquest. There are corresponding oaths by the Arab rulers after 641 in Coptic which we have not included. See the collection of material and discussion of Seidl 1935: 137-160.

- c) τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν σωτηρίαν:
SB XVIII 13173.89 (Hermop., 629 or 644?; cf. *ByzNot* 66, no. 9.2)
SB VI 8988.79 (Apollonop., 647; cf. *ByzZ* 22 [1913] 392-394)
- d) τὴν ἄχραντον τριάδα καὶ τὴν ὑμῶν σωτηρίαν καὶ τοῦ νικητοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κρατίστου βασιλέως:
P.Lond. V 1675.2 (Antinoop., 565-74)
- e) τὸν τε παντοκράτορα Θεὸν καὶ τὴν νίκην τῆς βασιλικῆς σωτηρίας:
P.Mich. XIII 662.12 (Antaiop., 645?; cf. above, p. 106)
- f) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν [πάσ]ης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας κατακυριευούσης ἡμῶν:
SB VI 8987.39 (Oxy., 644/45)
- g) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν κελευόντων ἡμῶν:
P.Wisc. I 11.26 (Oxy., after 641?; cf. *BL* 8.201; below, p. 295)
SPP III 432.6 (Ars., after 641?; cf. *BL* 8.440; *BL* 9.334-335 proposes Oxy. as provenance)
- h) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν κρατούντων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
P.Rain.Unterricht 112 = (Hermop., VII)
CPR IV 34.7-8, 35-36
- i) Θεὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀμιράτων
P.Lips. I 103.12 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Würzb. 20.77 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 112.9 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 113.12 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 114.13 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 115.14 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 116.13 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 117.6 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 118.10 (Hermop., after 641; only partly preserved)
P.Laur. III 119.7 (Hermop., after 641)
P.Laur. III 120.3 (Hermop., after 641; only partly preserved)
P.Stras. VII 660.9 (Hermop., after 641)

APPENDIX H

INVOCATION FORMULAS

The formulas are enumerated in Chapter 10, along with the attestations of those singled out for discussion. Here we list references not given there and some additional summary data. We emphasize that our list aims to collect invocations in the sense of those used by scribes at the start of legal documents, and that we therefore do not take account of theological texts, private letters, and evident writing exercises. Nor do we include extremely fragmentary or questionable formulas that we cannot identify.

Mauricius:

Invocation: always formula 1.

Latest document in *Lower Egypt* without an invocation: *P.Oxy.* LVIII 3935 (6.iii.591, Oxy.).

Latest document in *Upper Egypt* without an invocation: *BGU XII* 2205 (v-vi.590, Hermop.).

Earliest invocation in *Lower Egypt*: *P.Erl.* 67 (17.ix.591, Herakleop.).

Earliest invocation in *Upper Egypt*: *P.Stras.* IV 190 (27.vii.592, Hermop.).

Phocas:

The small number of attestations of formula 1 are given in Chapter 10. Invocations by the Holy Trinity (formula group 2), newly introduced under this reign, are found especially in Middle and Upper Egypt:

2A Hermopolite	603?	<i>SB XVI</i> 12604 (see Gonis 2001: 258-259)
2B Hermopolite	606	<i>BGU XII</i> 2207
	608	<i>BGU XVII</i> 2694
	608	<i>BGU XVII</i> 2695 (om. και τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος)
2C Oxyrhynchite	604	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3940
	604/5	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3941 (adds ἁγίας bef. ἀρχάντου)
	606	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3942 (like preced.); 3943, 3945, 3946, 3947; <i>P.Laur.</i> III 91
	609	<i>PSI I</i> 61 (cf. <i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII, p. 61; adds ἁγίας bef. ἀρχάντου); <i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3948 (like preced.); <i>SB XII</i> 10798 (cf. <i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII p. 61)
	610	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LVIII 3950, 3951, 3952 (adds ἁγίας bef. ἀρχάντου?), 3953
2J Panopolite	607	<i>SB I</i> 5285; 5286
2? Hermopolite	604/5	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> III 49 (ed. restores 2J)
2P Hermonthite (Jeme)	609/10	<i>Epiphanius I</i> 11 (cf. <i>AnalPap 2</i> [1990] 139)

Next to these we find a combination of the Holy Trinity with Mary (and Saints) in the northernmost part of Middle Egypt and in Palestine:

3A Arsinoite	603	<i>BGU</i> II 365
	607	<i>CPR</i> XIV 9
	608	<i>SB</i> XIV 12195 (om. ἀγίας bef. θεοτόκου)
3B Arsinoite	604	<i>P.Harrauer</i> 59.4
	605	<i>BGU</i> I 3
	606	<i>SB</i> I 4838; <i>P.Vind.Tand.</i> 32 (cf. <i>BL</i> 7.280)
3C Arsinoite	602/603	<i>P.Prag.</i> II 175 (om. και ὁμοουσίου)
	604	<i>SPP</i> XX 219
	604/5	<i>SB</i> I 4836 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.316)
	605	<i>P.Bodl.</i> I 53
	608	<i>SB</i> XXIV 15899
	610	<i>SPP</i> XX 209 = <i>SB</i> I 5270 (cf. <i>P. Oxy.</i> LVIII 3948 introd.)
	?	<i>SB</i> I 4740; 5260 (cf. <i>BL</i> 8.320); <i>CPR</i> XIX 43 (regnal date not preserved; could be an example of 3C under Heraclius)
Herakleopolite	604	<i>P.Erl.</i> 73
3B or 3C		
Arsinoite	605	<i>SB</i> I 4748
	609	<i>BGU</i> III 837 (adds ἀγίας bef. θεοτόκου)
3D Palestine	605	<i>P.Ness.</i> 46 (cf. <i>CdÉ</i> 56 [1981] 119)
Heraclius:		
<i>Upper Egypt:</i>		
2B Hermopolite	614	<i>BGU</i> XII 2209; <i>P.Lond.</i> III 1010 descr. in <i>ByzZ</i> 22 (1913) 396 no. 7
	615/6	<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1875 (630/1 also possible); cf. also <i>BGU</i> XII 2210 (617; incomplete)
Apollonopolite	615	<i>P.Lond.</i> II 483
Heptakomias		
Thinite	614	<i>SB</i> I 4504 (ed. rest. ὁμοουσίου, but ζωοποιοῦ is also possible)
Hermouthite (Jeme)	616	<i>P.Paris</i> 21
Apollonopolite	618?	<i>SB</i> I 5112.67
2D Hermopolite	614	<i>SB</i> I 4669
2E Hermopolite	613	<i>CPR</i> IX 35
	616	<i>BGU</i> XVII 2696
	618/9 or	
	633/4	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1011 descr., <i>ByzZ</i> 22 (1913) 399 no. 17
	618	<i>P.Stras.</i> V 328 (2B also possible; ed. restores as 2A)
	633	<i>P.Lond.</i> III 1012
	635	<i>P.Flor.</i> III 306

	638	SB XVI 12492
	610-41	<i>P.Amh.</i> II 151 (2B also possible)
	631-41	CPR IX 29
Apollonopolite	618	<i>P.Edfou</i> I 3 (cf. above, p. 96)
	619	<i>P.Edfou</i> I 2 (cf. above, p. 96 n. 30)
	641	SB VI 8986 (reverses ζωοποιου, ὁμοουσιου)

Lower Egypt:

All datable documents from the Middle and Lower Egyptian nomes (Oxyrhynchite, Arsinoite, Herakleopolite) from Heraclius' reign in which the start of the text is preserved have the Christ formula 1, except for the texts from the transition between Phocas and Heraclius discussed above, pp. 106-108, which still feature formula 3C, one of the Arsinoite Trinitarian formulas of Phocas' reign.

Some papyri feature small aberrations in the formula 1:

P.Oxy. LVIII 3954.2-3 (611) omits 'κυρίου και', has 'ἡμῶν' after 'δεσπότης' instead of after 'σωτήρης';

P.Prag. I 48.2 (615) omits ἡμῶν at the formula's end; the scribe also omits an epithet in the regnal formula;

P.Dubl. 28.1 (611/2?) apparently adds an element 'φιλα]νθρώπου' before 'Ἰησοῦ' while probably omitting the element 'και δεσπότης'.

The tops of the following documents from Heraclius' reign are lost: *P.Oxy.* I 139; *P.Lond.* I 113 (10) (p. 222), V 1736, 1737; SB I 4319, 4497, 4746, 5112-5114, 5318, XIV 11542, 11543.

Datable documents from the period of Persian rule or from after the Arab conquest:

For the purposes of this section, we include documents in which a date at least as precise as a quarter-century can be found, counting those in which prosopography is the basis for the date. Many of these have more exact indications of date, but some do not. SB VI 8987 is lacking its invocation.

Middle Egypt (all attestations from the Arsinoite or Herakleopolite, except *T.Varie* 8 [Oxyrh.]):

1	620	<i>P.Lond.</i> I 113 6c (cf. above, p. 107) ¹
	622	CPR XXIV 30
	622	CPR XIX 32
	669	<i>T.Varie</i> 8
	post 683/4	CPR X 135
	706/7	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> III 56
2?	761	SPP X 169.10 ²
4A	627	BGU I 315 (see above, p. 107)
	619-629?	SB XXIV 16287 (see CPR XXIV, p. 181)
	651?	CPR XIV 1

¹ Mostly restored.

² For the date in 761 see F. Morelli, CPR XXII 17.11n., citing a forthcoming article by N. Gonis.

	652?	<i>CPR XIV 17</i>
	655?	<i>CPR XIV 32</i>
	657/8 or	
	656/7	<i>BGU I 312</i>
	660	<i>SB I 4666</i>
	662/3	<i>P.Berl.Zill. 8</i>
4B	653	<i>CPR XXIV 33 (or 623?)</i>
	659/674	<i>CPR XIV 16 (cf. BL 9.76)</i>
	662/3	<i>SB I 4665 (cf. ZPE 46 [1982] 243)</i>
	663/673	<i>SB I 4797 (cf. ZPE 46 [1982] 242)</i>
	668	<i>SB XVI 12481</i>
	671	<i>CPR X 134</i>
	674	<i>P.Ross.Georg. III 52</i>
	674/5 or	
	673/4	<i>P.Ross.Georg. III 53</i>
	677	<i>SB I 4716</i>
	678	<i>SB I 4668 (cf. BL 8.312)</i>
	682/3	<i>P.Grenf. II 110</i>
	685/6 or	
	686/7	<i>SB I 4667</i>
	699/700	<i>CPR VIII 82 (or form. 4A?)</i>
	702/3	<i>CPR X 136</i>
4C	621?	<i>SB I 4483 (cf. above, p. 109)</i>
4D	671	<i>P.Bodl. I 77 (cf. below, n. 5)</i>
1 or 4A?	700	<i>CPR XIX 17</i>
<i>Upper Egypt:</i>		
1 Hermopolite	849	<i>BL Or. 6202 (cf. BASP 31 [1994] 153; om. τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότη; Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ after τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν); BL Or. 6201, cf. BASP 31 (1994) 156 (idem?)</i>
2E Apollonopolite	647	<i>SB VI 8988 (cf. ZPE 49 [1982] 93; reverses ζωοποιου, ὁμοουσιου; cf. above, SB VI 8986 [under Phocas, 2E])</i>
	649	<i>SBKopt. I 242</i>
Hermionthite (Jeme)	698	<i>P.CLT 1 (om. 2nd καί)</i>
	722	<i>P.KRU 10 (SB I 5123) = SBKopt. II 946; Till 18</i>
	722/3	<i>P.KRU 47 (SB I 5580 om. invoc.); Till 24; editor misrestores</i>
	723	<i>P.KRU 68 (SB I 5590); Till 27</i>
	724	<i>P.KRU 36 (SB I 5572); Till 23</i>
	724	<i>P.KRU 50 (SB I 5582); Till 25</i>
	725	<i>P.KRU 45 (SB I 5578); Till 24</i>
	ca 730	<i>P.KRU 27 (SB I 5570); Till 21</i>
	733	<i>P.KRU 12 (SB I 5561); Till 19</i>
	733	<i>P.KRU 13 (SB I 5562); Till 19</i>

- 733/48 *P.KRU* 5 (*SB* I 5558); Till 17
- 733/48 *P.KRU* 74 = *SBKopt.* II 954; Till 28; mostly lost
- 734 *P.KRU* 88 (*SB* I 5599); Till 33
- Apollonopolite 734 *P.KRU* 106 (*SB* I 5609); Till 39 dates to 735, but cf. p. 123, n. 18
- 747 *P.KRU* 19 (*SB* I 5566); Till 20
- 748/763 *P.KRU* 54 (*SB* I 5585); Till 25
- Lower Egypt 749 *P.KRU* 41 (*SB* I 5576); Till 23
- All datable 749 *P.KRU* 2 (*SB* I 5556); Till 17
- 749 *P.KRU* 4 (*SB* I 5557); Till 17
- 750 *P.KRU* 1 (*SB* I 5555); Till 17
- 750 *P.KRU* 70 (*SB* I 5591); Till 27
- 753 *P.KRU* 11 (*SB* I 5560); Till 19
- 756 *P.KRU* 14 (*SB* I 5563); Till 19
- 756 *P.KRU* 15 (*SB* I 5564)
- 758 *P.KRU* 6 (*SB* I 5559); Till 17
- post 760 *P.KRU* 22 (*CPR* IV 26) = *SBKopt.* II 944; Till 20
- 762 *P.KRU* 102 (could be 2J); Till 38
- 763 *P.KRU* 24 (*SB* I 5567); Till 21
- 765 *P.KRU* 71 (*SB* I 5592); Till 27
- post 765 *P.KRU* 58 (*SB* I 5586); Till 26
- 766 *P.KRU* 86 (*SB* I 5597); Till 31
- post 779 *P.KRU* 100 (*SB* I 5607); Till 36-38
- 780 *P.KRU* 99 (*SB* I 5606); Till 36
- 2F Hermopolite** 743 or 830's *P.Stras.* V 397, cf. *BL* 7.249 vs. 9.327-28.
- 2G Antaiopolite** 708 *P.Lond.* IV 1496, 1584, 1608
- 709 *P.Lond.* IV 1494, 1499, 1512, 1521, 1523, 1610, 1612
- 708/709 *P.Lond.* IV 1508
- 710 *P.Lond.* IV 1542
- 711 *P.Lond.* IV 1574
- post 708 *P.Lond.* IV 1577
- 700-725 *P.Cair.Arab.* III 164; 165; 166
- Cf. also below, under "Documents not absolutely datable"
- Hermopolite 833 BL Or. 6203 (c. *BASP* 31 [1994] 142)
- 840/1? *P.Sijp.* 52.1
- 842 BL Or. 6204 (cf. *BASP* 24 [1987] 64; 31 [1994] 145)
- 847 BL Or. 6206 (cf. *BASP* 31 [1994] 149)
- 2J Hermonthite (Jeme)** 702 *P.CLT* 4 (date acc. to Till 42)
- 703 *P.CLT* 2
- 724/39 *P.CLT* 6; cf. Till 44
- 725/6 or

¹ Mostly mirrored.

² For the date in 761 see F. Morelli, *CPR* XXII 17.11n., citing a forthcoming article by N. Guais.

	740/1	<i>P.KRU</i> 64 (<i>SB</i> I 5588); cf. Till 26
	725-40	<i>P.CLT</i> 7 (form. not certain); cf. Till 44
	730's	<i>P.KRU</i> 7 (rest. G.M. Browne); Till 18
	730's	<i>P.KRU</i> 56 (in Coptic); cf. Till 25
	729/744	<i>P.KRU</i> 69; Till 27
	738	<i>O.CrumVC</i> 6 (in Coptic); Till 47
	740/755	<i>P.CLT</i> 10 (in Coptic)
	770	<i>P.KRU</i> 84 (<i>SB</i> I 5596); Till 30
	771	<i>P.KRU</i> 81 (<i>SB</i> I 5594); Till 30
	771	<i>P.KRU</i> 109 (2E also possible); Till 39
	post 771	<i>P.KRU</i> 82; Till 30
	781	<i>P.KRU</i> 92 (<i>SB</i> I 5602); Till 35
Nubia	710	<i>SB</i> I 1594 (inscr., adds θεοῦ bef. πατρός)
2K Hermonthite (Jeme)	698/728	<i>O.CrumVC</i> 8; Till 47
2L Hermonthite (Jeme)	719	<i>P.KRU</i> 35 (ends ετχ κ εβολ ατω ηρεφτανθο, "complete and vivifying")
	725	<i>P.KRU</i> 21 = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 948
	738	<i>P.KRU</i> 38
	759	<i>P.KRU</i> 20 = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 947; Till 20

Documents not absolutely datable:

Indiction numbers that did not occur during the period of Persian rule are given in bold and underlined>. Cf. above, p. 108.

<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Month + Day</i>	<i>Reference</i>
1 Arsinoite	9	Choiak 25/26	<i>SB</i> I 4664 (= 4834? Om. ἡμῶν)
	10	Mecheir 9	<i>CPR</i> XIV 15
	12 τέλει	Pauni 4	<i>SB</i> I 5681 (ca. 663, cf. <i>ByzNot.</i> , Ars. 21.3.3 and <i>ZPE</i> 134 [2001] 176)
		Tybi 3	<i>SPP</i> XX 240 (622?, cf. <i>BL</i> 7.264)
	13 ἀρχῆ lost	Mesore 13 lost	<i>BGU</i> II 371 (cf. <i>ByzNot.</i> , Ars. 21.2.1) <i>SPP</i> III 355; <i>SB</i> I 5322 (our restoration); <i>AnalPap</i> 12 (2000) 196 no. 8 (prov. not preserved)
Oxyrhynchite	4 ἀρχῆ 5	Epeiph 8	<i>P.Wisc.</i> I 11 (post 641?, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.201 under <i>P.Lugd.Bat.</i> XVI 11)
	6	Thoth 20	<i>PSI</i> I 52 (602/617?, cf. <i>ByzNot.</i> , Oxy. 9.9.4)
	9	Pauni 9	<i>T.Varie</i> 10
	9, ἀρχῆ 10	Mesore 20	<i>P.Mich.</i> XV 748
	11	Choiak 10-19	<i>P.Mich.</i> XV 743
	12	Pauni 28	<i>PSI</i> VIII 894 (623?, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.403)
	13	Phaophi 29	<i>PSI</i> I 63 (cf. <i>ByzNot.</i> , Oxy. 9.2.1)
lost	lost	<i>SB</i> XIV 11489	

Hermopolite	lost	Pachon 19	<i>CPR</i> IV 112.d (ed. 'VIII')
Herakleopolite	2/4/ or 12/14	Pachon 1	<i>SB</i> XX 15092
Unknown	2 9	Pauni 28	<i>T.Varie</i> 1
		Pharmouthi 24	<i>T.Varie</i> 3 (ed.'s n. to l. 1 confused; provenance [Hermopolite] seems doubtful; one party from Herakleop.)
2B Apollonop.	1, ἀρχή	Epeiph -	<i>P.Edfou</i> I 4 (627? cf. <i>ZPE</i> 49 [1982] 92; we follow <i>BL</i> 3.47 rather than 9.78)
	15	Tybi 27	<i>OCrumVC</i> 5 = <i>Enchoria</i> 15 (1987) 55f. (627?)
Hermopolite	10	Phamenoth 7	<i>P.Würzb.</i> 19 (622?, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.513)
2E Antaiopolite	4	Hathyr 3	<i>P.Mich.</i> XIII 662 (645?, cf. above, p. 106)
Hermopolite	2	Mesore 18	<i>SB</i> VI 9085, inv. 16166 (628 or 643 [ed.]?)
	3	Thoth 21	<i>SB</i> XVIII 13173.99, 122 (629 or 644?; see <i>ByzNot</i> 66 no. 9.2.2)
	7	Pauni 5	<i>P.Flor.</i> I 38 (cf. <i>BL</i> 1.138)
	9	lost	<i>P.Stras.</i> VIII 756 (cf. under indiction 14)
	10	Phaophi 13	<i>SB</i> VI 9591
		Hathyr 14	<i>P.Herm.</i> 34
	11, ἀρχή	Pauni 1	<i>P.Stras.</i> IV 310
	13	Epagom. 5	<i>SPP</i> XX 218
		Phaophi 1	<i>P.Stras.</i> VI 600 (624/654, cf. <i>ZPE</i> 141 [2002] 169)
	14	lost	<i>P.Stras.</i> VIII 752, 756 ³
	15	lost	<i>BKU</i> III 355
	lost	lost	<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 115 (form. uncertain)
Hermonthite (Jeme)	lost	lost	<i>O.CrumST</i> 97 (cf. <i>CdÉ</i> 56 [1981] 362 n. 1)
2G Antaiopolite	8	Phaophi 7	<i>P.HermitageCopt.</i> 26 (4.x.709?)
	lost	lost	<i>P.HermitageCopt.</i> 36; <i>P.Lond.</i> IV 1540, 1545, 1565, 1569, 1592, 1613
Babylon ?	14		<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 121 (2) (could also be 2F , but less likely)
2H Hermopolite	1	Choiak 1	<i>P.Flor.</i> I 70 (627?, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.125)
2I Apollonop.	lost	lost	<i>P.Bal.</i> 152
Heptakomias			
Hermonthite ? (Jeme)	?	?	<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> II 10 ⁴

³Cf. J. Gascou in A. Blanchard, ed., *Les débuts du codex* (= *Bibliologia* 9 [1989]) 94.

⁴We have excluded *O.Ashm.Copt.* 16 (in Coptic), because the editor's reading and restoration are extremely dubious and produce a formula otherwise not attested. Moreover, this text is a letter, and any invocation of the deity in it is not connected to the documentary prescripts under consideration here.

2J	Hermopolite	9	lost	04	<i>CPR</i> IV 117
	Hermonthite	1	lost		<i>P.KRU</i> 57
	(Jeme)	1	Mesore	16	<i>P.KRU</i> 59 (<i>SB</i> I 5587)
		2	Pharmouthi	7	<i>SB Kopt.</i> I 270
		9	Thoth	9	<i>O.CrumST</i> 59
		?	Mecheir	11	<i>O.Medin.HabuCopt.</i> 74
		lost	lost		<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I pl. LVII 5, LXIX 2, LXX 1, LXXIII 1, LXXV 1, LXXVI 1; <i>O.Crum</i> 135, 138, 140; <i>O.CrumST</i> 60 (om. the Son), 217 (?; mostly lost), 340 (partly lost), 405 no. 2, 412 (om. the Father), 429; <i>O.CrumVC</i> 120; <i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 107, 188, 219; <i>P.Mon.Epiph.</i> 92; <i>P.KRU</i> 16, 61, 62, 73 (= Till 19, 66, 26, 28); W. Kosack, <i>Lehrbuch d. Koptischen</i> no. 128
	Panopolite	lost	lost		<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I 12,1 no. 662 (inscr.; prov. uncertain); <i>P.Cair.Arab.</i> III 167
	Hibite				G.Wagner, <i>Les Oasis</i> , 73 no. 20
	Syene	lost	lost		<i>P.Lond.Copt.</i> 447 (cf. <i>Crum, RecTrav</i> 22, 223); 448
	Nubia	14?	Hathyr?		<i>CPR</i> IV 28 (partly lost)
			lost		<i>SBakad.Berlin</i> 1913:8, p. 54 no. 1
	Prov. unkn.	none	none		<i>Papyri: Bollettino del Museo del Papiro</i> 2 (1997) 35-48 no. 3 (om. def. articles; said to be Arsin./Herakl.; writing exercise?)
2L	Hermonthite	lost	lost		<i>P.KRU</i> 9; 67; <i>O.Crum</i> 393
	(Jeme)				
2M	Arsinoite	?			<i>P.Alex.inv.</i> 647 = <i>Riv.Stud.Orientali</i> 58 (1987) 49-54 (L.S.B. MacCoull)
2N	Great Oasis	?			<i>Lef.</i> 357.2 = <i>SEG</i> 38 (1988) 1697
2O	Hermonthite				<i>O.Brit.Mus.Copt.</i> I, pl. XXXI 3 (partly lost; our rest.); <i>O.Vind.Copt.</i> 103 = <i>SBKopt.</i> II 907
	(Jeme)				
2?	Hermopolite	lost	lost		<i>P.Lond.</i> V 1880
					<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i> 130 (2J or 2G most likely)
	Prov. unkn.				<i>O.CrumST</i> 340 (only 'Father, Son and Holy Ghost' preserved)
4A	Arsinoite	2	Thoth	24	<i>P.Prag.</i> I 49 (ed.: 628/643)
		2	Epeiph	27	<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i> III 50 (643?, cf. <i>BL</i> 8.291; fragm.)
		3	Pachon	17	<i>SB</i> I 4816 (ed. om. και δεσπότης)
		3 τέλει	Pauni	16	<i>BGU</i> II 367 (cf. <i>ByzNot.</i> , <i>Ars.</i> 9.3.2)

	4	Pachon 29	<i>CPR X 40</i>
	4	Mesore -	<i>BGU II 366 (645/660?; cf. ByzNot. Ars. 9.1.8; uses Saracene measure which points to a date after A.D. 641)</i>
	7	Hathyr 7	<i>BGU III 737 (cf. BL 1.440)</i>
	7	Pachon -	<i>SB VIII 9775</i>
	7 ἀρχῆ	Epeiph 13	<i>SPP XX 243 (633/648?, cf. ByzNot., Ars. 9.1.25)</i>
	7	Thoth 20	<i>BGU I 310 (ca. 663, cf. ByzNot., Ars. 21.3.4; ed. om. τοῦ κυρίου.)</i>
	10	Epeiph 14	<i>CPR XIV 1 (651?)</i>
	10	lost	<i>BGU II 396</i>
	11	Pauni 2	<i>CPR XIV 17 (652?)</i>
	14	Choiak -	<i>BGU III 752</i>
	14	Tybi 24	<i>SB I 4490 (641/656?, cf. ByzNot., Ars. 9.1.7; ed. om. ἡμῶν και τῆς δεσποίνης)</i>
	14	Mesore 26	<i>CPR XIV 32 (655?)</i>
	lost	Choiak	<i>SB I 4805 (cf. BL 11.196: formula 4A perhaps to be dated around A.D. 622?)</i>
	lost	lost	<i>SB I 4737</i>
	lost	lost	<i>P.Bodl. I 77⁵</i>
	lost	Mecheir -9	<i>CPR XIX 50</i>
	lost	lost	<i>AnalPap 12 (2000) 195-196 no. 7 (prov. not preserved)</i>
4B	1	Phamenoth 12	<i>SB I 5319 (omits Μαρίας in restoration.)</i>
	2	Mecheir 14	<i>BGU I 320 (cf. P.Ross.Georg. III 50.3n.)</i>
	3	lost	<i>SB I 5254 (ed. om. ἀγίας θεοτόκου)</i>
	7 ἀρχῆ	Epeiph 27?	<i>SB I 4763</i>
	8 ἀρχῆ	lost	<i>SB I 4870</i>
	11 τέλει	lost	<i>SB I 4659 (cf. ByzNot., Ars. 12.4.1)</i>
	12	Tybi 20	<i>CPR VIII 71</i>
	13	lost	<i>SB I 4819 (cf. ByzNot., Ars. 18.6.5; Ed. om. και δεσπότου; cf. P.Berl.Zill. 8.5n.)</i>
	14	Mesore 28	<i>BGU III 750 (Cf. BL 8.33)</i>
	lost	lost	<i>SB I 4677; 4694; 4703 (ed. restores an extra ἡμῶν); 4762 (ed. om. δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς); 4767 (Epeiph 20); 4856 (Pachon); XIV 12194 (ed. restores ἀγίας with δεσποίνης; restore ἀγίας before θεοτόκου); XXII 15764 (cf. ByzNot., Ars 9.1.28); SPP XX 258 (Cf. BL 8.475)</i>

⁵The original text on this sheet, as extracted by N. Gonis and K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 141 (2002) 173-176, features invocation form. 4D and dates from 671; it is interlined with a later writing exercise containing parts of various other invocation formulas like 1 and 4A. The formula of the original text partly resembles that of *SB I 4483*, cf. above, p. 109.

4A or 4B	lost	lost	<i>P.Got.</i> 96; <i>SB</i> I 4742; 4778 (cf. <i>ByzNot.</i> , Ars. 12.5.1); 4832; 4863; 4871 (1 possible)
649	29		
650	30		
4D	lost	lost	<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 35 (cf. above, p. 109)
651	31		
652	32		
653	33		
654	34		
655	35		
656	36		
657	37		
658	38		

The count of years from the Hijra/Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina, according to tradition on 12 Rabi' al-Thani, came to be the standard means of reckoning time in the Islamic world. The Muslim year was lunar rather than solar; the years of the Hijra thus could not stand in a fixed, one-to-one relationship to those of count based on the 365-day year. The era was introduced into Egypt with the Arab conquest and appears in documents both in Greek and Coptic alongside the indication of the Era of Diocletian (the reign dating of Byzantine times having naturally disappeared). 282

The instances of this era, *ἔτος Ζαχαρίας*—the Greek phrase by which it was mostly referred to in Coptic documents—the phrase *ἔτος Ζαχαρίας* is also found—in the Greek, Coptic, and Greek-Arabic papyri¹ collected and discussed in *Worp 1928*.² The table below will allow comparison of dates using this era to those with the indication of the Era of Diocletian and to correlate them with the Julian year. It is based on that in *Griffith 1928: 280 ff.* where information may also be found on which years were intercalary and on what day of the week the year began. We take the table as the last dates occurring in texts with the Era of the Martyrs included in Chapter 8.³

Julian year	Zacharias year	Year of start	Era of Diocletian	Indiction
641	21	10xix-2	328	12
642	22	30xix-1	329	1
643	23	19xx-3	330	2
644	24	7xx-2	331	3
645	25	28xx-1	332	4
646	26	17xx-1	333	5
647	27	7xx-0	334	6
648	28	25xx-0	335	7
		16xx-0	336	
		5xx-0	337	
		iv-0	338	
		iii-0	339	
		ii-0	340	
		i-0	341	
		0	342	
		ix-0	343	
		8xx-0	344	
		7xx-0	345	
		6xx-0	346	
		5xx-0	347	
		4xx-0	348	
		3xx-0	349	
		2xx-0	350	
		1xx-0	351	
		0	352	
		ix-0	353	
		8xx-0	354	
		7xx-0	355	
		6xx-0	356	
		5xx-0	357	
		4xx-0	358	
		3xx-0	359	
		2xx-0	360	
		1xx-0	361	
		0	362	
		ix-0	363	
		8xx-0	364	
		7xx-0	365	
		6xx-0	366	
		5xx-0	367	
		4xx-0	368	
		3xx-0	369	
		2xx-0	370	
		1xx-0	371	
		0	372	
		ix-0	373	
		8xx-0	374	
		7xx-0	375	
		6xx-0	376	
		5xx-0	377	
		4xx-0	378	
		3xx-0	379	
		2xx-0	380	
		1xx-0	381	
		0	382	
		ix-0	383	
		8xx-0	384	
		7xx-0	385	
		6xx-0	386	
		5xx-0	387	
		4xx-0	388	
		3xx-0	389	
		2xx-0	390	
		1xx-0	391	
		0	392	
		ix-0	393	
		8xx-0	394	
		7xx-0	395	
		6xx-0	396	
		5xx-0	397	
		4xx-0	398	
		3xx-0	399	
		2xx-0	400	
		1xx-0	401	
		0	402	
		ix-0	403	
		8xx-0	404	
		7xx-0	405	
		6xx-0	406	
		5xx-0	407	
		4xx-0	408	
		3xx-0	409	
		2xx-0	410	
		1xx-0	411	
		0	412	
		ix-0	413	
		8xx-0	414	
		7xx-0	415	
		6xx-0	416	
		5xx-0	417	
		4xx-0	418	
		3xx-0	419	
		2xx-0	420	
		1xx-0	421	
		0	422	
		ix-0	423	
		8xx-0	424	
		7xx-0	425	
		6xx-0	426	
		5xx-0	427	
		4xx-0	428	
		3xx-0	429	
		2xx-0	430	
		1xx-0	431	
		0	432	
		ix-0	433	
		8xx-0	434	
		7xx-0	435	
		6xx-0	436	
		5xx-0	437	
		4xx-0	438	
		3xx-0	439	
		2xx-0	440	
		1xx-0	441	
		0	442	
		ix-0	443	
		8xx-0	444	
		7xx-0	445	
		6xx-0	446	
		5xx-0	447	
		4xx-0	448	
		3xx-0	449	
		2xx-0	450	
		1xx-0	451	
		0	452	
		ix-0	453	
		8xx-0	454	
		7xx-0	455	
		6xx-0	456	
		5xx-0	457	
		4xx-0	458	
		3xx-0	459	
		2xx-0	460	
		1xx-0	461	
		0	462	
		ix-0	463	
		8xx-0	464	
		7xx-0	465	
		6xx-0	466	
		5xx-0	467	
		4xx-0	468	
		3xx-0	469	
		2xx-0	470	
		1xx-0	471	
		0	472	
		ix-0	473	
		8xx-0	474	
		7xx-0	475	
		6xx-0	476	
		5xx-0	477	
		4xx-0	478	
		3xx-0	479	
		2xx-0	480	
		1xx-0	481	
		0	482	
		ix-0	483	
		8xx-0	484	
		7xx-0	485	
		6xx-0	486	
		5xx-0	487	
		4xx-0	488	
		3xx-0	489	
		2xx-0	490	
		1xx-0	491	
		0	492	
		ix-0	493	
		8xx-0	494	
		7xx-0	495	
		6xx-0	496	
		5xx-0	497	
		4xx-0	498	
		3xx-0	499	
		2xx-0	500	
		1xx-0	501	
		0	502	
		ix-0	503	
		8xx-0	504	
		7xx-0	505	
		6xx-0	506	
		5xx-0	507	
		4xx-0	508	
		3xx-0	509	
		2xx-0	510	
		1xx-0	511	
		0	512	
		ix-0	513	
		8xx-0	514	
		7xx-0	515	
		6xx-0	516	
		5xx-0	517	
		4xx-0	518	
		3xx-0	519	
		2xx-0	520	
		1xx-0	521	
		0	522	
		ix-0	523	
		8xx-0	524	
		7xx-0	525	
		6xx-0	526	
		5xx-0	527	
		4xx-0	528	
		3xx-0	529	
		2xx-0	530	
		1xx-0	531	
		0	532	
		ix-0	533	
		8xx-0	534	
		7xx-0	535	
		6xx-0	536	
		5xx-0	537	
		4xx-0	538	
		3xx-0	539	
		2xx-0	540	
		1xx-0	541	
		0	542	
		ix-0	543	
		8xx-0	544	
		7xx-0	545	
		6xx-0	546	
		5xx-0	547	
		4xx-0	548	
		3xx-0	549	
		2xx-0	550	
		1xx-0	551	
		0	552	
		ix-0	553	
		8xx-0	554	
		7xx-0	555	
		6xx-0	556	
		5xx-0	557	
		4xx-0	558	
		3xx-0	559	
		2xx-0	560	
		1xx-0	561	
		0	562	
		ix-0	563	
		8xx-0	564	
		7xx-0	565	
		6xx-0	566	
		5xx-0	567	
		4xx-0	568	
		3xx-0	569	
		2xx-0	570	
		1xx-0	571	
		0	572	
		ix-0	573	
		8xx-0	574	
		7xx-0	575	
		6xx-0	576	
		5xx-0	577	
		4xx-0	578	
		3xx-0	579	
		2xx-0	580	
		1xx-0	581	
		0	582	
		ix-0	583	
		8xx-0	584	
		7xx-0	585	
		6xx-0	586	
		5xx-0	587	
		4xx-0	588	
		3xx-0	589	
		2xx-0	590	
		1xx-0	591	
		0	592	
		ix-0	593	
		8xx-0	594	
		7xx-0	595	
		6xx-0	596	
		5xx-0	597	
		4xx-0	598	
		3xx-0	599	
		2xx-0	600	
		1xx-0	601	
		0	602	
		ix-0	603	
		8xx-0	604	
		7xx-0	605	
		6xx-0	606	
		5xx-0	607	
		4xx-0	608	
		3xx-0	609	
		2xx-0	610	
		1xx-0	611	
		0	612	
		ix-0	613	
		8xx-0	614	
		7xx-0	615	
		6xx-0	616	
		5xx-0	617	
		4xx-0	618	
		3xx-0	619	
		2xx-0	620	
		1xx-0	621	
		0	622	
		ix-0	623	
		8xx-0	624	
		7xx-0	625	
		6xx-0	626	
		5xx-0	627	
		4xx-0	628	
		3xx-0	629	
		2xx-0	630	
		1xx-0	631	
		0	632	
		ix-0	633	
		8xx-0	634	
		7xx-0	635	
		6xx-0	636	
		5xx-0	637	
		4xx-0	638	
		3xx-0	639	
		2xx-0	640	
		1xx-0	641	
		0	642	
		ix-0	643	
		8xx-0	644	
		7xx-0	645	
		6xx-0	646	
		5xx-0	647	
		4xx-0	648	
		3xx-0	649	
		2xx-0	650	
		1xx-0	651	
		0	652	
		ix-0	653	
		8xx-0	654	
		7xx-0	655	
		6xx-0	656	
		5xx-0	657	
		4xx-0	658	
		3xx-0	659	

APPENDIX I

THE SARACENE ERA (HIJRA)

The count of years from the Hijra, Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina, according to tradition on 16.vii.622, came to be the standard means of reckoning time in the Islamic world. The Muslim year was lunar rather than solar; the years of the era of the Hijra thus could not stand in a fixed, one-to-one relationship to those of counts based on the 365 1/4 day year. The era was introduced into Egypt with the Arab conquest and appears in documents both in Greek and in Coptic alongside the indiction and the Era of Diocletian (the regnal dating of Byzantine times having naturally disappeared).

The instances of this era, κατὰ Σαρακηνοῦς—the Greek phrase by which it was mostly referred to in Coptic documents (the phrase κατ' Ἀραβας is also found)—in the Greek, Greek-Coptic, and Greek-Arabic papyri were collected and discussed in Worp 1985c.¹ The table below will allow comparison of dates using this era to those with the indiction or the Era of Diocletian and to correlate them with the Julian year. It is based on that in Grumel 1958: 280 ff., where information may also be found on which years were intercalary and on what day of the week the year began. We take the table as far as the last dates occurring in texts with the Era of the Martyrs included in Chapter 8.²

Julian year	Saracene year	Day of start	Era of Diocletian	Indiction
641	21	10.xii	358	15
642	22	30.xi	359	1
643	23	19.xi	360	2
644	24	7.xi	361	3
645	25	28.x	362	4
646	26	17.x	363	5
647	27	7.x	364	6
648	28	25.ix	365	7

¹ Attestations in Greek texts published since that article are CPR XXII 8.3 (year 111; ind. 13), 9.[3] (year 111; ind. 13); P.Prag. I 27.4 (year 122; ind. 9); CPR XXII 25.1 (year 125; no ind.), 7.4 (year 134; ind. 6), 22.1 (year 158; no ind.), 22.1 (year 159; no ind.), 17.11-16 (year 173; ind. 13), 21.1 (year 180; ind. 4). Year 135 or 136 appears in P.Rain.Unterricht 92 (753/4), and year 163 (779/780) has been read in SPP X 65 (see CPR XXII, pp. 93-94). For the date of SPP VIII 1184.1 (no. 33 in Worp's list) see CPR XXII 8, introd. Coptic attestations in combination with the Era of Diocletian and Era of the Martyrs are collected in Chapter 8. See also the collection of references in Förster, WB 717 s.v. Σαρακηνοῦς.

² The months of the Muslim year are the following: 1, Moharrem; 2, Safar; 3, Rebi I; 4, Rebi II; 5, Djumada I; 6, Djumada II; 7, Redjeb; 8, Shaban; 9 Ramadhan; 10, Shawwal; 11, Dju-l-kade; 12, Dju-l-hidje.

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
649	29	14.ix	366	8
650	30	4.ix	367	9
651	31	24.viii	368	10
652	32	12.viii	369	11
653	33	2.viii	370	12
654	34	22.vii	371	13
655	35	11.vii	372	14
656	36	30.vi	373	15
657	37	19.vi	374	1
658	38	9.vi	375	2
659	39	29.v	376	3
660	40	17.v	377	4
661	41	7.v	378	5
662	42	26.iv	379	6
663	43	15.iv	380	7
664	44	4.iv	381	8
665	45	24.iii	382	9
666	46	13.iii	383	10
667	47	3.iii	384	11
668	48	20.ii	385	12
669	49	9.ii	386	13
670	50	29.i	387	14
671	51	18.i	388	15
672	52	8.i	389	1
673	53	27.xii	390	2
674	54	16.xii	391	3
675	55	6.xii	392	4
676	56	25.xi	393	5
677	57	14.xi	394	6
678	58	3.xi	395	7
679	59	23.x	396	8
680	60	13.x	397	9
681	61	1.x	398	10
682	62	20.ix	399	11
683	63	10.ix	400	12
684	64	30.viii	401	13
685	65	18.viii	402	14
686	66	8.viii	403	15
687	67	28.vii	404	1
688	68	18.vii	405	2
689	69	6.vii	406	3
690	70	25.vi	407	4
691	71	15.vi	408	5
692	72	4.vi	409	6

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
693	74	13.v	410	7
694	75	2.v	411	8
695	76	21.iv	412	9
696	77	10.iv	413	10
697	78	30.iii	414	11
698	79	20.iii	415	12
699	80	9.iii	416	13
700	81	26.ii	417	14
701	82	15.ii	418	15
702	83	4.ii	419	1
703	84	24.i	420	2
704	85	14.i	421	3
705	86	2.i	422	4
706	87	23.xii	423	5
707	88	12.xii	424	6
708	89	1.xii	425	7
709	90	20.xi	426	8
710	91	9.xi	427	9
711	92	29.x	428	10
712	93	19.x	429	11
713	94	7.x	430	12
714	95	26.ix	431	13
715	96	16.ix	432	14
716	97	5.ix	433	15
717	98	25.viii	434	1
718	99	14.viii	435	2
719	100	3.viii	436	3
720	101	24.vii	437	4
721	102	12.vii	438	5
722	103	1.vii	439	6
723	104	21.vi	440	7
724	105	10.vi	441	8
725	106	29.v	442	9
726	107	19.v	443	10
727	108	8.v	444	11
728	109	28.iv	445	12
729	110	16.iv	446	13
730	111	5.iv	447	14
731	112	26.iii	448	15
732	113	15.iii	449	1
733	114	3.iii	450	2
734	115	21.ii	451	3
735	116	10.ii	452	4
736	117	31.i	453	5
737	118	20.i	454	6

Djuma'da B, 7, Rajab, 8, Sha'ban, 9, Ramad'an, 10, Shawwal, 11, Dju-l-kado, 12, Dju-l-hiljo.

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
737	119	8.i	454	6
738	120	29.xii	455	7
739	121	18.xii	456	8
740	122	7.xii	457	9
741	123	26.xi	458	10
742	124	15.xi	459	11
743	125	4.xi	460	12
744	126	25.x	461	13
745	127	13.x	462	14
746	128	3.x	463	15
747	129	22.ix	464	1
748	130	11.ix	465	2
749	131	31.viii	466	3
750	132	20.viii	467	4
751	133	9.viii	468	5
752	134	30.vii	469	6
753	135	18.vii	470	7
754	136	7.vii	471	8
755	137	27.vi	472	9
756	138	16.vi	473	10
757	139	5.vi	474	11
758	140	25.v	475	12
759	141	14.v	476	13
760	142	4.v	477	14
761	143	22.iv	478	15
762	144	11.iv	479	1
763	145	1.iv	480	2
764	146	21.iii	481	3
765	147	10.iii	482	4
766	148	27.ii	483	5
767	149	16.ii	484	6
768	150	6.ii	485	7
769	151	26.i	486	8
770	152	14.i	487	9
771	153	4.i	488	10
772	154	24.xii	489	11
773	155	13.xii	490	12
774	156	2.xii	491	13
775	157	21.xi	492	14
776	158	11.xi	493	15
777	159	31.x	494	1
778	160	19.x	495	2
779	161	9.x	496	3

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
780	164	6.ix	497	4
781	165	26.viii	498	5
782	166	15.viii	499	6
783	167	5.viii	500	7
784	168	24.vii	501	8
785	169	14.vii	502	9
786	170	3.vii	503	10
787	171	22.vi	504	11
788	172	11.vi	505	12
789	173	31.v	506	13
790	174	20.v	507	14
791	175	10.v	508	15
792	176	28.iv	509	1
793	177	18.iv	510	2
794	178	7.iv	511	3
795	179	27.iii	512	4
796	180	16.iii	513	5
797	181	5.iii	514	6
798	182	22.ii	515	7
799	183	12.ii	516	8
800	184	1.ii	517	9
801	185	20.i	518	10
802	186	10.i	519	11
803	187	30.xii	520	12
804	188	20.xii	521	13
805	189	8.xii	522	14
806	190	27.xi	523	15
807	191	17.xi	524	1
808	192	6.xi	525	2
809	193	25.x	526	3
810	194	15.x	527	4
811	195	4.x	528	5
812	196	23.ix	529	6
813	197	12.ix	530	7
814	198	1.ix	531	8
815	199	22.viii	532	9
816	200	11.viii	533	10
817	201	30.vii	534	11
818	202	20.vii	535	12
819	203	9.vii	536	13
820	204	28.vi	537	14
821	205	17.vi	538	15
822	206	6.vi	539	1
823	207	27.v	540	2

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
824	209	4.v	541	3
825	210	24.iv	542	4
826	211	13.iv	543	5
827	212	2.iv	544	6
828	213	22.iii	545	7
829	214	11.iii	546	8
830	215	28.ii	547	9
831	216	18.ii	548	10
832	217	7.ii	549	11
833	218	27.i	550	12
834	219	16.i	551	13
835	220	5.i	552	14
836	221	26.xii	553	15
837	222	14.xii	554	1
838	223	3.xii	555	2
839	224	23.xi	556	3
840	225	12.xi	557	4
841	226	31.x	558	5
842	227	21.x	559	6
843	228	10.x	560	7
844	229	30.ix	561	8
845	230	18.ix	562	9
846	231	7.ix	563	10
847	232	28.viii	564	11
848	233	17.viii	565	12
849	234	5.viii	566	13
850	235	26.vii	567	14
851	236	15.vii	568	15
852	237	5.vii	569	1
853	238	23.vi	570	2
854	239	12.vi	571	3
855	240	2.vi	572	4
856	241	22.v	573	5
857	242	10.v	574	6
858	243	30.iv	575	7
859	244	19.iv	576	8
860	245	8.iv	577	9
861	246	28.iii	578	10
862	247	17.iii	579	11
863	248	7.iii	580	12
864	249	24.ii	581	13
865	250	13.ii	582	14
866	251	2.ii	583	15
867	252	22.i	584	1

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
868	254	1.i	585	2
869	255	20.xii	586	3
870	256	9.xii	587	4
871	257	29.xi	588	5
872	258	18.xi	589	6
873	259	7.xi	590	7
874	260	27.x	591	8
875	261	16.x	592	9
876	262	6.x	593	10
877	263	24.ix	594	11
878	264	13.ix	595	12
879	265	3.ix	596	13
880	266	23.viii	597	14
881	267	12.viii	598	15
882	268	1.viii	599	1
883	269	21.vii	600	2
884	270	11.vii	601	3
885	271	29.vi	602	4
886	272	18.vi	603	5
887	273	8.vi	604	6
888	274	28.v	605	7
889	275	16.v	606	8
890	276	6.v	607	9
891	277	25.iv	608	10
892	278	15.iv	609	11
893	279	3.iv	610	12
894	280	23.iii	611	13
895	281	13.iii	612	14
896	282	2.iii	613	15
897	283	19.ii	614	1
898	284	8.ii	615	2
899	285	28.i	616	3
900	286	17.i	617	4
901	287	7.i	618	5
902	288	26.xii	619	6
903	289	16.xii	620	7
904	290	5.xii	621	8
905	291	24.xi	622	9
906	292	13.xi	623	10
907	293	2.xi	624	11
908	294	22.x	625	12
909	295	12.x	626	13
910	296	30.ix	627	14

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
911	299	29.viii	628	15
912	300	18.viii	629	1
913	301	7.viii	630	2
914	302	27.vii	631	3
915	303	17.vii	632	4
916	304	5.vii	633	5
917	305	24.vi	634	6
918	306	14.vi	635	7
919	307	3.vi	636	8
920	308	23.v	637	9
921	309	12.v	638	10
922	310	1.v	639	11
923	311	21.iv	640	12
924	312	9.iv	641	13
925	313	29.iii	642	14
926	314	19.iii	643	15
927	315	8.iii	644	1
928	316	25.ii	645	2
929	317	14.ii	646	3
930	318	3.ii	647	4
931	319	24.i	648	5
932	320	13.i	649	6
933	321	1.i	650	7
934	322	22.xii	651	8
935	323	11.xii	652	9
936	324	30.xi	653	10
937	325	19.xi	654	11
938	326	8.xi	655	12
939	327	29.x	656	13
940	328	18.x	657	14
941	329	6.x	658	15
942	330	26.ix	659	1
943	331	15.ix	660	2
944	332	4.ix	661	3
945	333	24.viii	662	4
946	334	13.viii	663	5
947	335	2.viii	664	6
948	336	23.vii	665	7
949	337	11.vii	666	8
950	338	1.vii	667	9
951	339	20.vi	668	10
952	340	9.vi	669	11
953	341	29.v	670	12
954	342	18.v	671	13

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
955	344	27.iv	672	14
956	345	15.iv	673	15
957	346	4.iv	674	1
958	347	25.iii	675	2
959	348	14.iii	676	3
960	349	3.iii	677	4
961	350	20.ii	678	5
962	351	9.ii	679	6
963	352	30.i	680	7
964	353	19.i	681	8
965	354	7.i	682	9
966	355	28.xii	683	10
967	356	17.xii	684	11
968	357	7.xii	685	12
969	358	25.xi	686	13
970	359	14.xi	687	14
971	360	4.xi	688	15
972	361	24.x	689	1
973	362	12.x	690	2
974	363	2.x	691	3
975	364	21.ix	692	4
976	365	10.ix	693	5
977	366	30.viii	694	6
978	367	19.viii	695	7
979	368	9.viii	696	8
980	369	29.vii	697	9
981	370	17.vii	698	10
982	371	7.vii	699	11
983	372	26.vi	700	12
984	373	15.vi	701	13
985	374	4.vi	702	14
986	375	24.v	703	15
987	376	13.v	704	1
988	377	3.v	705	2
989	378	21.iv	706	3
990	379	11.iv	707	4
991	380	31.iii	708	5
992	381	20.iii	709	6
993	382	9.iii	710	7
994	383	26.ii	711	8
995	384	15.ii	712	9
996	385	5.ii	713	10
997	386	25.i	714	11
998	387	14.i	715	12
999	388	4.i	716	13
1000	389	24.x	717	14

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
998	388	3.i	715	12
999	389	23.xii	716	13
1000	390	13.xii	717	14
1001	391	1.xii	718	15
1002	392	20.xi	719	1
1003	393	10.xi	720	2
1004	394	30.x	721	3
1005	395	18.x	722	4
1006	396	8.x	723	5
1007	397	27.ix	724	6
1008	398	17.ix	725	7
1009	399	5.ix	726	8
1010	400	25.viii	727	9
1011	401	15.viii	728	10
1012	402	4.viii	729	11
1013	403	23.vii	730	12
1014	404	13.vii	731	13
1015	405	2.vii	732	14
1016	406	21.vi	733	15
1017	407	10.vi	734	1
1018	408	30.v	735	2
1019	409	20.v	736	3
1020	410	9.v	737	4
1021	411	27.iv	738	5
1022	412	17.iv	739	6
1023	413	6.iv	740	7
1024	414	26.iii	741	8
1025	415	15.iii	742	9
1026	416	4.iii	743	10
1027	417	22.ii	744	11
1028	418	11.ii	745	12
1029	419	31.i	746	13
1030	420	20.i	747	14
1031	421	9.i	748	15
1032	422	29.xii	749	1
1033	423	19.xii	750	2
1034	424	7.xii	751	3
1035	425	26.xi	752	4
1036	426	16.xi	753	5
1037	427	5.xi	754	6
1038	428	25.x	755	7
1039	429	14.x	756	8
1040	430	3.x	757	9

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
1041	433	31.viii	758	10
1042	434	21.viii	759	11
1043	435	10.viii	760	12
1044	436	29.vii	761	13
1045	437	19.vii	762	14
1046	438	8.vii	763	15
1047	439	28.vi	764	1
1048	440	16.vi	765	2
1049	441	5.vi	766	3
1050	442	26.v	767	4
1051	443	15.v	768	5
1052	444	3.v	769	6
1053	445	23.iv	770	7
1054	446	12.iv	771	8
1055	447	2.iv	772	9
1056	448	21.iii	773	10
1057	449	10.iii	774	11
1058	450	28.ii	775	12
1059	451	17.ii	776	13
1060	452	6.ii	777	14
1061	453	26.i	778	15
1062	454	15.i	779	1
1063	455	4.i	780	2
1064	456	25.xii	781	3
1065	457	13.xii	782	4
1066	458	3.xii	783	5
1067	459	22.xi	784	6
1068	460	11.xi	785	7
1069	461	31.x	786	8
1070	462	20.x	787	9
1071	463	9.x	788	10
1072	464	29.ix	789	11
1073	465	17.ix	790	12
1074	466	6.ix	791	13
1075	467	27.viii	792	14
1076	468	16.viii	793	15
1077	469	5.viii	794	1
1078	470	25.vii	795	2
1079	471	14.vii	796	3
1080	472	4.vii	797	4
1081	473	22.vi	798	5
1082	474	11.vi	799	6
1083	475	1.vi	800	7
1084	476	21.v	801	8

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
1085	478	29.iv	802	9
1086	479	18.iv	803	10
1087	480	8.iv	804	11
1088	481	27.iii	805	12
1089	482	16.iii	806	13
1090	483	6.iii	807	14
1091	484	23.ii	808	15
1092	485	12.ii	809	1
1093	486	1.ii	810	2
1094	487	21.i	811	3
1095	488	11.i	812	4
1096	489	31.xii	813	5
1097	491	9.xii	814	6
1098	492	28.xi	815	7
1099	493	17.xi	816	8
1100	494	6.xi	817	9
1101	495	26.x	818	10
1102	496	15.x	819	11
1103	497	5.x	820	12
1104	498	23.ix	821	13
1105	499	13.ix	822	14
1106	500	2.ix	823	15
1107	501	22.viii	824	1
1108	502	11.viii	825	2
1109	503	31.vii	826	3
1110	504	20.vii	827	4
1111	505	10.vii	828	5
1112	506	28.vi	829	6
1113	507	18.vi	830	7
1114	508	7.vi	831	8
1115	509	27.v	832	9
1116	510	16.v	833	10
1117	511	5.v	834	11
1118	512	24.iv	835	12
1119	513	14.iv	836	13
1120	514	2.iv	837	14
1121	515	22.iii	838	15
1122	516	12.iii	839	1
1123	517	1.iii	840	2
1124	518	19.ii	841	3
1125	519	7.ii	842	4
1126	520	27.i	843	5
1127	521	17.i	844	6

<i>Julian year</i>	<i>Saracene year</i>	<i>Day of start</i>	<i>Era of Diocletian</i>	<i>Indiction</i>
1128	522	6.i	845	7
1129	523	25.xii	846	8
1130	524	15.xii	847	9
1131	525	4.xii	848	10
1132	526	23.xi	849	11
1133	527	12.xi	850	12
1134	528	1.xi	851	13
1135	529	22.x	852	14
1136	530	11.x	853	15
1137	531	29.ix	854	1
1138	532	19.ix	855	2
1139	533	8.ix	856	3
1140	534	28.viii	857	4
1141	535	17.viii	858	5
1142	536	6.viii	859	6
1143	537	27.vii	860	7
1144	538	16.vii	861	8
1145	539	4.vii	862	9
1146	540	24.vi	863	10
1147	541	13.vi	864	11
1148	542	2.vi	865	12
1149	543	22.v	866	13
1150	544	11.v	867	14
1151	545	30.iv	868	15
1152	546	20.iv	869	1
1153	547	8.iv	870	2
1154	548	29.iii	871	3
1155	549	18.iii	872	4
1156	550	7.iii	873	5
1157	551	25.ii	874	6
1158	552	13.ii	875	7
1159	553	2.ii	876	8
1160	554	23.i	877	9
1161	555	12.i	878	10
1162	556	31.xii	879	11
1163	557	21.xii	880	12
1164	558	10.xii	881	13
1165	559	30.xi	882	14
1166	560	18.xi	883	15
1167	561	7.xi	884	1
1168	562	28.x	885	2
1169	563	17.x	886	3
1170	564	5.x	887	4

APPENDIX J

DATINGS BY THE MOON
IN INSCRIPTIONS FROM NUBIA

Text no.	Diocl./ Mart.	Julian year	Egyptian month	Julian month	Week day	Selene day	Indiction year
1	513	796/7	Pharmouthi 19	14.iv	1	14	—
2	642	925/6	Epeiph 20	14.vii	6	1	14 (= 925/6)
3	800	1083/4	Pachon 6	1.v	—	13	—
4	871	1154/5	Mesore 29	22.viii	—	1	—
5	874	1157/8	Thoth 20	17.ix	2	14	—
6	878	1161/2	Thoth 18	15.ix	—	8	—
7	879?	1162/3	Pauni 8	2.vi	—	10	—
8	—	± 1169	Pauni 10	4.vi	—	4	—
9	889	1172/3	Tybi 22	17.i	—	1	—
10	889	1172/3	Phamenoth 25	21.iii	—	26	—
11	897	1180/1	Tybi 23	18.i	—	16	—
12	898	1181/2	Choiak 1	27.xi	—	18	—
13	903	1186/7	Mesore 6	30.vii	—	1	—
14	907	1190/1	Hathyr 5	1.xi	—	24	—
15	915	1198/9	Tybi 4	30.xii	—	7	—
16	915	1198/9	Mesore 23	16.vii	—	26	—
17	960	1243/4	Choiak 1	27.xi	—	19	—
18	1038	1321/2	Pharmouthi 12	7.iv	—	21	—
19	—	—	Phamenoth 11	7.iii	3	26	5
20	—	—	Hathyr 12	8/9.xi	—	30	—
21	—	—	[] 16	—	2?	[]	—

1 = SB XX 14176 (+ pl. in *ed.princ.*).

2 = Faras IV 6 (p. 34) + pl. (cf. *CdÉ* 61 [1986] 350 at no. 1).

3 = SB IV 7432 = *JEA* 13 (1927) 230-231 + pl. 57 = U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale* p. 218 = *I.Khartoum Gr.* 9.

4 = *Sudan Texts Bull.* 3 (1981) 8 = G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim, III* (London 1991) 3 no. 30 (transl. p. 39).

- 5 = *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 14 (1928) 123 + pl.
 6 = *Kush* 2 (1954) 27 + pl. = U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubia medioevale* pp. 218-219 = *I.Khartoum Gr.* 8.
 7 = *Kush* 2 (1954) 31 + pl. = *I.Khartoum Gr.* 12.
 8 = *Faras* IV 9 (p. 42) + pl. (cf. *CdÉ* 61 [1986] 352 at no. 6) = *I.Khartoum Gr.* 3.
 9 = *DACL* III 2879 = W. Kosack, *Koptisches Lehrbuch*, no. 119.
 10 = *Lefebvre* 666 = *SB* I 5716 = *Faras* IV no. II (p. 51) + pl. (cf. *CdÉ* 61 [1986] 352 at no. 7).
 11 = *LAAA* 13 (1926) 84-85 + pl. 63 = *Faras* IV 11 (p. 45) + pl. (cf. *CdÉ* 61 [1986] 352 at no. 8).
 12 = *I.Louvre* (ed. E. Bernand) 115 + pl. 67.
 13 = G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*, III (London 1991) 11 no. 35 (transl. p. 48).
 14 = *Sudan Texts Bull.* 3 (1981) 8 = G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*, III (London 1991) 12 no. 36 (transl. p. 50).
 15 = G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*, III (London 1991) 16 no. 38 (transl. p. 56).
 16 = G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrim*, III (London 1991) 20 no. 40 (transl. p. 59).
 17 = *I.Froehner* I 81 + pl. (= *Lefebvre* 664; cf. *CdÉ* 61 [1986] 353-354 at no. 11).
 18 = *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 14 (1928) 137 + pl. (cf. *CdÉ* 61 [1986] 354 at no. 12).
 19 = *Lefebvre* 663 (cf. *BASP* 17 [1980] 18, *CdÉ* 61 [1986] 352-353 at no. 10; Adam Łajtar informs us that the date tentatively proposed to 1216/7 is not possible because both the form of the inscription and the use of indictional dating require a date in the first millennium).
 20 = M. Bietak and M. Schwarz, *Nag el Scheima* (Wien 1987) 130.
 21 = *I.Khartoum Gr.* 63.

Finally, cf. for a doubtful occurrence of a 26th (?) day of the moon in a Nubian text published in *JEA* 49 (1963) 166 (MM. year 748; Pauni 17) the remarks made in *CdÉ* 71 (1986) 354. A reference to ΘΥΝΗΑ (= Greek σελήνη) appears without further surviving chronological indications in the inscription *SB* I 4949, republished by A. Łajtar, *ZPE* 113 (1996) 101-107.

APPENDIX K

DAYS OF THE WEEK

The following list of instances of mentions of weekdays derives from the data pertaining to Egypt listed in *Tyche* 6 (1991) 222-223, supplemented with the relevant texts culled from the list at the end of Chapter 8. For a few indications of weekdays in Coptic texts see also K. A. Worp's discussion of the date of *O.CrumVC* 111 in *ZPE* 138 (2002) 121-122. For weekdays in inscriptions from Nubia cf. now the list by A. Łajtar in S. Jacobielski & P.O. Scholz, ed., *Dongola-Studien: 35 Jahre polnischer Forschungen im Zentrum des makuritischen reiches*, Warszawa 2001 (= *Bibliotheca nubica e aethiopica*, 7) 332-333. We have not attempted an independent investigation of weekdays in documents in Arabic; for this subject see briefly Grohmann 1966: 15-16 and especially 29-30 for datings like PSR no. 1155.3, P.Wessely A 106r.7 etc.

<i>Dating criterion</i>	<i>Month + Day</i>	<i>Reference and comments</i>
cos. 243	Phamenoth 12 = Wednesday (ἡμέρα Ἐρμού)	<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLIV 3174.17 8.iii.243 = Wednesday; doc. correct
cos. 325	Phaophi 6 = Sunday	<i>P.Oxy.</i> LIV 3759.38 3.x.325 = Sunday; doc. correct
cos. 327	Pharmouthi 29 = Sunday	<i>Pack</i> ² 2731, cf. <i>BASP</i> 17 (1980) 17. 24.iv.327 was a Monday; doc. incorrect
Diocl. 195 = 478/9	Epeiph 20 = Saturday	<i>Greek Horoscopes</i> L 479 14.vii.479 = Saturday; doc. correct for Diocl. year starting Thoth 1
Diocl. 202 = 485/6	Phamenoth 25 = Monday	<i>Greek Horoscopes</i> L 486 21.iii.486 was a Friday; doc. incorrect
Ind. 4 = 601	Phamenoth 29 = Saturday before Easter	<i>SB</i> V 7564 Dating to 601 based on assumption that all data are correct

<i>Dating criterion</i>	<i>Month + Day</i>	<i>Reference and comments</i>
Martyrs 502 = 785/6	Thoth 8 = 5th day of the week	<i>I.Khartoum Gr. 20</i> (Old Dongola) 5.ix.785 was a Monday; doc. incorrect
Martyrs 513 = 796/7	Pharmouthi 19 = 1st day of the week = Selene 14 ¹	<i>SB XX 14176</i> 14.iv.797 was a Friday; doc. incorrect
Diocletian 518 = 801/2	Tybi 28 = Sunday	<i>Faras IV 4</i> 23.i.802 = Sunday; doc. correct
Martyrs 628 = 911/2	Pachon 17 = Tuesday	Kamel, <i>Coptic Funerary Stelae 66</i> = <i>SBKopt. II 1094</i> 12.v.912 = Tuesday; doc. correct
Diocletian 642 = 925/6	Epeiph 20 = Friday	<i>Faras IV 6</i> 14.vii.926 = Friday; doc. correct
Martyrs 722 = 1005/6	Thoth 22 = Friday	<i>Faras IV 7</i> = <i>I.Khartoum Gr. 2</i> 19.ix.1005 = Wednesday; doc. incorrect
Martyrs 741 = 1024/5	Phaophi 25 = Thursday	<i>Vat.Copt. 66(12)</i> = Zoega 17 22.x.1024 = Thursday; doc. correct
Martyrs 751 = 1034/5	Phaophi [] = Saturday	T.S. Richter, <i>Copt. Congr. VI, II 302-303</i> , Leipzig Stela no. 687 ²
Diocl. 770 = 1053/4	Pachon 20 = Sunday	<i>DACL III 2882</i> = <i>ZÄS 44</i> (1907) 71, 133 15.v.1054 = Sunday; doc. correct
1060 (computed)	Phamenoth 2 = Sunday	Lajtar (below, n. 3) 186
Martyrs 786 = 1069/70	Choiak 8 = Friday	<i>Kush 12</i> (1964) 38 4.xii.1069 = Friday; doc. correct
Diocletian 809 = 1092/3	Pachon 26 = Saturday	<i>JJP 32</i> (2002) 169-174 21.v.1093 = Saturday; doc. correct

¹ For these data cf. the commentary by A. Lajtar in the *ed. pr.* of the text in *Aegyptus* 72 (1992) 126-127 with nn. 36-38.

² Leipzig stelae 687 will be no. 65 in Richter's edition of *Ostraka and Papyri des Ägyptischen Museums der Universität Leipzig* (Mainz, forthcoming). The lost day numeral could be any of 1, 8, 15, 22, or 29, as in the year 1034 each of these dates in Phaophi (28.ix-27.x) fell upon a Saturday.

<i>Dating criterion</i>	<i>Month + Day</i>	<i>Reference and comments</i>
Martyrs 829 = 1112/3	Epeiph 5 = Sunday	<i>Oriens Christ.</i> 81 (1997) 120-121 no. 4 29.vi.1113 = Sunday; doc. correct ³
Martyrs 874 = 1157/8	Thoth 20 = 2nd day of the week	<i>PBA</i> 14 (1928) 123 (Nubia) 17.ix.1157 = Tuesday; doc. incorrect
Martyrs 875 = 1158/9	Mecheir 23 = Wednesday	<i>ZPE</i> 104 (1994) 203-204 17.ii.1159 = Tuesday; doc. incorrect

One finds above a total of 21 weekdays indications in texts covering a span of slightly more than 900 years. Of these, 7 are definitely incorrect (cf. the Julian years 327 [1 day off], 486 [3 days off], 785 [3 days off], 797 [2 days off], 1005 [2 days off], 1157 [1 day off] and 1159 [1 day off]), while a clear majority of 11 indications are correct (cf. the Julian years 243, 325, 479,⁴ 802, 912, 926, 1024, 1054, 1069, 1093 and 1113). In the remaining cases, the day numeral is lost or the year is determined assuming that the day is correct, and we cannot tell whether these texts presented a correct weekday indication. In general one gets the impression that stonecutters (and their principals) made an effort to give the weekday indication correctly.

Four further texts, although without a year date, deserve mention:

(1) *I.Khartoum Gr.* 79 (Soba, Sudan; date: IXth/Xth cent.) equates Hathyr 2 with a 5th day of the week (cf. *I.Khartoum Gr.* 20).

(2) *Lef.* 80, also undated (717, 762, or 807, according to Chainé), equates Tybi 23 and the 2nd day of the week (see for discussion and references above, p. 28, n. 19).

(3) *SPP* III 302 = XX 215.5 is dated to Pachon 7, day 2, indiction 13, in an unknown year of the sixth century. Whether this is a weekday is not certain, but it may well be; for discussion see above, p. 28, n. 19.

(4) For *Lef.* 663, see above, p. 314.

Jur. Pap. = P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Berlin 1920).

Lef. = G. Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte* (Cairo 1907).

Nub. med. = U. Monneret de Villard, *La Nubie médiévale I* (Cairo 1935).

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PLRE = A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris, eds., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1971-1992).

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II 12-31: 16 (1979) 221-237.

III 32-35: 16 (1979) 239-247.

IV 36-61: 17 (1980) 5-18.

V 62-17 (1980): 18-25.

³ See now Lajtar 2002: 164-165.

⁴ In the horoscope from 478/9 the weekday indication is correct, if one assumes that the Diocletian era year started indeed on Thoth 1 (which is the normal practice, but cf. above, pp. 66-67).

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	III	67299	47
<i>P. Horn.</i>		67300	91
		67303	25 n. 10; 118; 122
<i>P. Heritage Copy</i>		67305	24; 111
<i>P. Husak</i>		67320	21; 29 n. 21
<i>P. Iand.</i>	III	67321	21; 29 + n. 21
	VIII	67328	91; 121
<i>P. Kall</i>	I	67332	94 n. 26; 110 n. 1; 111 n. 12
<i>P. Cair. Preis.</i>		20	39
<i>P. Charite</i>	II	7	16; 20; 36 n. 3; 38
	III	15	17
		16	17; 37; 40
		26	15
<i>P. Col.</i>	VII	141a	11
		143-165	20 n. 14
		149	15; 18
		150, 152-153, 155, 157-158	37
		160, 161, 166 (= SB III 7189)	38
		168	37; 41
		176	13 n. 1
		177	13
		178	13 n. 1; 18
		181 (= <i>P. Coll. Youtie</i> II 78)	41; 42
<i>P. Col.</i>	VIII	237	190 s.a. 381*
<i>P. Coll. Youtie</i>	II	78 (= <i>P. Col.</i> VII 181)	41
		82 (= <i>P. Oxy.</i> XLV 3266)	56
	IV	92 (= <i>P. Cair. Masp.</i> I 67023)	24; 111
<i>CPR</i>	I	10 (= XVII A 17a = SPP XX 80)	14 n. 3
		42	39
	III	370 (= <i>P. Rain. Unterricht</i> 108)	96; 97
	IV	23	103
		112d	108
	V	8	21 n. 16
		14	89
	VI	10	114
		12-71	26 n. 15
	VIII	62	33; 49 + n. 13; 120
	IX	31	50
		33	47; 22; 94 n. 25; 122
<i>P. Lond.</i>	X	39	115
		119	201 s.a. 491*
		122	123
		124	50
		127	124; 125
	II	130, 131	95; 107

		132	151	53; 96
		135	151	81; 108
XIV		8	11	89 n. 3; 198 s.a. 461*; 199 s.a.
		9	11	476*
		11	13	109
		12	13	47; 49
XVII A		2	13	91
		4	13	10; 11
		17a, b (= CPR I 10)	13	12
		38	13	14 n. 3
XIX		13	13	39; 40
		15	13	47
		32	13	50
		33	13	107
		51	13	102; 110 n. 2
XXII		7-9	13	115
		17	13	300 n. 1
		21, 22, 25	13	108; 300 n. 1
XXIII		35	13	300 n. 1
XXIV		10	13	54
		18	13	121
		20	13	202 s.a. 501*
		27	13	112
		28	13	107
		30	13	95; 107
		33	13	107
		35	13	117; 293
<i>P. David</i>		10	13	97
<i>P. Edfou</i>	I	2	13	11 n. 36*; 61 (+ n. 6*)
		3	13	96 n. 30; 97; 292
		4	13	96 + n. 30*; 97; 292
			13	113 (+ n. 42*)
<i>P. Edmondstone</i>	= <i>P. Oxy.</i>	IV, p. 202, q.v.		
<i>P. Erl.</i>		52 (= <i>SB XIV 12167</i> = <i>P. Erl. Diosp.</i> 2)	10	10
		55	10	21; 29 n. 21
		67	10	102; 115
		68	10	81
<i>P. Erl. Diosp.</i>		1	10	9
		2 (= <i>P. Erl.</i> 52 = <i>SB XIV 12617</i>)	10	8; 9; 10
<i>P. Flor.</i>	I	15 (= <i>SB XX 15008</i>)	10	49 n. 13
		17	10	41
		52	10	38
		65	10	31 n. 23; 120
		103	10	42
<i>P. Gen.</i>	III	346	10	20
	I ²	12	10	91
		67	10	90
<i>P. Genova</i>	I	22	10	57
<i>P. Got.</i>		9	10	120
<i>P. Grenf.</i>	I	54	10	38
		60	10	50
	II	85	10	116
		86	10	124; 125 fnn. 34, 35
		87	10	111
<i>P. Harr.</i>	I	82, 145	10	57

		149					
	II	219				31; 119	
	III	238				57	
<i>P.Harrauer</i>	I	38				47	
		47 (= <i>P.Horak</i> 12)				11	
		54				17; 18; 38	
<i>P.Haun.</i>	III	58				47; 49	
<i>P.Heid.</i>	V	350				35; 119	
		352				107	
		361				94 n. 25; 121	VI
	VII	405				107; 116	V
<i>P.Herm.</i>	III	65				48; 49 n. 13	
	I	69				94 n. 26	
<i>P.Hermitage Copt.</i>		74				35; 119	
<i>P.Horak</i>		12 (= <i>P.Harrauer</i> 47)				111	
<i>P.Iand.</i>	III	48				17; 18; 38	
	VIII	152				119	
<i>P.Kell.</i>	I Gr.	30				8; 9	
		59				38; 41	
<i>P.Köln</i>	II	120				182 s.a. 328*	
	III	151				41	
		152				33; 113	
	IV	158				91	
	V	233				33	
<i>P.KRU</i>		35				56	
		36				35; 115	
		37				112	
	VII	42				110 n. 1	
		77 (= <i>SB</i> I 4319)				110 n. 1	
		78				96; 97	
	VIII	80 (= <i>SB</i> I 5606), 90, 96 (= <i>SB</i> I 5593)				11 n. 36	
		106				100	II
	IX	118				112	
<i>P.Laur.</i>	II X	25				100	X
	III	70				231 sub f. 3, a. 10-9-2	
	XII	77				59	II X
	IV	162 (= <i>P.Mich.</i> XX 800)				103	
		179				39	
<i>P.Lips.</i>	I XIV	4				103 n. 7	III X
		5				3	V X
	XVI	19 (= <i>M.Chr.</i> 276)				3	
		20				12	
		21				121	
		22 (= <i>M.Chr.</i> 277)				121 + n. 14	
		23				37	
		61.ii (= <i>W.Chr.</i> 188)				38	
		64 (= <i>W.Chr.</i> 281)				91	
		84				27; 30; 34 n. 29	
		97				8 n. 25	
<i>P.Lond.</i>	I	113 (4)				21; 27; 39; 40	
		113 (6a)				116	
		113 (6b)				107	
		113 (6c)				117	
		113 (10) (= <i>W.Chr.</i> 8)				107*; 292	
	II	483				97; 106 n. 10	
						95-96; 97	III

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		976 (p. 231)	12	
	XIV	1005 (= SB VIII 9932)	102 n. 4	
		1006	94 n. 26	
		1007c	111	
		1083	110	
		1315a (= SB XVI 12867)	102 n. 5	
	XVII A	1327descr.	123	
	IV	1475	110	
	V	1648	20; 37	
		1649	20	
	XIX	1655	57	
		1663	20; 29	
		1686	94 n. 25; 123	
		1692a	110; 123	
		1719	113	
	XXI	1723, 1724	50	
		1725	49; 152 n. 39	
		1726	50	
	XXIII	1728	124; 125	
	XXIV	1738	58 n. 5	
		1766	94 n. 25; 122	
		1772	110 n. 1*	
		1793	121	
		1794	118	
		1822	20	
		1897	95	
		1898	102	
<i>P. Mert.</i>	I	33	56	
<i>P. Yagou</i>		34-36	57	
	II	88	237 s.a. 16-15-8*	
	(III)	124	120 n. 12)	
<i>P. Mich.</i>	X	596	41	
<i>P. D.H.</i>		612	120	
	XII	648-649	21 n. 17	
		650	10 n. 30	
		652	9; 10 n.30	
<i>P. Brk. (Hosp.)</i>	XIII	662	106* + n. 10	
	XV	724 (= XX 815)	37	
<i>P. Tor.</i>	I	731	113	
		734	50 n. 14	
		748	114	
	XX	800 (= <i>P. Laur.</i> IV 162)	39	
		802	38	
		803, 805 (= <i>P. Wash. Univ.</i> II 82)	39	
		807, 808, 809, 813, 814, 815 (= XV 724)	37	
<i>P. Michael.</i>		35	120	
<i>P. Götting.</i>	I	43	24 n. 6; 34	
<i>P. Göt.</i>		47	95 n. 28	
<i>P. Münch.</i>	I	2	50	
		3	49; 50	
	II	4	50	
		9	35; 124; 125	
		10, 13	124; 125	
<i>P. Har.</i>	III	72	37; 40	

<i>P. Pomp.</i>		98	51; 102 n. 5; 213 s.a. 593/594*; 261*
<i>P. Ness.</i>	III	30	102 n. 3
<i>P. NYU</i>	I	5	37; 41
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		7	37
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		9	37
		10	21 n. 16
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		24	90 n. 7
<i>P. Oslo</i>	III	113	38
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	I	93	57
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<i>P. Prag.</i>	I	133	120; 122
		134	120
		135	50
		136	95 n. 29; 119
		137	95 n. 29
		140	31; 110; 122
		144	50; 95 n. 29
		153	119
<i>P. Princ.</i>	IV, p. 202 (= <i>MChr.</i> 361)		26
<i>P. Princ. Bonn</i>	VI	902	89
<i>P. Princ. Cant.</i>		994	121
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		1042	95 n. 28; 119
	VIII	1056-1057, 1116	57
		1130	32; 115 (+n. 67*); 119
	IX	1205 (= <i>C. Pap. Jud.</i> III 473)	3 n. 8
	X	1280	26; 111 (+n. 14*)
<i>P. Ratis. Universitäts</i>		1334	60
	XII	1431	57
<i>P. Ross. Georg.</i>	III	1544	3 n. 7
		1575 (<i>C. Pap. Jud.</i> III 511)	56
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	XVI	1893	120
		1894	119
		1896	31 n. 23; 119
	V	1899	89 + n. 2*
<i>P. Ryf.</i>	IV	1921	119
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<i>P. Ryf. Capt.</i>		1958	31; 32 n. 24; 89 + n. 3*
		1960	114
		1966	24; 31; 111
		1970	119; 122
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		1973	32 n. 25; 112
<i>P. Salsom.</i>		1976	95 n. 29
		1983	31; 120
		1989	51

	1994 (= SB XXIV 15924)	24; 113 (+ n. 34*)
	1997	114
	2002 (cf. SB VIII 9932)	120 n. 4 0E III
	2013 1A 7E	120 n. 26 2 I
XVII	2114 1A 1C	13 n. 11-2
XVIII	2202 7E	102 7
XIX	2237 (cf. SB XVI 12867)	119 n. 5 8
	2238 desc. 1E	94 n. 25; 114; 123
IV	2244 1A 1E	114; 115 0I
XXII	2347 1B	38 37 0C
XXVII	2478 7A 09	102 n. 5 3C
	2480 8E	31 n. 23 11I III
XXXI	2571 7E	15; 29 09 I
XXXIV	2715 0C n. 11	19 n. 8; 31 12I
XXXVI	2780 0A 0C1	32 n. 24 12C1
XL	2904 0C1	43 1 0C1
	2906 ii 7302	3 n. 7 0C1
	2936 1A 29	43 152 0C19
XLIV	3174 1A 29	315 7E1
	3184 011 1E	232 s.a. 13-12-5*
	3203 20 02	26; 32; 33 n. 27; 114
	3204 911	213 s.a. 588*
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XLVIII	3386 - 3388	56 1 099 IV
	3390 - 3392	57 8 499
LI	3641 811	94 n. 26 299
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P. Mart.	LVI 3875 0E 1E	57 1401
	LVIII 3935 1A 29	4 n. 13; 45 n. 11; 102
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P. Mich.	X 3951 8 n. 1	107; 114 0C1 XI
	(*) 3952-3954	107 0801 X
	XXII 3955 0A 09	51; 125 131
	3961 7E	4 n. 13; 45 n. 11; 96
LIX	3985 7 n. 1	31; 32; 111
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	XV 4092 (+ SB 615)	57 0801 11V
LXI	4129, 4130	57 0C1 2961
LXII	4344 0C1	36 n. 14081 11V
	4345 911	37 14081
	XX 4347, 4348 (cf. IV 162)	57 0881
	4349 n. 98	114 0981
LXIII	4373 (cf. P. Wank. Univ. II 82)	57 1191
	4394 0A 099, 813, 814, 815 (= XV 700221 11V)	11 n. 36; 91
P. Michael	*E n. 19 4395 0E 1E	91 0801
	4396 811	122 60001
	4397 1E 30	94 n. 25; 122
P. Mink	LXVII 4606, 4609, 4612	38; 41 0701
	4621 1E 11	114 50 0701
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	4703 1A 29	106 120702
	4729 0A 1E	121 n. 16 101
P. Palau.Rib.	III 15 1E	89 n. 3 0801

<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 i a	36	37	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 i b, 19.i.d	37	37	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 ii	38	31	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 iii a	15	35	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 iii b	37	34	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 iv a	90	33	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 vi.a	90 n. 8	35	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 vi c	20; 36	35	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 vi d	36	36	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		19 viii a	15	37	
<i>P.Panop.</i>		22	90; 117 n. 85		
<i>P.Panop.Beatty</i>	II	2	7 n. 21; 8 n. 25	III	
<i>P.Par.</i>		20	124; 125		
<i>P.Par.</i>		21bis	102; 112		
<i>P.Prag.</i>	I	27	300 n. 1		
		37	89; 199 s.a. 466*		
		43	53; 97		
		44	35; 38; 112 (+ n. 24*)		
		48	125		
		64	107; 116	IV	
	II	178	35; 117 + n. 86*		
		189	114		
<i>P.Princ.</i>	III	154	29; 94 n. 25; 121	VII	
<i>P.Princ.Roll²</i>		(= SB V 7621)	8, 9, 10, 13		
<i>P.Rain.Cent.</i>		35	109		
		83	9		
		106	89		
		114	89 n. 4; 91		
		116, 118	115	III	
		119	96		
		120	107	XI	
		123	33; 89 n. 2; 120	X	
		124 (= <i>P.Vind.Sijp.</i> 16)	41 n. 8		
		136	26 n. 13*; 111		
<i>P.Rain.Unterricht</i>		92	300 n. 1	III	
		108	96; 97; 114		
<i>P.Ross.Georg.</i>	III	28	90; 187 s.a. 358*	XIV	
		38 (= <i>C.Pap.Jud.</i> III 511)	24; 112		
		39	117 + n. 80	I	
		40	110 n. 1		
		55	96		
		56	108		
		57	35; 117 + n. 85*		
	V	42	102 n. 5	VI	
<i>P.Ryl.</i>	IV	616	8 n. 25		
		655	38	V	
<i>P.Ryl.Copt.</i>	I	121 (2)	108		
		146	110		
		175	64		
		194	110 (+ n. 5*)		
		214	110		
		319	111		
<i>P.Sakaon</i>		7	13		
		19	9		
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<i>P.Select.</i>	16	280 n. 1
<i>P.Sijp.</i>	22	38
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	XVIII 35	111
<i>PSI</i>	I 22 - 23	64 n. 2; 70 + n. 33
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	XIII 77	120
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	III 162	272*
	XXX 185	280 n. 1
	XXXIV 239	214 s.a. 601*
	XXXV 242	49 n. 13
	XL 243	95 n. 28
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	V 467	57
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	LV 820	10
	VIII 886	9
	LVIII 948	57 + n. 2
	IX 1078	57
	X 1101	3 n. 7
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	XIII 1338	174 s.a. 299*
	1367	124
	XIV 1427	122
<i>PSI Congr. XI</i>	14	100
<i>P.Stras.</i>	I 1	91
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	9	26
	40	123; 124
	46-51	47
	IV 190	102
	248	94 n. 25; 122
	V 310	111
	316	21 n. 16; 110 n. 1
	317	91
	318	102 n. 5; 115
	337	36 n. 5; 42
	338	121 n. 22
	397	82
	484	94 n. 26
	VI 579	111
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<i>P.Thomas</i>		30	103
<i>P.Vat.Aphrod.</i>		1	124
<i>P.Vind.Bosw.</i>	XVI	10	42 n. 2
<i>P.Vind.Sijp.</i>		13	37
		16 (= <i>P.Rain.Cent.</i> 124)	41 n. 8
<i>P.Vind.Tandem</i>		18	34 + n. 33
		28	50 n. 1
<i>P.Warren</i>		10	261*
<i>P.Wash.Univ.</i>	II	82	39 n. 2
		104	113
<i>P.Wisc.</i>	I	11	112
	II	47	38
<i>P.Würzb.</i>		17	91
<i>P.Yale</i>	I	71	32 n. 26; 33; 60
<i>SB</i>	I	1449	114
		1969	115
		4319 (= <i>P.KRU</i> 77)	96; 97
		4483	109; 113; 298 n.5
		4484 (= <i>CPR</i> XIX 33)	110 n. 1
		4503, 4505	103; 125
		4659	81
		4662	53; 96
		4669	269*
		4671 + 4718 + XVI 12701	102 n. 3; 116 n. 69; 124; 125
		4678	49
		4683	11 n. 36; 48
		4691	112
		4718 + 4671 + XVI 12701	102 n. 3; 116 + n. 69; 124; 125
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		4763	81; 113
		4778	81
		4796	48
		4801	102 n. 3
		4810	35; 117
		4858 (= XVI 12701 + I 4671, 4718)	102 n. 3; 116
		4876	103 + n. 7
		4884	113
		4898	35; 112
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		5278 (= <i>SPP</i> XX 243)	113
		5279 (= <i>SPP</i> VIII 1320)	35; 115
		5318	97*
		5335 (= <i>BGU</i> III 751)	35; 112
		5572 (= <i>P.KRU</i> 36)	112
		5593 (= <i>P.KRU</i> 80), 5606 (= <i>P.KRU</i> 96)	100
		5609 (= <i>P.KRU</i> 106)	112
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	6199	112	
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	7432	313, no. 3	
	7445	31; 32 + n. 24; 33 n. 27	
	7475	118 n. 89	
	7519 (= <i>P. Berl. Frisk</i> 5)	16 n. 5	
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III	7621 = <i>P. Princ. Roll</i> , q.v.	112	
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	8949 (= <i>PSI</i> XIII 1367)	54; 97	
VI	8986	5; 104; 108 n. 12	
V	8987	106 n. 10	
VI	8988	49; 50; 152 n. 39	
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VII	9085, inv. 16166	33; 120	
	9152 (= XVIII 13953)	102 n. 3; 115	
	9153	288*	
	9402	124	
	9456	126	
	9461	114	
VIII	9596	110 n. 1; 113	
VIII	9769	116	
IX	9771	33; 35; 117	
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XII	10766	51; 125	
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I	10934	36	
	10988	123	
	11231	13 n. 1	
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IV	11543	37	
	11548	38; 40	
V	11550	36 n. 5	
	11551	3 n. 7	
	11589	15; 17; 38; 40	
	11711	17	
	11885	280 n. 1*	
	11896	237 s.a. 15*	
	12078	57	
	12088	94 n. 25; 121	
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		12604		53	
		12701 (+ I 4671, 4718)		102 n. 3; 116 + n. 69; 124; 125	
		12802 (= <i>O.Douch</i> III 335)		41*	
		12865		49 n. 13	
		12866		118	
	IV	12867		102 n. 5	
	XVIII	13035		56	
		13037		91	
		13173		296 sub 2E*	III V
		13583		110	
		13860 (= <i>SPP</i> XX 135)		115	
		13953 (= VI 9152)		33; 120	
		14006		96; 108 n. 12	
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	III	14177		76 (+ n. 48*)	
		14509 (= <i>SEG</i> 41.1613)		38; 40	
		14510 (= <i>SEG</i> 41.1614)		41	
		14535		200 s.a. 481*	X
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		15008 (= <i>P.Flor.</i> I 15)		49 + n. 13	
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		15134		113	
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		15523		262*	
		15528 (= <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1954)		114 (+ n. 52*)	
		15529-15530 (= <i>P.Oxy.</i> XVI 1955, 1956)		114 n. 52	
		15597		90	
		15605		37	
		15620		91	
		15720		41	
		15728		38	
		15729		113	
	XII	15740		114	
		15745		116	
		15749		114	
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